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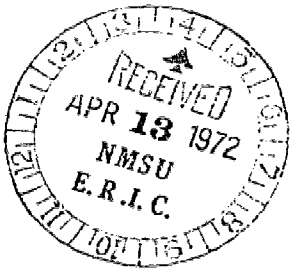
ABSTRACT

Underlying present Governmental and private objectives to institute local control over the schools on Indian reservations is the hope that such a policy will improve American Indians' sense of relevance of their own behavior to the outcome of their destiny. Although the connection between community control and sense of personal efficacy has never been established among American Indians, an interrelationship between the 2 has nontheless been hypothesized widely among scholars. In order to gain further insight into the nature of this interrelationship, this study undertook a preliminary examination of factors involved in instituting local control over the schools in the Indian communities of San Juan and Santa Clara. Interviews conducted in the 2 communities revealed that, while members of both pueblos have an interest in controlling their schools, Santa Clara has progressed much further toward actualizing this goal. Both communities have Advisory School Boards, but Santa Clara has exploited this opportunity for local control to a greater degree than San Juan and has subcontracted for complete local control over their schools. One revealing factor is that San Juan's attachment to traditional institutions and cultural patterns has served to limit the economic development and political influence of the community; in Santa Clara, commitment to modern techniques has allowed for greater diversification of the pueblo's resources and has contributed toward making this pueblo a viable community. (Author/LS)



LOCAL CONTROL OVER THE SCHOOLS IN TWO AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITIES: A PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS AND "INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES

JANICE JENNIE WEINMAN

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Education of Harvard University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education

1970

TO OKÚ

Beauty in the old way of life
The dwellings they decorated so lovingly;
A drum a clear voice singing,
And the sound of laughter . . .

We were a very Indian, strong,
competent people,
But the grass had almost stopped growing,
The horses of our pride were near their
end . . .

A full-blood broadcasts through a
microphone planned tribal action.
Hope stirs in the tribe,
Drums beat and dancers, old and young,
step forward . . .

We shall learn all the devices of the
white man.
We shall handle his tools for ourselves.
We shall master his machinery, his
inventions, his skills, his
medicine, his planning;
But we'll retain our beauty . . .

(from Anthology of Poetry and Verse -
Institute of American Indian Arts)

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The advice of Professor David Cohen and Professor B. Whiting, both members of my doctoral committee, were much appreciated. Dr. Cohen suggested the underlying approach to be used in carrying out this investigation and Dr. Whiting provided me with specific guidelines necessary for organizing my work.

There are two people without whose guidance, instruction and friendship this dissertation could not have been written. To Dr. Nancy St. John, my advisor, I am profoundly grateful for patient and careful direction. Throughout the past four years she gave generously of her time and provided me with invaluable counsel and support. To Dr. Alfonso Ortiz I also wish to extend deep-felt thanks for the aid and understanding he gave me during the period of my field work. Were it not for my association with him much of the information contained in this thesis might never have been obtained. In expression of my deep appreciation I dedicate this work to him.

Above all, I am indebted to my parents for the enduring love and reassurance they have given me.

ABSTRACT

Underlying present governmental and private objectives to institute local control over the schools on Indian reservations is the hope that such a policy will improve American Indians' sense of relevance of their own behavior to the outcome of their destiny. Although the connection between community control and sense of personal efficacy has never been established among American Indians, an interrelationship between the two has nonetheless been hypothesized widely among scholars. In order to gain further insight into the nature of this interrelationship, I undertook a preliminary examination of the factors involved in instituting local control over the schools in the Indian communities of San Juan and Santa Clara.

Both San Juan and Santa Clara belong to the Tewa branch of the Pueblo tribe of Indians. Consequently they share a very similar history, geographic position and cultural evolution. Interviews conducted in the two communities reveal however that while members of both pueblos have an interest in controlling their schools, Santa Clara has progressed much further toward actualizing this goal. This is evidenced by the fact that although both communities presently have Advisory School Boards to which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has relegated increasingly greater power, Santa Clara has exploited this opportunity for local control to a much greater degree than has San Juan. Moreover, when the federal government recently presented both communities with the option of subcontracting for complete local control over their schools only Santa Clara

considered accepting the offer. The primary factor probably responsible for this difference is that San Juaners have maintained an essentially theocratic government while Santa Clarans have instituted a political system in which secular and religious roles are divorced from one another. As a result, Santa Clara has not had to cope with the following conditions which appear to have interfered with San Juan's potential for educational change: 1) a communication gap between the pueblo's traditional governing body and the more enlightened citizenry; 2) the absence of consolidated leadership to generate consensus over major issues; 3) the subsequent allocation of final decisions to those community leaders who are least aware of, and/or interested in, modern demands.

Examination of the personal testimonies and present life styles of the members of the two communities also revealed differences in the degree to which San Juaners and Santa Clarans expect that their behavior can affect the outcome of their undertakings. In San Juan the attachment to traditional institutions and cultural patterns has served to limit the economic development and political influence of the community; in Santa Clara commitment to modern techniques has allowed for a greater diversification of the pueblo's resources and has contributed toward making this pueblo a viable community. While San Juaners have thus developed a sense of insecurity regarding their ability to determine intended outcomes, Santa Clarans seem more able to see a direct link between their own behavior and desired ends.

Because this study is merely exploratory, it cannot produce conclusive "evidence" as to the exact cause and effect relationship between community control over formal education and individuals' expectations that they can influence the outcome of situations. However, it can suggest the following tentative conclusions: 1) A realistic appraisal of their pueblo's social system, rather than of their own sense of efficacy, seems to underly the difference in attitude between the residents of San Juan and Santa Clara toward local control over schools in their respective communities; 2) isolated experiences in community control cannot determine individuals' sense of efficacy. Rather, leaders must provide the members of their community with an all-encompassing and consistent policy toward local control. Residents must be allowed to participate in running all their community's institutions in order to feel that they are really affecting their fate; 3) the value to American Indians of community control over their schools lies not so much in the opportunity to practice decision-making but rather in the opportunity for local residents to contribute toward making educational policies and instruction relevant to their present needs and future goals.

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

A basic principle underlying all programs in the War on Poverty is the understanding that, without adequate education, the culturally different cannot hope to gain those skills and values necessary to attain a higher socio-economic level than they have now. Because the economic structure of American society requires of the individual particular capabilities and beliefs in order to be successful in it, the American school system has attempted to develop these characteristics in minority group members in the hope of thus aiding them towards economic improvement.

For many children of Indian background, the experience of entering school is their first introduction to American culture. Simultaneous to their learning of English, they are also expected to acquire the values and tools which the school stresses. Of critical importance, however, is the motivation and willingness to learn those skills set forth by the dominant society as reflected in the education system.

For members of groups whose values and social system resemble that of the dominant society, adaptation to the norms presented by the school will take place relatively easily and successfully. However, among American Indians generally, tribal structural characteristics and values serve to set their members against the norms which prevail in the dominant culture. Tightly integrated institutions, a pervasive religious order stressing a particularistic outlook, a deep-rooted belief system emphasizing subjugation to nature, and an extended family structure direct the individual

in practically every sphere of life and commit him to the fate of his group.

Havighurst points out that although differences exist in the socialization patterns among varying tribes, nonetheless, common to all tribes is the fact that the group takes a lively interest in raising the child through numerous ceremonial and adoptive relationships which are close, warm and supportive. The strength of this conditioning leads to a sense of interdependence - a feeling of being part of a total environment (Havighurst, 1957:115). Under these conditions, when Indian children enter American public schools, they react in a particular way. In the desire to reestablish, in a foreign environment, their previous total social world, they attempt to appropriate and control the classroom. What they are doing, Thompson claims, "is no more than self-protection, maintaining their dignity and insuring the development of self as a member of tribal groups. By adolescence they have adequately mastered the skills of coping with teacher and school to keep them at a distance and alien from what they are learning" (Thompson, 1965:125).

In order to counteract this tendency an attempt has been made by social scientists and school administrators to create academic programs and technical methods aimed at helping the student adjust more successfully to American schools. Yet, despite these approaches the findings reveal that Indian students continue to view the educational system as a basically alien structure. As a result they remain unmotivated to internalize those skills presented by the school which would aid them in improving their social and economic position.

Dean Crawford, et al., in writing about the Minnesota Chippewa (Ojiobwa) cite evidence that many Indian pupils exert little effort in studying because they believe that they probably will never have occasion to use what they learned in school (Crawford, et al., 1967:41). The irrelevance of the Anglo subject matter to their group's values and to the lives they expect to lead instills in them a sense of hopelessness with regard to the outcome of their studies. Wax also attributes Indian students' alienation to a sense of defeatism emerging from the fact that "Many Indians object strongly that they have almost no voice in the planning and operation of what their education should be, yet they are expected to give it their full and complete support" (Wax, 1967:701). In order to remedy this claim, there have recently been attempts made to allow Indians to play a greater part in the planning of their schools. It is hoped that in this way American Indian children will be more readily motivated, and more easily able, to internalize certain of the skills necessary to raise their socio-economic level. Underlying this approach can be found the implications which emerge from much of the literature dealing with alienation and social learning.

Basic to the research concerning alienation is the contention that the sense of being unable to control one's fate stems largely from a perception of 1) limited material opportunities and 2) powerful external forces. At the same time, the literature notes that linked to the belief in chance as a solution to one's problems is a generally passive orientation. The feeling among individuals of an inability to control their destiny because they perceive external forces to be too strong or too vague to manipulate, may

"act to curtail sustained endeavor" among them (Merton, 1959).

perception of limited material opportunities and powerful external forces → alienation - sense of inability to control fate → passivity

On the other hand, the literature on social learning reveals that if an individual in a situation perceives the outcome of the situation to be contingent on his own behavior rather than on chance, not only will he be more likely to later reenact that behavior in similar situations, but this perception will also generate within him a sense of relevancy regarding his behavior. Furthermore, the sense of self-efficacy which an individual acquires as a result of being able to control the outcome of a specific situation, if reinforced in other situations, will be generalized by him to an overall perception of his fate (Rotter, 1966; Feather, 1968; Lefcourt, 1966). One can thus conclude:

individual perceives structure of situation to be contingent on own behavior rather than on chance → 1) reinforces behavior 2) establishes self-efficacy → greater belief in ability to control the environment

In this paper we will refer to an individual's "internal control" attitudes as the degree to which he expects a causal link to exist between his own behavior and the outcome of a situation. Although this sense of expectancy represents a personal, psychological attribute rather than a social phenomenon, when taken in the aggregate it constitutes the basis for an attempt to better life conditions on the group level. Thus, in their study in 1963, Gore and Rotter concluded that the differential willingness of Black students to partake actively in the Civil Rights Movement was based on their generalized expectancy that their behavior could, in fact, effect a change in the prejudice which surrounded them.

Although the assumptions inherent to the theories of alienation and social learning constitute the basis upon which present policies regarding the schooling of American Indians are being developed, no conclusive research has, as yet, been done within Indian tribes to ascertain the nature of the relationship among the variables in question. It is for this reason that I decided in the spring of 1969 to trace the socio-historical development of two Indian communities with different levels of local participation in their educational systems. I hoped thereby to obtain a comparative overview of the dynamics involved in the hypothesized interrelationship between a community's "internal control" attitudes and control over its schools.[1] The reasons underlying my decision to limit my study in this way rest on basic theoretical as well as certain pragmatic considerations. An account of these, as well as a description of the genesis of this project, can be found in Appendix I, and should be referred to for a basic understanding of the way in which interest in the main questions of this paper developed.

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[1] Local control over schools in this study will be defined as maximal involvement in decision-making. It will mean that the community has total authority over the following issues:

hiring and firing
1. director - principal
2. headmaster
3. teachers
4. teacher aids

curricular content - which subjects to be included in total program
5. type and amount of indigenous material
6. type and amount of other subject matter

budget allocation
7. control over allotment for within school materials, special equipment and other institutional facilities.

In order to study the interrelationship between varying levels of local control over education and a community's "internal control" attitudes, I spent the summer of 1969 engaged in research in two Tewa Pueblos situated in northern New Mexico - Santa Clara and San Juan.

Santa Clara and San Juan represent two of the six communities constituting the Tewa branch of the Pueblo tribe of Indians. As a result, they share a very similar history, geographic position and cultural evolution. Each however has developed a unique outlook to their role in formal education. This is represented by the fact that although both presently have Advisory School Boards to which the B.I.A. has relegated increasingly greater power, only Santa Clara has exploited this opportunity for local control to any significant degree. Moreover, during the past summer when both communities were presented by the federal government with the option of subcontracting for complete local control over their schools only Santa Clara decided to consider accepting the offer. The different reactions to the prospect of complete community control as well as to the opportunity provided by the School Board situation is indicative of the basically divergent policies to formal education found in these two communities. Because of this contrasting approach to education, the two pueblos serve as a valid laboratory for investigating the dynamics involved in the problem under consideration.

Moreover, by studying two communities of the same tribe one can readily explore which of the more micro ethnographic, economic and political characteristics of the communities have contributed to a difference in approach to local control. At the same time, it

allows one to investigate how these objective factors have directly played a part in the development of a greater or lesser sense of self-determinism between the two communities. In considering these issues I will attempt first to view the effect of the pueblos' objective characteristics on 1) general "internal control" attitudes and 2) approach toward local control over formal education as two separate issues. Only after suggesting the nature of these basic relationships will I endeavor to explain the possible directional interplay taking place between approach to local control over schools and general "internal control" attitudes.

By taking a socio-historical approach it is hoped that the interrelationship between local control over education and "internal control" attitudes among members of the communities can be viewed in light of a changing number of variables working together at different times rather than as a cumulative product of all the relevant variables working together as one combined force. It is also hoped that by focusing the study on a comparison between two Pueblo groups I will be adding to the validity of my findings for a number of reasons: 1) The Pueblo tribe represents one of the most conservative and well integrated Indian communities in America and therefore can serve as a base point in terms of the question under consideration; 2) The Pueblo reservations are the most representative of Indian tribes throughout this country in terms of size and type of economic activity; 3) "Local control" in these communities is not a "demonstration" affair (as at Rough Rock),[2]

[2]The Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navaho reservation is the foremost example of total community control over formal education by American Indians. Instituted in 1964 this school's curricular, teaching and administrative decisions and functions are presently carried out solely by the Navahos. The school's establishment however was undertaken by an Anglo and much of its program initiated by him.

but rather a forerunner of transmission of authority in the accepted Indian way - through unanimous decision and gradual implementation; 4) Legitimate comparisons can be made because of the extreme similarities between the two groups under investigation, while at the same time differences easily studied because of the opposite reactions toward local control of the two communities; 5) Possibilities for policy recommendation can be readily ascertained because of the natural contrasts provided in dealing with these two pueblos simultaneously.

METHODOLOGY

I

The method which I have adopted to study the problem under consideration allows me to view the relationship between local control over schools and "internal control" attitudes in terms of its place in the development of a culture as a whole rather than as an isolated issue. The form that the following analysis will take will not be anthropological in the classical sense however; it will not be a categorical description of all the facets making up the culture of the tribes under consideration (i.e. Kluckhohn and Leighton, The Navaho). Rather, it will be an attempt to analyze how past and present conditions within the community are related to the outgrowth or introduction of a new variable into the culture (Appendix II should be consulted for an account of the previous studies which served as a model for this type of approach).

I will first present a socio-historical account of the community and a descriptive analysis of its present educational trends. The material used to describe the two pueblos' cultural characteristics, social development and educational history will stem 1) from previously documented literature about the communities under consideration; 2) from an analysis of the themes underlying past and present pueblo art forms (songs, fables, dances, novels); 3) from interviews with informants who have been involved in instituting policy change in the communities under question, i.e. tribal leaders, professional administrators.

Subsequent chapters will present the process of individual adjustment to changed community conditions documented through

1) personal accounts and 2) observations of present behavior. Present conditions will be compared to past living patterns and analyzed in terms of changing social trends. Moreover, the totality of cultural and social activities pursued by the community will be studied in light of the attitudes expressed by those involved in its daily undertakings. The data contained in the personal accounts of community members and in the observations will provide suggestive findings regarding the relationship between the communities' characteristics and their residents' attitudes.

II

Entrance into the pueblos of San Juan and Santa Clara, and guidance in conducting my field work there during the summer of 1969, was provided to me by Dr. Alfonso Ortiz, an anthropologist and himself a member of the San Juan community. Dr. Ortiz had been commissioned by the Association on American Indian Affairs to conduct a ten week study of the degree of receptivity among San Juan residents to the issue of <u>total</u> community control over education, and I had been chosen to assist him in this undertaking. It was hoped that the research would help to reveal the extensiveness of commitment to this goal and thereby serve as an aid for assessing the conceivability that such a program could be carried out by the community.

In attempting to determine the nature of communal opinion regarding local control over education, our aim was to interview the broadest possible cross-section of inhabitants while simultaneously conducting in-depth and repeated discussions with political and educational leaders of the community. The project then was a two-fold one. On the one hand, we hoped to acquire a representative

picture of the total community's commitment to local control. On the other hand, we aimed at supplementing this information with in-depth communications with the pueblo's leaders as to how this could be achieved.

In order to facilitate the interviewing process, I lived at the edge of San Juan peublo. During the first two weeks I spent most of my time familiarizing myself with the local population and making my role as research assistant to Dr. Ortiz known in the community. I spent the remainder of the summer carrying out interviews, participating in local activities, making social calls, and helping out wherever I was needed in the pueblo.

In San Juan members of eighteen families were interviewed. (This does not include those interviews conducted with community leaders.) All interviewees were informed about the purpose of our research and the role I was playing in this undertaking. Interviews with San Juaners were carried out primarily in their homes and information regarding their attitudes toward local control over their schools was included as part of more encompassing conversations. These conversations were informal in nature and revolved around issues in the pueblo generally, their families or sometimes only about formal education. The extent of issues covered depended primarily on how well the families knew Dr. Ortiz or me personally, how much time could be devoted and/or by whom I had been recommended. Generally however informants spoke freely with me on any issue I raised as they had usually become acquainted with me through another type of situation prior to the interview. Initial communications with pueblo leaders and professional administrators were conducted by Dr. Ortiz and myself together on an informal basis - in their homes, over drinks, during meals, at

their place of work or at parties. Very often Dr. Ortiz invited these men out either 1) to have them make my acquaintance or reestablish his own with them, or 2) to familiarize them with the issues involved and thus set a basis for further discussion of the problem. Later, once we had a better picture of how things stood, I carried out more formal interviews with these informants in order to delve further into the ramifications of the issue with them. I received much data from this source as my informants took me into their trust because of my association with Dr. Ortiz. Finally, the leaders, as well as average citizens of San Juan, were seen often spontaneously and ideas and opinions were exchanged informally on these occasions. After the first two weeks in the field we realized that a marked difference in approach to local control existed in the neighboring pueblo of Santa Clara. We therefore decided to include this pueblo in our study and to investigate why contrasting attitudes toward local control existed between the two communities.

In Santa Clara field work was more limited. As in San Juan, we aimed at interviewing as many of the average residents as possible while supplementing these sessions with more intense discussions with the pueblo's leaders. Although we held extended conversations with the community's leaders, fewer homes among the remainder of the pueblo's population were visited. In addition, only few <u>impromptu</u> conversations were held with the residents of Santa Clara. Moreover, initial contact with the latter informants had not been made prior to the home calls. Nonetheless, despite the informants' previous unfamiliarity with me, the interviews in Santa Clara were superior to those in San Juan in terms of scope, length and depth.

The material collected during the interviews in San Juan and Santa Clara serves as the basis for Part II of this paper- "Education in Two Tewa Communities". Although this information was compiled for use by the Association on American Indian Affairs, I received permission to include the findings in my own personal analysis.

While all the data concerning the issue of local control over education was obtained as a result of my affiliation with Dr. Ortiz, the investigation of "internal control" attitudes among the residents of San Juan and Santa Clara was carried out as an independent project. Although during many of the interviews the two projects overlapped, this did not deter from the opportunity to obtain information in both areas. On the contrary, my role as a research assistant to Dr. Ortiz provided me with the entrance necessary to establish more intimate relationships with the residents of San Juan and Santa Clara and to question them on issues other than education.

Information concerning the way in which pueblo residents evaluated their potential to achieve desired ends (i.e. "internal control" attitudes) was gathered through 1) personal accounts and 2) observations of present behavior. Personal accounts were obtained in three ways: 1) as a by-product of the relatively formal interviews conducted to determine reactions to community control over education; 2) through informal interviews or spontaneous conversation; and 3) from situations in which community members were engaged in conversation with one another or with me as a fellow member of the pueblo rather than as an investigator.

During those formal interviews in which I felt that it would not interfere with the rapport that I had established with my informant, I took notes and was thus able to retain the exact wording of the respondent's testimony. In most instances however I neither took notes nor used a tape to record the content of the meeting. Instead, I wrote down the interviews from memory as soon after their occurrence as I could. In so doing I attempted to preserve as much of the wording of my informants as possible. Where I was unable to recapture the exact wording used during the meeting I believe that I at least retained the sense and mood of the informants' remarks.

In order to examine all the relevant forces that have contributed to the development of, or change in, an individual's "internal control" attitudes, a complete picture must be attained of his past as well as present orientation. During all of the above-mentioned situations, I tried whenever opportune to gear the conversation as naturally and spontaneously as possible around such issues as how tribal members perceive of themselves as Indians, to what degree they view government legislation as a limitation to their development, and to what extent they feel that they themselves can bring about change in their personal and tribal life. Moreover, in the attempt to mitigate against the omission of important facts due to informants' failure to remember, inarticulateness, or unfamiliarity with self-analysis, the following questions which were considered crucial to this investigation were often included in

the conversation:

1) Compare your present economic condition with conditions you remember living under as a child. Are they better or worse - why?
2) How have things changed concerning your ability to control the outcome of your harvest? Why?
3) How have your own efforts contributed to your present situation? What other factors do you believe contributed to your present situation? Have you always believed that these factors were important ones in your life?
4) Describe the things in your life that you think have affected you most. Why? Have they changed the way you think? How?
5) What do you think one has to do to be a success in your community? Have you always thought success to mean what you now described?[3]

In addition, when conversing with subjects, an attempt was made to have them compartmentalize their "internal control" attitudes into expectations about themselves, their social situations and nature. Wherever the situation allowed, informants were also requested to differentiate their personal points of view from the beliefs prevailing in their social group. Furthermore, for all the responses to questions or self-initiated remarks, individuals were either asked why they gave certain answers or were requested to give examples of what they meant. A reality measure (how do you plan to do it - where do you go for resources to accomplish it) and a defense measure were included, the latter so as to mitigate against confusing low "internal control" attitudes with defensiveness because of past failure.

[3]All of these questions, or parts of them, were used by F. Kluckhohn in Variations in Value Orientations, 1966, among members of social groups considered to be not as articulate or introspective as individuals from Anglo middle-class surroundings.

In order for such a case-history method to prove successful, the interviewer must be aware of the bias that results not only from his presence but also from the particular orientation that he might introduce into the questions he poses (Bavelas, 1942; Kerlinger, 1965; Rosenthal, 1966). It is for this reason that a great deal of weight was placed on observing the behavior of individuals engaged in daily activities and the type of roles assumed by them in these activities.

Observations were made under two circumstances: 1) When I was permitted to be present at particular tribal activities, i.e. religious dances, trading transactions, ceremonial occasions in the home (in each situation, Dr. Ortiz later explained the behavior to me in terms of its cultural development and religious implications); 2) When I participated in local activities as a fellow community member (i.e. canning peaches for the winter with the women, making rings with the children, doing clerical work for the members of the local Arts and Crafts Guild). In these circumstances, patterns of governance, manipulation of economic and environmental conditions, and emotional and practical reactions to proposals for changed conditions were observed. By acquiring data in this way rather than merely by eliciting responses which can be colored by the form and situation in which the questions are asked, I hoped to obtain an objective view of the possibilities that the people of San Juan and Santa Clara see for being able to manipulate their social, political and economic environment on a personal and group basis.

This work will not present a definitive testing of hypotheses but rather will provide an initial investigation into the dynamics involved in the problem under consideration. Because this study is merely exploratory, it cannot produce conclusive "evidence" that a significant alteration in "internal control" attitudes has taken place. However, it can suggest, on the basis of actual testimonies as well as from descriptions of the present life style, that such a change has occurred. If remarks made in a significant number of personal accounts reveal that individuals presently believe more strongly in their ability to manipulate their personal and social situations than they did previously, this will imply that a change in "internal control" attitudes has resulted. Moreover, if significant differences in "internal control" attitudes exist between San Juan and Santa Clara this will indicate that a community's unique objective characteristics probably play a role in defining this orientation.

PART I

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

CHAPTER 1

THE PUEBLO INDIANS

A. THE NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS

1. Present Conditions

In 1939, the Advisory Committee on Education reported that the North American Indians were divided into 220 different tribes speaking more than 55 distinct languages. (Appendix III presents a comparable classification made by Bass and Burger in 1967). The Committee, noting that the diversity found in language prevailed in practically all aspects of Indian life, divided the Indian population into five general groups reflective of their overall variation: 1) Indians in Oklahoma, 28% of all in U.S. - Cherokees, Choctaws and Seminoles; 2) Indians of the Southwest, particularly New Mexico and Arizona - the Pueblos, the Hopis, Zunis, Papagos and Navahos, the latter constituting the largest homogenous body of Indians in the U.S.; 3) Indians of the North Central Region, the most numerous groups being the Chippewas and the Sioux; 4) Indians in the Northwest; and 5) Indians of California and Nevada (Eggan, 1966).

Of the 500,000 or more Indians now in the United States some 60% are still on reservations (Eggan, 1966, p. 165). In these communities, their existence today reflects, for the most part, the voluntary decision of their members to maintain traditional group life. Although the Indians have undergone a process of increasing involvement in our market economy, the rate of change in their social organization has been startling

slow. Moreover, adherence to the traditional norms of their religion has remained consistently high.

However, the economic position of the Indians is less favorable than that of any other American minority group, with the result that some of the nation's worst slums are to be found on their reservations. The unemployment rate among the Indian population is 38% - ten times that of the country as a whole, and 75% of all Indian families live on less than $3000 a year. In addition, there is a high incidence of disease and infant mortality (twice as high as in the rest of the nation), and suicides among Indian teen-agers are 3½ times the national rate (Tunley, 1969).

Furthermore, "the majority of Indian students today are either above the general age level for their respective classes or are below academic norms"(Brophy and Aberle, 1966, p. 138). This is reflected in the fact that the average level of education within this group is below the eighth grade and the dropout rate the highest in the country (Tunley, 1969). More specifically, Thompson reports that in 1952 the out-of-school Indian school-age population in some of the larger Indian areas equaled the in-school population (Thompson, 1957, p. 97). Zintz writes that among the Navahos over 25 years of age, the average formal education acquired is only through the second grade (Zintz, 1967, p. 92). Likewise, the Report to the Senate Appropriations Committee in 1965 states that "according to standardized test scores, the educational development of Navaho high school students is low by comparison with high school students in the country as

a whole regardless of kind of school Navaho students attend" (p. 16). Extending this analysis to Indian children in all groups, it is officially expected that an Indian child entering the academic environment will normally be retarded in grade (Wax, Wax and Dumont, 1964). This has been confirmed by the Annual Reports of the Division of Indian Education which show an increasing percentage of children retarded one to three years, as far as age-grade placement is concerned. Moreover, the achievement lag in verbal score is exceedingly high for Indian students and increases as they progress in grade (Smith, 1968a).

This paper will deal only with the Pueblo communities of New Mexico. Although the characteristics of the particular tribe under study are not assumed to be representative of those of the many Indian groups in the United States, I feel that its present social problems are typical of the problems faced by other Indian communities in this country.

B. THE INDIAN POPULATION OF NEW MEXICO

1. Three Types - Good Indication of National Trends

Although the Indians comprise only 6% of the population of New Mexico, they nonetheless constitute an important part of the state's population, as well as representing very well the social situation of Indians in other states throughout North America. On the one hand, since of all groups in the state they rank lowest in years of education and in health and highest in percentage of unemployment, they present a formidable problem. On the other hand, since the Indians possess some of New Mexico's

most important physical resources they are potentially one of the state's most productive groups and greatest assets.

Today New Mexico Indians number 68,215, the groups being distributed as follows:

NAME	TOTAL POPULATION
Mescalero Apache	1,463
Jicarilla Apache	1,548
New Mexico Navaho	39,206
All Pueblo	25,998
TOTAL	68,215

(Smith, 1968b)

The significant characteristic of the Indian population is that it is the fastest growing and by far the youngest segment of New Mexico's population. This is important as it reflects the general tendency of this group in other states throughout our country (one half of the entire Indian population in America is under 17 years) and therefore points to the need for adequate and relevant education for this population.

2. Why Pueblos Were Chosen in Particular

More even than the Mescalero or Jicarilla Apache or the Navaho, the Pueblos suffer from poor social conditions enumerated above. Although in terms of size and economic activity they are similar to other tribes in the United States, both figures and estimates reveal that their unemployment rate is higher, often reaching 89% of the population (Smith, 1968b, p. 88). In addition, the age distribution within these communities reflects a marked clustering at the upper and lower ends. Because of this, few role models of young adults are present in the pueblos, and the youth are often left to their

own devices. Deprived of economic resources, recreational facilities and adequate stimulation, they often turn to alcohol and acts of delinquency.

In these communities then the problem of how to motivate the youth to remain in school and use their education as a means to improve their social and economic situation takes on particular importance.

C. THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA - HISTORY

1. Prehistoric Roots

The Pueblo Indians of North America stem from two great cultural traditions - the Mogollon and the Anasazi. Both of these prehistoric traditions find their roots in a more encompassing tradition called the Desert Culture which dates back to more than 10,000 years in the past.

Dozier, in a recent manuscript (1969) deals extensively with the history of the Pueblo Indians. In describing their origins, he reports that the Pueblos' ancestors were hunters and gatherers. From two to three thousand years before Christ, they had, however, added domesticated corn to their diet, and by approximately A.D. 500 they were living in sedentary villages in an economy based primarily on maize, beans and squash. Pueblo culture attained its widest distribution during the fourteenth century when it covered vast portions of the Southwestern United States. In the process of spreading widely during the height of its development, it enveloped other traditions from the surrounding regions. Then abruptly toward the end of the fourteenth century, and the beginning of the fifteenth century,

there was widespread abandonments of former flourishing Pueblo towns and villages (Dozier, 1969). The literature provides no clear explanations for these abondonments although the following hypotheses have been proposed to account for them: nomadic enemy raids, inter-tribal warfare, intra-tribal social dissensions, severe drought conditions accompanied by deep arroyo cutting making flood farming and irrigation practices difficult or impossible.

Dozier reports that by the end of the fourteenth century the remaining Pueblos were living in sites in which they were encountered by the first Spanish expeditions in the sixteenth century. The Pueblo villages toward the west from the Rio Grande Valley were existing largely by flood-farming techniques while those along the Rio Grande River had built either canals or diverting ditches to make irrigated farming possible.

2. Definition of the Term PUEBLO

The name Pueblo was applied by the Spaniards during the sixteenth century. They used the term to describe those long-time sedentary Indians who lived in compact villages and carried on a predominantly agricultural subsistence economy. Although the original Mogollon and Anasazi sites had long been abandoned when the Spaniards entered the Southwest, some of the villages inhabited by the Pueblos were of considerable antiquity. Continuities of both the Anasazi and Mogollon cultural traditions have thus remained evident in the modern pueblos and can be found in their architecture, pottery and religious organization.

The present-day Pueblos are not linguistically uniform.

Roughly from West to East, the languages of the Pueblos are as follows: Hopi, Zuni, Keres (Keresan), Tiwa, Jemez (Towa), Tewa. While the main difference between these groups is linguistic, basic variations in political, social and ceremonial organization are also evident.

3. Modern History

Dozier (1969) reports that the first major expedition into the Pueblo area of settlement was that of Fransisco Vasquez de Coronado. The Pueblos had to provide most of the provisions to support his party and when they objected to the drain on their food sources, one of Coronado's lieutenants executed several hundred Tiwa Indians. The reputation of the Spaniards as ruthless and brutal rulers was thus established.

Other exploring expeditions came toward the end of the century and in 1598 Juan de Onate established the first permanent colony. As Spanish subjects during this period the Pueblos suffered abuse and were exploited. Spanish authorities, both, civil and church, attempted to destroy native ceremonial practices and replace them with Spanish-Catholic beliefs and customs. In order to supplant native religious patterns, missionaries baptized Indians, forced attendance at Mass and made instruction in Catholic doctrine compulsory (Dozier, 1969).

In 1680 the Pueblos, under the leadership of the San Juan Tewa Indian, Popé, carried out a revolt against Spanish rule. Successful in the undertaking, the Indians made the colonists leave and thereafter destroyed all the missions that had been established in the pueblos. But in 1693 Don Diego de Vargas

quickly resettled the areas formerly occupied by Spanish and Mexican colonists and again brought the Pueblos under submission (Dozier, 1969).

After the Pueblo revolt, Spanish-Catholic policy changed. Coercive and repressive measures of the previous century were either dropped or relaxed. At the same time, the Pueblos compromised by outwardly adhering to the Spanish imposed cultural system. Only behind closed doors did they continue to practice their own religion and customs. Moreover, as Spanish attention increasingly began to turn to other political matters, the Pueblos finally were able to return openly to their own economic pursuits and native traditions.

The coming of the Anglo-Americans brought a return to earlier conditions. American missionaries and United States Indian Service officials were openly critical of the "obscene" and "immoral" practices of the Indians and they took steps to stop them. Indian children were forcibly taken and enrolled in boarding schools. Indian Service officials were instructed to stop ceremonial practices which were judged to be contrary to accepted Christian standards. These acts forced the Pueblos to reentrench their native ceremonial system and they became again resentful and reticent (Dozier, 1969).

During the second and third decades of the present century, Indians and their Anglo friends rose to resist these practices by persuasion and use of legal methods. Since the 1920's a more humane policy has been adopted by the United States government toward the Indians. However, the Pueblos still remain wary,

suspicious and secretive. They fear that knowledge of their sacred religious practices by outsiders may once again bring about religious persecutions and suppression. In order to prevent this, the Pueblos have worked out a surveillance system whereby they watch their own people to make certain that noone reveals any information about the ongoing religious system. As a result, Pueblo society, particularly that of the Rio Grande Pueblos, is highly structured and communal life constantly emphasized.

Moreover, Pueblo society is still based on traditional institutions which have been modified but not displaced. Within present pueblo government the Tribal Council remains the body responsible for maintaining law and order on pueblo land, for handling tribal funds, for establishing local ordinances regulating land holdings, for setting procedures for membership and for leasing pueblo land with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

The number of Indians <u>permanently</u> disaffected from individual pueblos is small, as evidenced by a steadily returning Pueblo population. Pueblo culture is strong and enduring and Pueblo Indians value the rewards of community living.

D. <u>THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA - TYPES</u>

Pueblo Indians value village socio-political autonomy and respect the autonomy of other villages. There is not much interaction between the Pueblos and a marked difference in orientation and approach to religion and ceremony exists between the Eastern and Western Pueblo Indians. Although Pueblo society revolves

around five basic concerns, i.e. 1) weather, 2) illness, 3) warfare, 4) control of fauna and flora, and 5) village harmony, the Western Pueblos attempt to cope with these concerns by magical practices, the Eastern Pueblos by more practical means.

1. The Three Branches of Tanoan Pueblos - Tiwa, Towa and Tewa

In this paper we shall be concerned with life only in the Tanoan branch of the Eastern pueblos. The Tanoan Pueblos consist of the Tiwa, Towa and Tewa groups. The Tiwa branch of the Tanoan Pueblos is made up of four communities - Taos and Picuris, the most northern of all the pueblos; and Sandia and Isleta, the most southern of all the pueblos. The Towa branch is represented by only one community - Jemez. Finally, the Tewa branch, with which this paper will deal is comprised of six communities- Nambé, Tesuque, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara and San Juan.

In general, three types of studies constitute the literature on pueblo culture: historical accounts, ethnographies and analyses of religious life. The relatively limited amount of research which has been done on social structure typically deals with methods of socialization (i.e. Goldfrank, 1945) and descriptions of institutional functioning are usually treated only as an extension of socialization patterns. In addition, most of the literature on pueblo culture concentrates on life in the Western pueblos, primarily the Hopi and Zuni communities. The reason for this is that the Hopi and Zuni possess the richest ceremonial system and their very intricate religious structure

has thus elicited extensive investigation.

Although separate studies have been made of the individual Eastern pueblos, there exists only one generalized work which delves into the major differences and similarities among the Pueblo communities. Entitled The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico: Ethnic Persistence, this is a recent manuscript in which Professor Dozier (himself from Santa Clara) compares the major characteristics and processes of development among Rio Grande pueblos. As such, it served as the basis for the sections of this paper which dealt with the common historical and cultural patterns of the Tewa pueblos. These sections were also supplemented with information received from a monograph entitled Indians in New Mexico. Written by Anne Smith in 1968, this monograph provides the reader with a summary of the present economic, political and educational conditions in all the pueblo communities of New Mexico.

The most significant full-length studies of San Juan analyze the principles underlying this community's religious system (i.e. Laski, Seeking Life; Ortiz, The Tewa World, 1969). I therefore had to rely primarily on articles and unpublished reports for material about the pueblo's social and political structure. The most helpful source for the section on San Juan's history and educational development was Ortiz's Headstart in a Tewa Community, written in 1965 for O.E.O. This report not only provided basic historical data but also presented an account of the community's attitudes to education generally and thereby served as a basis for understanding the views on education expressed

by San Juaners in my interviews with them during the summer of 1969. A recent (1968) manuscript by Richard Ford entitled An Ecological Analysis Involving the Population of San Juan Pueblo also provided a considerable amount of information on San Juan. Although concerned with the ecological conditions of San Juan, Ford, in studying this problem, questioned many San Juaners about the possibilities they saw (in 1968) for manipulating their agricultural situation. Informants were asked to describe how they perceived the environmental forces around them and the methods that they used to harness their natural resources. The material that he collected provided some relevant insights into many of the issues raised in this paper. Finally, much of the background data about San Juan and Santa Clara's position in the labor market was acquired from a report that Professor Ortiz wrote in 1963 entitled "Tewa Commuters: A Study in Industrial Effects." In it, Ortiz describes the influence that working in the nearby atomic research center of Los Alomos has had on the personal and communal lives of residents from the Tewa pueblos.

Very little has been written about Santa Clara specifically and therefore for most of the data about this community's present conditions I had to rely on studies in which Santa Clara is treated as only one example of the total picture, i.e. Dozier, 1969; Smith, 1968; Ortiz, 1963. Only one article (Dozier, "Factionalism at Santa Clara Pueblo," 1966) was found which deals exclusively with this pueblo and was drawn upon heavily for information about the community's history and political development. Because I was unable to acquire any documented

material on the educational development of Santa Clara, the information for this section had to be compiled solely from informants' testimonies.

E. THE TEWA PUEBLOS

1. How Different From Other Tanoan Pueblos

The basic social and economic unit among all Tanoan Pueblos before the advent of recent economic changes was the bilateral extended family. At present, Tanoan Pueblos continue to classify kin bilaterally on a principle of generation, emphasizing age and generally ignoring sex distinctions. There is no evidence of a former lineage or clan system in the kinship terms or in the network of social relationships among the kin group. Functions pertaining to government, land ownership, religion and ceremonies are vested in associations whose membership is drawn from the village without regard to kinship relations.

Age is important in discipline and training. Serious cases of discipline as well as family troubles of an extreme kind, are handled at the village level by the community's elders who hold the positions of authority.

The important unity of social organization among Tanoans generally is the "moiety". Within Tanoan society, the term "moiety" refers to one of two socially equal and complementary tribal subdivisions. The groups tend to be exogamous and usually serve as government divisions both for the management and conduct of practical tasks and for ceremonial activities. In addition, to moieties, Tanoans have three specialized types of social and

ceremonial associations: 1) those with government and religious functions associated with the dual divisions, 2) medicine associations which conduct curing and exorcising rituals, 3) associations with special functions such as war, clowning and hunting.

The Tewa is distinct from all the other Tanoan Pueblos in that the moiety is all-inclusive. In other words, membership in it provides the individual with a set of definitions for all his religious, political and economic activity. A Tewa inherits his moiety affiliation from his father, but membership may be changed later. Tewa men and women undergo an initiation to validate moiety membership. Initiation ceremonies occur about every four years and the ages of the initiates vary from six to ten.

2. Basic Cultural Characteristics of All Tewa Pueblos

Dozier (1969) explains that the dual chieftanship unique to the Tewa is the result of the moiety organization. Each of the Tewa moiety chiefs is a member of the moiety socio-political association. The Winter moiety association directs governmental and ceremonial affairs from the fall to the spring equinox, while the Summer moiety is in charge for the remaining year. All members of the village, whether they are members of the society in power or not, are required to obey and conform to the governmental and ceremonial orders of the moiety chief in office at any given time.

Membership in the dual-division associations is lifelong. There is a distinction between association people and non-association people in all the Tewa pueblos, the distinction

being conceptually defined as those who are "aware" and "know" and those who do not. Adults who do not belong to a ceremonial association are considered like children. Recruitment into a moiety is achieved by being dedicated to a ceremonial association (Dozier, 1969; Ortiz, 1969).

3. Tewa Pattern of Government - Strict Adherence to Spiritual Tenets

We noted that the governing of the Tewa pueblos rests in the hands of the elder traditional, religious leaders. Although early in the seventeenth century Pueblo citizens were assigned positions in the Spanish governmental structure, in actuality these civil officials functioned really only as executive officers of the native priests, carrying out publicly the orders of the latter. The Spanish imposed government system thus became a useful tool to mask the activities of the native priests and serve their interests rather than those of the outside administrators.

The governor of the pueblo is selected for a one-year term by the moiety headmen. Each year one moiety head has first choice starting with the governor; the next year the other moiety head selects first. The governor is presented with religious and secular symbols of office, the former being a saint which is prayed to for guidance; the latter, two canes, one having been given by the king of Spain, and the other by Lincoln as a mark of Indian authority. The governor deals directly with outsiders, and represents his pueblo on the All-Pueblo Council of the United Pueblos Agency. He arranges with non-Indians for cleaning ditches, leasing land or for other cooperative activities. Within the

village he cares for communal property, coordinates communal activities and punishes persons who violate governmental and ceremonial orders. However, the decision-making authority of the governor is limited by a Council and by precedent.

The Council is composed of all religious headmen, current officers and former governors. The governor arranges to have new or unusual problems presented to the Council. They, in turn, discuss the issue until a unanimous decision is reached as to whether it is acceptable. They then instruct the governor as to further procedures. While the secular officers are chosen on the basis of their ability to understand and communicate with non-Indians, the members of the Council are selected for their knowledge of, and commitment to, Pueblo traditions.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT OF SAN JUAN and SANTA CLARA

A. SAN JUAN

1. General Description and History

We mentioned in the previous section that the Tewa branch of the Eastern pueblos is made up of six different communities. This report will concern itself with the social change taking place in two of these communities - San Juan and Santa Clara. We will commence by describing the particular historical trends unique to San Juan.

Ortiz (1965) reports that the pueblo of San Juan occupied a significant place in early southwestern history. Because of its location near the head of the fertile Espanola Valley, it was visited by every major Spanish expedition sent up from Mexico during the sixteenth century beginning with a party of Coronado's men in 1541. In 1598, Don Juan de Onate established a colony on the west bank of the Rio Grande, directly across the river from present-day San Juan. At this time the Indians were living on both sides of the Rio Grande, but with Onate's arrival those on the west side of the river joined the people in the area they occupy today. Onate named the community San Juan de los Caballeros, "San Juan of the Gentlemen," for the Indians' alleged generosity in giving up their habitations and sharing their resources with the Spaniards.

Like the other pueblos, the inhabitants of San Juan were subjected to forced labor under the Spaniards. In 1680, when

the situation had apparently grown intolerable, San Juan joined the other pueblos in the revolt against the Spaniards. Their independence was to be short-lived however for the Spaniards returned in 1692 (Ortiz, 1965).

With the restoration of Spanish military rule over the area, Spanish settlers returned in large numbers to settle, and since the early eighteenth century San Juan has been bordered on three sides by Spanish-speaking settlements. Twitchell reports that seventeen families were living in one of these settlements, Chamita, by 1744 (as cited in Ortiz, 1965). In time, there were four such communities within two miles of San Juan. Because of the pueblo's location it became the Catholic parish center and a priest has resided in the community almost continuously since 1726 (Ortiz, 1965:2). Moreover, since it is the largest of the five communities in the area, San Juan has long been a trade center; a general store has been in operation since 1863 and there was a railroad depot there until 1939. The post office for four of the communities is still located in San Juan.

2. Considered "Mother Village" of Tewa Pueblos

In spite of the existence of conditions apparently conducive to change and assimilation, San Juan has remained distinctly Indian. Throughout its history, as well as in present times, San Juan has been regarded by the other Tewa communities as the "mother village" in ritual and political matters. Ortiz, in a recent study of Tewa culture (1969) feels justified in describing only San Juan for purposes of representing the totality of

traditional Tewa cultural patterns.

The relationship of each inhabitant of San Juan to another depends on the individual's particular classification within one of the categories derived from the Tewa Myth of Origin. The Myth of Origin believed in by San Juaners not only represents their explanation for 1) their position vis à vis one another and 2) their affiliation to either the Winter or Summer moieties, but also defines 3) the way in which they relate to the spiritual and natural worlds. From the Myth of Origin derive three hierarchical levels of existence which the people of San Juan recognize and in which they consider all human and spiritual life to fall. Ortiz (1969) describes these levels as follows: The "Dry Food People" or "Weed People" constitute the lowest level; the Towa e the middle, and the Pa Towa, translated as the "Made People" or the "Completed People," the highest level. The Dry Food People comprise the common Tewa who have not been initiated into a moiety. The Towa e of the second level are annually chosen from the married male Dry Food People. They protect the San Juan territory from human and supernatural intruders, guard "Made People" while they are performing private ceremonies, and conduct public ceremonies. The highest level, the Pa Towa, consists of adults who are members of the eight ritual associations. Not every adult becomes a "Made Person" but all are eligible. Members are recruited by trespass, by finding sacred objects symbolic of a particular association, or through dedication, either of oneself or by relations during infancy.[4]

[4]Ortiz (1969) describes the process of recruitment as follows: "Dedication is the most common method of recruitment. It is also the most effective because it rests either upon

San Juan derives its reputation for being the "mother village" not only because its members see all people and natural phenomena as falling into certain religious classifications provided by the Myth of Origin but also because more of life in this Tewa community is defined by these spiritual distinctions than in the other Tewa villages. In a later section of this paper reasons explaining why San Juan has retained its traditional structure will be provided. At this point, I would like merely to indicate the way in which life cycle rituals in San Juan reflect not only basic secular living patterns but also represent spiritual concepts derived from the Myth of Origin.

Much of the literature dealing with life in San Juan provides a detailed description of the community's ceremonial cycle (Ortiz, Ford, Parsons). From it one learns that already during the act of childbirth certain processes are carried out which represent religious considerations. The two midwives, for instance, who stay with the mother from the onset of labor until four days after the birth, symbolize the two mythological mothers of San Juan, White Corn Maiden and Blue Corn Maiden. On the fourth day of an infant's life they conduct the naming ceremony during which time the child receives a ceremonial bowl and sacred objects, which are his throughout life. At the

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individual choice or a long process of preparation. By trespass is meant simply that a child or adult inadvertantly comes upon a particular society that is in retreat and witnesses sacred objects and activities, and hears ritual speech which "belongs" to that society. Since no Dry Food Person may have this knowledge, he must join the society upon whose activities he has intruded."

conclusion of the ceremony two ears of corn, one blue (Summer Moiety) and one white (Winter Moiety) are placed with the child. These remain with him for twelve days and are planted the following spring. Thus, the child is brought into the community.

The next rite in the growing child's life is referred to as "Water Giving." This is an infant initiation ritual which formally brings the child into his or his father's moiety. The ceremony is conducted by the moiety head and his lay assistants who give each child entering either moiety a new name. Then when the child is between six and nine years old, he participates in a kiva ritual called "water pouring." This is a complex ceremony requiring twelve days to prepare and two days to complete. Impersonators of the moiety gods arrive on the next to the last night and carry out a masked dance which both moieties witness. After this ceremony the child is a Dry Food Person; he has recognized, sex-specific duties and has completed the second step toward becoming a moiety member.

The literature reports that the moiety initiation is completed when the child is between ten and fifteen years old; however, a minimum of twenty children is required to warrant a ceremony. This time the girls are taken to the moiety's inner chamber adjacent to the rectangular kiva for their first and last time. Here they see the masked dancers and learn where the men go at night. Girls, as well as boys, are struck with a yucca whip by a masked god, but only the boys witness the removal of the masks and learn that the spirits are actually impersonated by members of the village. Henceforth, boys are

welcome into the moiety room and are eligible to be selected as masked impersonators.

A San Juan marriage is consecrated by two ceremonies, one native and one Catholic. Moiety exogamy is not practiced. Both parties to a marriage must be "finished" as full moiety members. The marriage preparations are arranged by a go-between who is usually a boy's ceremonial sponsor. After marriage men are eligible for service as Towa e and males and females can go through the "finishing" rite to become Pa Towa. One year before this latter ceremony the initiate begins to assemble food for a village feast and works closely with his elders learning the necessary esoteric knowledge. The ceremony begins with a retreat by the society, then a performance by the candidate to publicly demonstrate his competence, and finally a moiety sponsored performance to which masked-gods may come (Ford, 1968:55).

At death another two-fold ceremony is performed. On the evening after a person's death a wake is held. The next day a church mass is performed and burial takes place in the Catholic cemetery. The burial is replete with the clothes and personal property of the individual, including the ceremonial bowl and ritual objects presented to him in the Indian naming ceremony. After the priest conducts the grave-side prayer, the Indians have a native prayer and complete the burial. On the fourth day after death, the bilateral relations of the individual assemble and go to the shrine nearest the deceased's house where they feed the spirit of the deceased.

3. Maintenance of Traditional Patterns of Governance

The governmental roles of San Juan reflect the supernatural designations into which this society divides the natural world and represent an extension of the life-cycle process just described. Ortiz (1969) reports that all government officials must have progressed through the necessary ceremonies which allow them to become members of a certain spiritual category. The Governor and his assistants are then sworn in in the name of God, the saints and his three kings, the Towa e in the name of the spiritual Towa e.,

Thus, throughout the history of San Juan those chosen for such governmental roles were required to exhibit a firm commitment to, and knowledge of, native ritual before being allowed to assume their positions. This was to assure that no-one interfered with, or undermined in any way, the religious activities of the community (Dozier, 1969; Ford, 1968). At the same time, the "Made People," as leaders of the religious ceremonies, were functionally differentiated as specialists in all major activities of human existence, and they controlled all these activities (Ortiz, 1969). For any significant undertaking, the blessings of the Pa Towa were required in order to insure success. As a result, the religious leaders apparently could maintain an authoritarian influence over the population of San Juan, and have thereby been able to retain this community's conservative quality throughout its development.

The political system of San Juan has been able to retain itself through time not only because it has maintained an

authoritarian hold over this pueblo's populace, but also because an egalitarian policy permeates its structure, thereby satisfying the power demands of each faction in the community (Ortiz, 1969). Each moiety is represented equally in every office over a two year period and this serves to placate the political demands and aspirations of all sides of the population. Moreover, each officer's powers are limited by numerous checks and balances by the Council and tradition.

B. SANTA CLARA

1. General Description and History

As among the other pueblos, the Spanish assumed control over Santa Clara's government early in the seventeenth century. Santa Clarans were expected to cooperate with the Spanish civil and church officials, yet unknown to the Spaniards they filled the governmental positions with Indians chosen by the native priests and owing primary allegiance to native customs. Dozier (1966) reports that, unlike the other pueblos at this time, the rule of the native priests was much more rigid in Santa Clara than in the other communities. Dozier attributes the greater stress on conformity to traditional values by pueblo officials to the fact that whereas in the other pueblos coercion brought about a migration of controversial elements from the community, (thereby minimizing the rigidity of the religious leaders because they were not as threatened by internal dissent), in Santa Clara dissident groups were often compelled to remain in the pueblo (because, unlike the other pueblos, there was no free land in

which to expand). As a result, those individuals wanting to undermine the authoritarian nature of the community had to do so by changing conditions in the pueblo rather than by fleeing from them. Faced therefore with the constant possibility that factional disputes might erupt, pueblo officials tried to counteract this threat by enforcing more rigid rules of participation in religious affairs than in the other pueblos. However, though designed to curtail the growth of deviant behavior, this reaction served only to further encourage the rise of dissident groups. Dozier (1966) cites Aitken's report (1930) in which the latter notes that as early as 1744 a Santa Clara Indian called Rogue Canuege resented the "continual public works" and petitioned the Spanish government for a Spanish grant of land, for which he surrendered the use of the fields nearer the village. The petition was granted upon the production of a certificate that Canuebe was instructed in the Christian religion. In 1815 the governors and councilors of Santa Clara Pueblo brought suit before the Commandant-General at Durango to dispossess Rogue Canuebe's grandchildren of their grant. As a result of this act, Canuebe's family finally felt impelled to leave the pueblo in protest against forced participation in the ceremonial and communal life of the village (Dozier, 1966:175).

During most of the nineteenth century, there persisted in Santa Clara a number of families who opposed the dictates of the pueblo's authorities. They formed a core within the more "progressively" oriented Winter Moiety. Aitken (1930:385) has

the following to say about this faction in 1913:

> Through the nineteenth century there persisted a faction on the Winter Side which made a claim for liberty to dance or not to dance; criticism of the customs by the standard of Catholic morality... This faction made protest that unanimity is not the be-all and end-all of religion; that even 'what all the people do, what the ancestors have come along doing until now,' is not beyond criticism.
> (As cited in Dozier, 1966)

The objections of the dissident group in Santa Clara were compiled by Dozier (1966:176) from descriptions received from the very old who still remember the troubles of the pueblo in their youth. These informants tell us that the members of the dissident group not only advocated the separation of religious from secular activities, but in particular objected to the right of pueblo officials to designate the date on which everyone should plant and harvest. In addition, work on irrigation canals, they maintained, should be compulsory only for families owning lands irrigated by such a canal, and participation in ceremony should be voluntary rather than imposed by the pueblo.

Dozier (1966:177) reports that toward the end of the nineteenth century the dissident faction in the Winter Moiety had grown to such a number that the objections enumerated above characterized almost all members of the moiety. In 1894, the canes of authority for the principal secular officers came into possession of the "conservatives" whose membership embraced practically the entire Summer Moiety and a handful of the Winter Moiety members. With the authority of the village in their hands and with the support of a numeral majority of the

pueblo's inhabitants, the secular officials made an appeal to the Indian Agency in Santa Fe requesting that they be recognized as the de facto governing body of the pueblo. The minority faction held steadfast however. Aitken's assessment of the situation (1930:386) appears in Dozier's (1966) article as follows:

> The Winter Side (led by an extremely able man - F.N.) announced a definite schism; they could not secede and found a new village - although there was talk both of secession and expulsion - for there was no free land to go to; so they would be in the pueblo but not of it. In certain public works they would share ('without your immoral customs') but they would not attend the governor's council, or dance under the orders of the war-captains, or take part in ceremonies . . .
>
> (underlining mine)

The conservative group remained in power until 1934. As they possessed the canes of authority, they elected all the secular officials annually and tried in every conceivable way to compel the Winter faction to participate in public works and in the ceremonies. The dissident group, though smaller than the traditionalists, were large and determined enough however to mount an effective resistance. Although they did not completely abandon the basic cultural values of the pueblo, nor did they give up entirely the practice of native religion, they openly defied the rule of the group in power and on occasion fought off Pueblo authorities dispatched to punish them.

Cooperative ceremonial activity was thus rare and throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century the two factions remained for the most part distinct from one another. The

Summer Moiety, as the governing body recognized by the Indian Bureau, annually selected its secular officials from among the loyal supporters of the traditional way of life (Dozier, 1966:178).

In the early 1930's disputes again broke out in Santa Clara, aggravated by new controversies of a religious nature. The developments are reported in the field notes of Elizabeth Sargeant (1935), a special research worker for the Indian Service who was sent to the pueblo in 1935 to ascertain the possibilities of uniting the pueblo. She explains how a split evolved in both moieties - along Progressive and Conservative lines - thereby creating four factions instead of two. "It also brought about the development of an alliance between the Progressives of both Summer and Winter Parties and the Conservatives of both Moieties" (Sargeant, 1935, as cited in Dozier, 1966:181).

> . . . Because the alliance worked well in 1934 and brought some good to the pueblo, the governor's canes were not returned to the old conservative Cacique in December 1935 as is usual and 'customary' . . .
>
> It being necessary to come to some decision about a new government, Superintendent Farris (of the United States Indian Bureau in Santa Fe) after meeting with the Indians, proposed the continuation of the present more Progressive Government as the best solution in the circumstances. This was accepted by the pueblo at the time, but the breach of 'customs' involved in not appointing a new man gave the Summer and Winter Cacique groups a needed chance to claim infraction of 'custom' and to block and criticize all actions.
> (Sargeant, 1935, as cited in Dozier, 1966:181)

In sampling opinion in the village Sargeant came to the conclusion that an elective form of government under the Indian

Reorganization Act might be acceptable to the pueblo. Although the Winter Progressive faction was in favor, the Summer Progressive faction had to be won over. With the eventual decision of the merged Summer-Winter Progressive group to support the establishment of an elective form of government under the Indian Reorganization act of 1934 a step toward setting up a form of government divorced from rule by the moiety priests was achieved (Dozier, 1966:182).

A meeting of the pueblo was called at which the new form of government was explained by the Indian Service specialists and members from all four factions were selected to work with Indian Bureau lawyers and advisors to write a Constitution for the pueblo. A draft of the Constitution and By-laws was prepared in accordance with the Indian Reorganization Act and was presented to, and ratified by, the people late in 1935 (Document in Appendix IV).

2. Adherence to Modern System of Government

Due to the force of these historical events, the same adherence to the traditional structure found in San Juan has not survived in Santa Clara. The most important result of the schism described in the above section was the breakdown of community cooperation in ceremonial activities and an accompanying decrease in religious practice. The large plaza dances which required the participation of the whole village ceased to be performed. Dozier (1966:179) reports that because the Summer Moiety was in power from 1894-1935 only members from that group attempted to carry out the cooperative

ceremonies which play such an important part in pueblo life. In addition, during that period of time, the communal services supplied by the curing associations, i.e. ridding the village of witches, lapsed. Moreover, another important pueblo function, that of social control, became relegated to the extended family. The socialization and enculturation functions formerly reinforced on the village level were now restricted to the moiety or the family. Although disciplinarians continued to be appointed by the Summer Moiety, they were ineffective in regulating behavior in the village at large (Dozier, 1966:180).

As a result of the schism, not only was there a breakdown in practice, and subsequent commitment to, traditional activities, but the culmination of the process was the institutionalization of a governing structure that would be divorced from that religious influence which had bred divisiveness in the community. The approval of the Constitution and By-laws in 1935 ended more than two hundred years of religious and political conflict within the pueblo. While it did not end disputes entirely, it did bring about a complete separation of religious and secular affairs in the pueblo and it placed ceremonial participation on a voluntary basis. Subsequently, for over thirty years now the pueblo has had the opportunity of submitting four slates of secular officials annually and of electing each year one of four candidates for the positions of governor, lieutenant-governor, sheriff, interpreter, treasurer and secretary.

3. Comparison of Development in the Two Pueblos

In comparing the two communities it seems that because no

group or reason arose in San Juan to counteract the force of traditional ceremonial activity, a more conservative structure could be maintained in this pueblo. A geographic sifting-off of the divisive elements allowed for a less rigid rule among traditional leaders. Moreover, the consistently equal allocation of authority to members of both moieties provided each group a chance to exert its authority and apparently mitigated against rejection of the system by the residents of San Juan. Becoming subsequently ever-more ingrained in, and dependent upon, the dynamics and authorities of the system to define their daily existence, the inhabitants of this pueblo helped to reinforce the perpetuation of the traditional order.

In Santa Clara however a questioning of basic assumptions served to divide the community in its acceptance of the theocratic dictates. The resulting secession of one element of the community from ceremonial activities allowed other basic institutions (i.e. the family) to substitute for the roles previously played by religious officials. This, coupled with the lack of participation in ceremonial activities apparently served to minimize unabated involvement in, and firm commitment to, the traditional structure. Moreover, the subsequent need to reconcile all elements in the community on a common level resulted in the allocation of power to a neutral secular system, rather than to the religious order, thereby institutionalizing a more modern orientation into the community.

TEWA RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES *

	Payo Ōké Summer Cacique	Oyiké Winter Cacique	Ké Medicine Men	Kossa Clowns	Querana Clowns	Pinxen Mountain Lion	Tsi Ōké Scalp	Kwiyō Women
San Juan	(2) X	(1) X	(2) X	(2) X	(1) X	(1) X	O	O
Santa Clara	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	X
San Ildefonso	O	O	O	X	O	O	O	O
Nambé	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Tesuque	(3) X	(3) X	(6) X	(3) X	(3) X	O	O	(?) X

* From Ortiz, 1963

X = present and functioning
( ) = numbers in each group
O = extinct

CHAPTER 3

PRESENT CONDITIONS IN SAN JUAN AND SANTA CLARA

D. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SAN JUAN AND SANTA CLARA

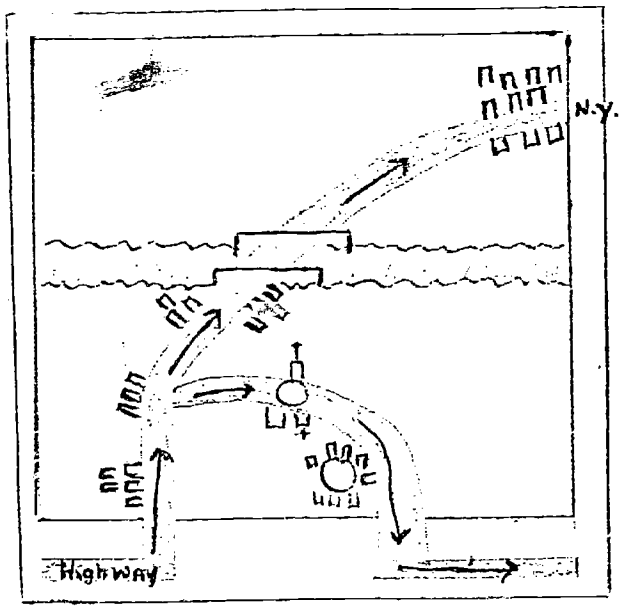
1. San Juan - Dispersal of Community and Lack of Integration between Areas

San Juan Pueblo today is the largest of the modern Tewa communities, numbering more than 1287 inhabitants (Community Demography Study - NorthernPueblos Agency, January 1, 1969). The structures of the village are constructed of adobe and are built to form two plazas (See Appendix V). The adobes, which are sun-dried, mud bricks, are made from a mixture of straw, mud and water. A home of an individual household consists of two to four rooms. However, the houses are contiguous with a common wall shared by two households. These long, rectangular, multi-family structures form the parallel sides of the plazas.

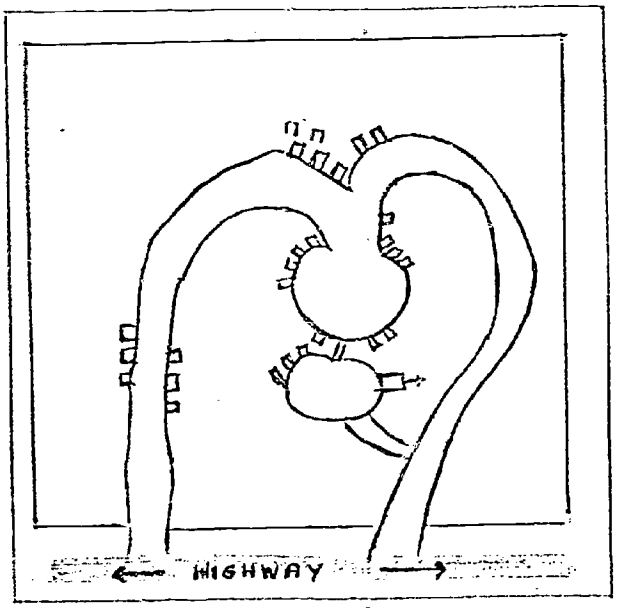
The plaza is bare, harmonious, contained and snug. One of the things one feels upon entering is its penetratingly enclosed, self-contained quality, probably produced by th houses standing so close and compactly together. On an o f- afternoon there will be some children playing in the plaza, a few mongrels taking the sun. Yet, even with the children and the dogs, the village usually seems empty.

The physical layout of San Juan differs markedly from that of Santa Clara. In contrast to its central plaza, the overall settlement pattern of San Juan has always been a loose and sprawling one, with many residents having made their homes a mile or more away from the village itself. The reasons for

this are many and were brought to my attention by leaders from the two communities as well as through discussions with anthropologists who previously had looked into the matter. In the first place, San Juan owns more habitable land than does Santa Clara in that its property is not composed of such geographic phenomena as Cliffs and Canyons as is Santa Clara's. It therefore provides a greater area for expansion of living quarters than Santa Clara and its population has subsequently had the opportunity to take advantage of this fact. Secondly, San Juan is the only Tewa pueblo which has been closely surrounded by Spanish-American villages since the seventeenth century. The desire of San Juan residents to isolate themselves from, or congregate with, the Spanish Americans (as the case may be) has resulted in a more dispersed settlement pattern than in Santa Clara. Thirdly, the position and direction of the main road and its arteries have allowed for a more extended position of buildings in San Juan. In San Juan the main highway runs through the village in two directions thereby creating possibilites for settlement along two major dimensions. In Santa Clara, the highway runs alongside the pueblo, all roads branching off from it having been built by the community itself. As a result, whereas San Juan developed in the two major areas where the road led, Santa Clara set up buildings within a limited area so that a maximal number of homes could be reached by a minimum number of roads which they themselves had to construct.



SAN JUAN ⊓⊓=houses



SANTA CLARA

Also contributing to the difference in settlement pattern between the two pueblos is the fact that San Juan is divided by the Rio Grande River. This phenomenon has served to create a natural partition between the more commercial vs. the more rural parts of the pueblo. The part separated by the Rio Grande from the main square and institutions of the village has come to be known as "New York" and it lodges a section of the population which has little contact with those living in the more commercial area of the village. Moreover, most of the summer homes of those living in the more developed area of San Juan can be found in the "New York" region thereby adding a seasonal division in the minds of pueblo residents between one part of the village and the other. Thus, the more rural area behind the river is viewed as a location where activities separate from those performed in the central village are carried out and where residents specific to that part of the pueblo, rather

than to the total community, reside.

2. Santa Clara - Compactness of Community

Because no such natural boundary is present in Santa Clara, a comparable separation of households cannot be found in this community, and a closer proximity in residence from one family to the next exists. When interviewing Santa Clarans the same sense of physical isolation felt by one element of San Juan's population to the other could not be detected in their attitude. My impression that Santa Clara reflects a more cohesive and better informed populace might therefore result from the fact that the lack of communication between the two separate groups in San Juan is not replicated in Santa Clara. This impression was confirmed by testimonies of leaders from Santa Clara who pointed out that the proximity of residence in their pueblo has aided them to more effectively mobilize community members to carry out community projects.

B. ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SAN JUAN AND SANTA CLARA - AGRICULTURE

1. San Juan

a. Decline of present agricultural situation due to adherence to ritual and religious beliefs in guiding farming techniques

Of the 13,414 acres of land presently owned by San Juan, Ortiz (1965:5) reports that only 2,000 acres of it are classed as irrigable farmland. 9,701 acres of the pueblo's remaining land are open grazing areas and 1,176 non-commercial forest land.

Of San Juan's 2,000 acres of potential farmland only small quantities have been irrigated in the past. According to figures

provided by the B.I.A. only 130 acres were farmed in 1962. At present, corn, chile and vegetables for family use, but not for sale, are the only crops produced, while a considerable number of irrigated areas are leased to Spanish-American farmers.

Upon questioning individual community members about their present agricultural situation, San Juaners informed me that at one time there were beautiful gardens in the pueblo. However, the produce from these gardens became increasingly inappropriate to supply the market economy with the goods it demanded and San Juaners felt forced to let much of their land lie idle. When asked why they did not rotate their crops or change the kind of crops they were growing so as to accommodate themselves to the needs of the market, members of the pueblo explained that this would entail a deviation from the traditional coupling of ritual and practical means of farming and that, had they deviated from the traditional system, this certainly would have undermined desired results (from interviews conducted in the summer of 1969).

I would deduce from these testimonies that one of the main causes for San Juan's decline in agricultural output is that the members of this society are still guided by rituals emanating from their religious system rather than from modern farming techniques. Preparation for planting for instance still begins only when braids of "perfect" dried corn (each kernal is full and without worms) are set aside for the next year's planting in a ceremony conducted by religious leaders. One braid of twenty ears is stored for each field exceeding

an acre (from interviews held in summer 1969). In addition, small braids are set aside in case frost destroys the first planting. In planting, four to seven kernels are placed in the ground at intervals of two short steps. When corn is shelled two days before planting, it is "cured" by religious officials in water containing Osha and spruce needles saved from the ceremonial Turtle Dance. This practice, according to San Juan informants, keeps seed-eating worms away and gives the corn strength (Ford, 1968:189).

Because the variability in San Juan's environmental situation produces different amounts of edible goods from one year to the next it is necessary to experiment with alternative methods for supplying vital nutrients. However, because the residents of the pueblo adhere so stringently to the above-mentioned system, this need cannot be met.

b. Reason 1 for adherence to traditional techniques: fear of reprisal

I would hypothesize that the primary reason that the residents of San Juan maintain the traditional farm methodology is that they are afraid to question its legitimacy. Having continued to abide by the general traditional order, individual San Juaners apparently find it difficult to isolate one area for modernization without jeopardizing their position within the total conservative political and social sphere.

Foremost among the traditional Tewa values believed in by the residents of San Juan is the conviction that it is the responsibility of all those committed to the culture to work

together not only in religious, but also secular, activities so as to keep the universe functioning smoothly (Ortiz, Ford, Dozier, Parsons). A non-conformist may therefore be subjected first to damaging gossip and harassment, but if his unbecoming behavior continues the pueblo officials take over. Because the power of the conservative officials has been maintained in San Juan the members of the community dare not violate those rules of the traditional system which apply to agricultural activities for fear of being punished as a result. The dynamics of this process can be seen in the way harvesting is carried out. According to San Juan informants, harvesting is permitted to commence only after the Summer Headman sprinkles "dew" on the corn plants and the Towa e announce it can begin. If a man harvests before the time announced, the Governor confiscates his produce and he cannot start until everyone else is finished (from interviews in 1969). Thus, the individual seems compelled to accept and abide by the system as defined for him in order to preserve his own interests.

c. Reason 2 for adherence to traditional techniques: fractionalization of land

Another factor probably accounting for the adherence to those traditional methods of farming which minimize optimal results in agriculture is the fact that the plots of land in San Juan are so scattered that residents do not consider them worth an increased investment of expenditure.

Before the turn of the century, the B.I.A. set into operation a system of land distribution known as partialled acreage which resulted in family plots too small and too

scattered to provide a source for extensive mechanized farming. Under this system, every family in San Juan owns some land, but not one family owns enough to invest in technological materials to develop it. Moreover, the reason that nobody will buy land from anybody else in order to connect his individualized plots is that this would look as if he were exploiting his neighbor. San Juaners feel that the resulting stigma would be more detrimental to them than any amount of money lost through farming dispersed areas of land (from interviews conducted in summer of 1969). On the other hand, individuals also find it meaningless to invest in developing their fractionalized acreage because others in the community tend to steal the goods produced on the plots. Informants felt that a sense of communalism had previously permeated the community and caused individuals to guard their family's and friends' land against theft and trespass. Now, however, others steal more from them than the time, energy and money invested in their p[illegible] profit them. Instead, they therefore prefer to rent [illegible] their land to Spanish-American truck farmers who pay $20-25 an acre and give free chile and other goods back in return (from interviews conducted in the summer of 1969).

d. Reason 3 for adherence to traditional techniques: Spanish-American influence

Informants explained that the close proximity of the three Spanish-American communities to San Juan also had a significant influence on the pueblo's agricultural development. First, the Hispano's demands to the same land over which the Indians claimed possession intensified the need to, and degree

to which, fractionalization of land was carried out in this community as opposed to the other pueblos. The need to appease both factions vying over the same arable land created an even more parcelled distribution in San Juan than in other pueblos where only the Indian heirship factor was at play. Secondly, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Hispanos had been able to amass enough money to invest their capital in truck farming. At the same time, the Indians were becoming more dependent on wage earning positions. Consequently, they allowed themselves to be hired as farm hands by the Spanish-Americans who subsequently exploited them.[5]

One of the most tangible changes brought about by Spanish employment has been the introduction into the pueblo of more modern technological equipment. However, because this equipment has remained in possession of the Spanish and only meant more work for the Indians, the latter have come to view these new additions to their culture as techniques to exploit their labor rather than as items to enrich their own economy (from interviews held in 1969). By association then they have become more adverse to integrating these techniques into their own system of procurement than have the members of other pueblos. The result it seems has been a further commitment to the more traditional methods of farming and thus a decline in agricultural

[5]It is interesting to note that, in part, it was because of Hispanos that this dependence resulted in the first place. Since San Juaners had to turn much of their land over to the Spanish-Americans they were left with smaller plots from which to earn a livelihood. Consequently, many felt compelled to turn to the cash incomes provided by their Hispano neighbors.

output.

2. Santa Clara

a. Exploitation of agricultural resources due to adherence to modern technology in guiding farm techniques

The Santa Clara Pueblo Grant and Indian Reservation consists of 45,742 acres of which 44,800 are range land, including 10,400 acres of forest which contains an undetermined amount of commercial timber (Smith, 1968:135). A large amount of the remaining 942 acres have been irrigated and are now used primarily for garden plots.

The chart below is evidence for the fact that Santa Clara has exploited its farm land to a much greater degree than has San Juan.

ANNUAL CROP REPORT
United Pueblos Agency

	1961		1962		1964	
	S.J.	S.Cl.	S.J.	S.Cl.	S.J.	S.Cl.
Alfalfa	83	73	27	97	49	141
Corn	125	37	90	21	206	33
Wheat	50	4	2			
Oats		10		29	22	14
Beans		1		1	4	
Milo	32	1	2		7	
Garden	40	8	20	3	15	6
Barley						
Orchard	20	18	20	28	20	28
Grapes				1		
Other Hay	190	68	30	447	132	353
Irrig. Past.	40	104	21	126	181	232
Idle	620	296	988	194	551	125
Fallow				3	13	18
TOTAL	1200	920	1200	950	1200	950

I would hypothesize that a greater flexibility in adherence to religious tenets as a guideline for agricultural techniques has allowed for the more extensive exploitation of farm land in Santa Clara. During a discussion with Santa Clara farmers about the changes that they have initiated with regard to farming, they talked of the need for constant alteration of their farming patterns. As a case in point they informed me that the grasshoppers were destroying the alphalpha that year more than ever before. They could not however use the chemical spray against them which they had been using previously because they found that 1) it stuck to the fruit trees, and 2) it intoxicated the cattle. As a result, the spray was causing more harm than good and a new method had to be used in order to overcome the double problem. What was interesting to note in their testimony was not only their willingness to try new answers if prior ones did not succeed, but also their unabated confidence that they could control the problem through modern techniques despite previous abortive trials.

b. Reason 1 for experimentation with modern techniques: absence of those mitigating conditions which exist in San Juan

The three hypotheses that have been presented to account for San Juaners' adherence to traditional techniques, i.e. agricultural ritual seen as part of total conservative order, fractionalization of land, Spanish influence, appear to be absent in Santa Clara. First, residents of Santa Clara feel freer to experiment with modern techniques because they do not fear reprisal from religious leaders. Secondly, the fractionalization process was not as acute in this community as in San Juan because

Spanish claims did not serve to aggravate the situation. Thirdly, few Santa Clarans needed to work for Spanish-American farmers and therefore familiarity with modern agricultural techniques was not gained by the population through a negative agent.

c. Reason 2 for exploitation of modern techniques: presence of resources to provide financial foundation for experimentation

Coupled with the fact that Santa Clara lacks certain forces which seem to have undermined commitment to modern farming techniques in San Juan is the fact that Santa Clara possesses the necessary capital needed for investment in mechanized farming.

One of the pueblo's most valuable resources is the Santa Clara Canyon and forested area which the pueblo has developed as a recreation area and from which it has tripled its income in the past three years from permits for fishing, camping, and picnicing (Smith, 1968b). I would hypothesize that having this financial foundation as a base, Santa Clarans feel freer to undertake the risk that experimentation with modern techniques entails.

C. ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SAN JUAN AND SANTA CLARA - CASH ECONOMY

The economic situation for those living in San Juan is rather tragic in its simplicity not only because of the restrictions in farming, but also because of the limitations inherent in the local wage earning market.

The nearby atomic research center of Los Alomos has been the only major provider of economic opportunities for the residents of San Juan since the end of World War II. In 1963

Professor Ortiz made a study of all Tewa workers at Los Alamos. In it he reports that as of 1963 48 residents of San Juan were employed at Los Alamos, this number comprising approximately 20% of the total labor force of the community. On the other hand, he notes, "their earning of approximately $125,000 represents at least one third of the total annual personal income for the Pueblo" (Ortiz, 1963; 1965:5). The figures have remained constant for San Juan since the survey was conducted in 1963 (Smith, 1968b).

Approximately 25 other Pueblo wage-earners, all craftsmen, are dependent on tourism for all or part of their income; consequently they make very little during the winter months. Only three silversmiths are employed the year-round in trading posts in Santa Fe. The vast majority of San Juan wage earners are too poorly educated to qualify for more than seasonal construction, agriculture or domestic employment. Moreover, since the beginning of the twentieth century Indians have found themselves in competition for the same wage-earning jobs with the local Hispanos. The Spanish-Americans however have an advantage ov pueblo residents in that they usually control local politics and are thus often in the position to obtain jobs for themselves. This condition especially affects the residents of San Juan who depend on the existing jobs in nearby Espanola. This town is totally governed by local Hispanos and the latter thus have priority in any job opening made available.

State Employment Service estimates of recurrent unemployment in San Juan average from 66.4% to 80% for the winter months

(Ortiz, 1965:6).

In Santa Clara, the resident labor force is estimated at 183 of whom 104 have permanent jobs, 53 of them at Los Alamos. Unemployment is estimated as being consistently about 35% of the community's labor force. In addition, there have always been over 75 active potters in the pueblo (Smith, 1968b:135). Their work is presently sold to wholesalers or traders throughout the state while some pottery is sold directly to tourists. Moreover, on March 3, 1965 the O.E.O. allocated to Santa Clara $42,043 for a vocational training program meant to combat poverty in the pueblo (Smith, 1968b:135).

Finally, we have shown that Santa Clara is by far the best endowed of all the Tewa pueblos in reservation resources and that it has embarked on an ambitious program to develop them into tourist attractions. At the same time, an indigenous corps of rangers and game wardens has been trained to protect these areas. This has not only provided many Santa Clarans with secure paying positions but has also spared many residents from having to depend on opportunities provided by the wage market.

D. SOCIAL SITUATION IN SAN JUAN AND SANTA CLARA

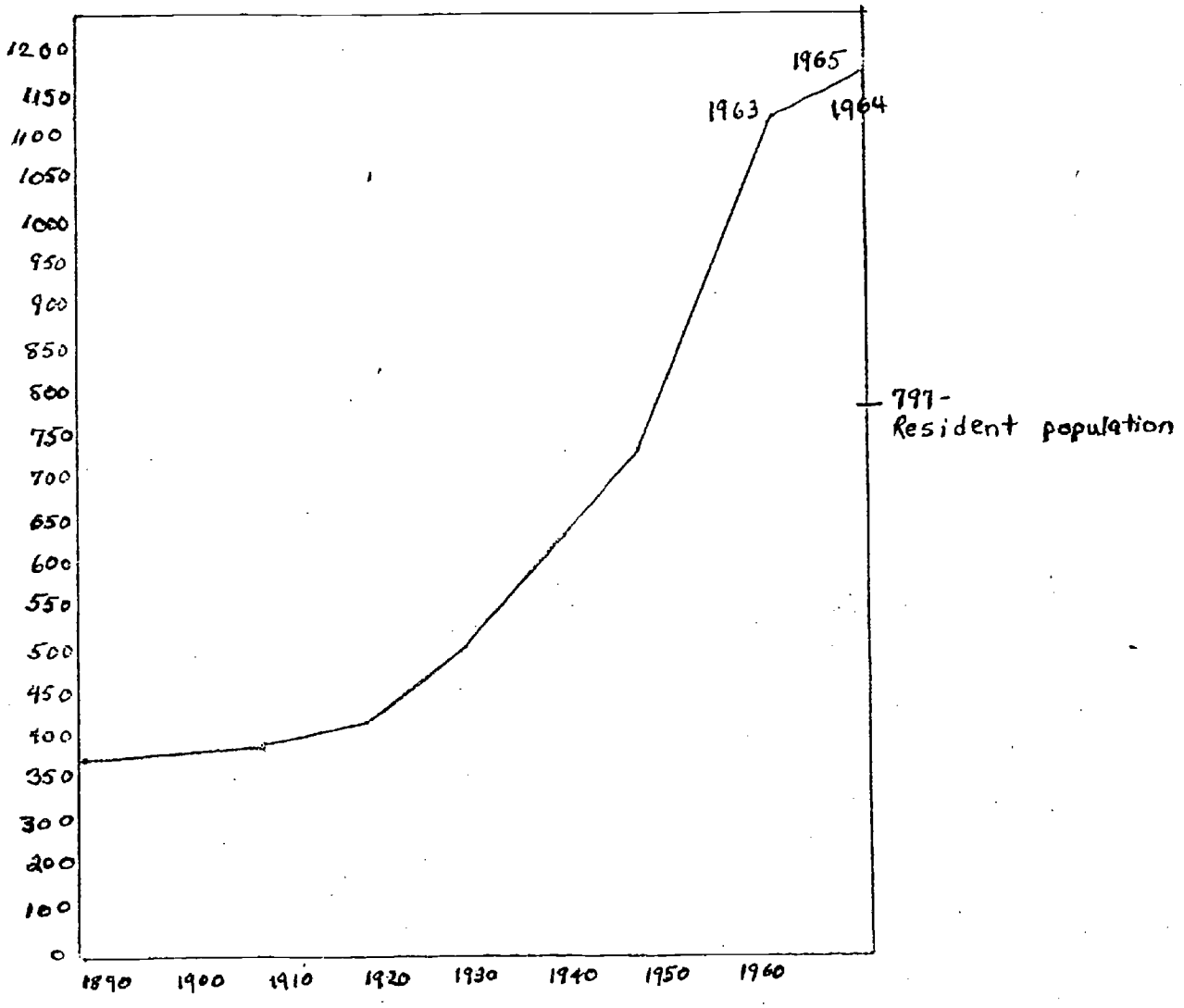
1. San Juan - Plagued by Social Problems

a. Demographic

The absence of local economic opportunites is the most

important problem facing San Juan but it has corrolaries in other areas. A number of charts compiled by Ortiz in 1965 reveal these conditions. The following one, for instance, shows the sharp upward trend of the total registered population during recent years.

San Juan Population Increase*
1890 - 1965

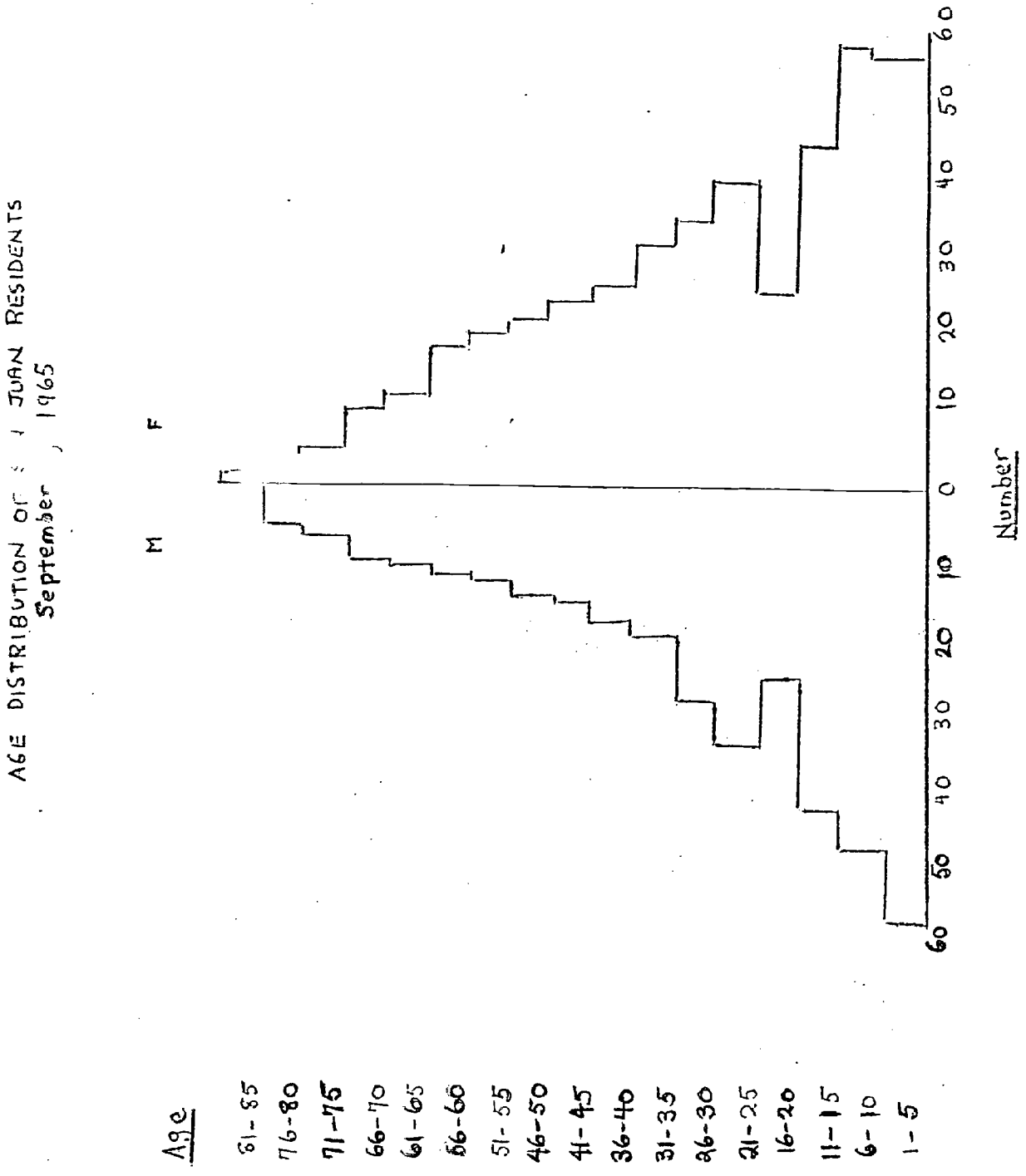


Figures:

1890 - 375	1930 - 504	1963 - 1129
1900 - 379	1940 - 639	1964 - 1150
1910 - 387	1948 - 729	1965 - 1180
1920 - 422	1960 - 1041	

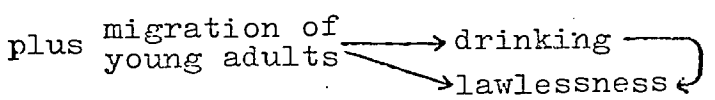
* adapted from census records, United Pueblos Agency

In addition, the graph below illustrates the age distribution, at five year intervals, of the 797 people living in the community as of 1965.



It is obvious at once that the population is abnormal in its clustering at the lower age levels. Almost half, or 367, of the pueblo's residents are 18 years of age or less. On the other hand, a significant number of those in the 19-40 age group, especially men, are now living elsewhere. Both the recent high birth rate and the pattern of temporary out-migration have had serious consequences. The large number of young people, having taxed the limited educational and recreational facilities in the community, and missing the necessary young adults to provide them with responsible leadership, are resorting to activities undermining law and order.

Illegitimacy and drinking are also serious problems. In 1965 Ortiz reported that 121 or about 15% of the population were illegitimate. This represents the minimum figure and the rate since then has been steadily rising. Moreover, drinking is more severe in San Juan than in any other pueblo. Only nine men in the community do not drink at all and the vast majority of those who do drink do so frequently and to excess (Ortiz, 1965:8). Informants felt that this has contributed significantly to the serious breakdown of the community's morale as well as to the pueblo's high crime rate (from interviews in 1969). Figures 1 and 2 on the following pages present a breakdown of San Juan's criminal offences. The charts not only indicate that drunkenness is the main cause for the high crime rate, but that the number of these violations has risen over the years represented.



Criminal Offences - San Juan - 1967 *

	ACTUAL NUMBER OF OFFENCES	IDENTIFICATION OF SUBJECT				DISPOSITION					
		Adult		Juvenile		Convicted		Other		Juvenile	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Assault and Battery	2	2				1		1			
Drunk and Disorderly Conduct	10	10				10					
Drunk in Public	10	10				10					
Contributing to Delinquency of Minor	1	1				1					
Discharging Firearms without Settlement	1	1				1					
Disturbing the Peace	1	1				1					
Party to Crime	6	2	4→			2				4	
Resisting Arrest	2	2				2					
Striking Officer	1	1				1					
Traffic DWI	5	5				5					
Moving Violation	8	8				8					
Non-moving Violation	3	3				3					
TOTAL	50	46	4→			45		1		4	

* adapted from United Pueblos Agency Records, summer 1969

Criminal Offences - San Juan - 1968 *

	ACTUAL NUMBER OF OFFENCES	IDENTIFICATION OF SUBJECTS				DISPOSITION	
		Adult		Juvenile		Convicted	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
Abusive to Officer	3	3				3	
Assault	4	4				4	
Assault and Battery	1	1				1	
Carrying Concealed Weapons	1	1				1	
Carrying False Identification	1	1				1	
Disorderly Conduct	5	5				5	
Drunkeness	30	30				30	
Injury to Property	2	2				2	
Loitering	2	2				2	
Probation Violation	1	1				1	
Resisting Arrest	2	2				2	
Threat to Commit Crime	1	1				1	
Traffic DWI	6	6				6	
Moving Violation	6	6				6	
Non-moving violation	4	3	1			3	1
TOTAL	69	68	1			68	1

* adapted from United Pueblos Agency records, summer 1969

b. Institutional

The basic structure of San Juan's government today is a focal point of much ill-will and dissension among the pueblo's residents. First, there is general suspicion that because the religious leaders and their appointed officers operate in secrecy, they are misappropriating funds. Secondly, many young capable leaders are reluctant to serve as tribal officials because they feel that their power would be severely limited by the elders. Consequently, older councilmen continue to select officials from a small group of men who are sympathetic to their views (from interviews conducted in the summer of 1969).

The resulting stalemate between conservative and liberal points of view has had unfortunate consequences; opportunities for reservation development have been lost because those most qualified to lend vision and experience have not been involved in the decision-making process; communication between the people and the governing body has decreased; community pride and consciousness have diminished, and there is a widespread apathy toward public service (from interviews conducted in the summer of 1969).

Moreover, because of the breakdown in community feeling and the inability of any leader to muster the support of a majority,[6] continuing action on many pressing problems, such as land distribution, grazing control and active steps toward

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[6]One tribal member said: "The governor can never muster the support of the majority of people because the progressive, the disillusioned and the drunks say, 'We did not elect him. He does not represent us. Look at Santa Clara, it is doing so well.' They always compare us with some other place." (Smith, p. 131)

developing tribal projects to increase income and jobs has been deterred. Consequently, the possibility, for instance, of increasing the level of tourism to San Juan has not been exploited. There exists on the pueblo the site of the original Spanish capital, which was established by Onate in 1598. According to Mr. Charles Minton, Executive Director of the New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs, the site has enough economic potential that if properly developed and advertised, it could be the most important single tourist attraction located on any Indian reservation in the state (from interviews conducted in summer of 1969).

1. Santa Clara - Adjustment to Social Problems

a. Demographic

Dozier (1966) presents figures which show that the population of Santa Clara has also increased significantly since the nineteenth century. According to estimates in Hodge (1910:325), it rose from 187 in 1889 to 325 in 1905. Parsons (1929:9) reported a figure of 354 in 1926, a census showed 440 in 1934 and in 1966 the population was estimated to be around 680 (as cited in Dozier, 1966:172). Santa Clara's population gain however has not been nearly as marked as San Juan's. This can be evidenced from the following table which was adapted from B.I.A. census records during the summer of 1969.

AVERAGE PERCENT INCREASE IN POPULATION

8 NORTHERN PUEBLOS	FROM 1950-1960	FROM 1960-1969
Nambe	57 - 203 = 29.29%	203 - 270 = 33.00%
Picuris	135 - 156 = 15.55%	156 - 166 = 6.41%
Pojoaque	26 - 52 = 100%	52 - 75 = 44.23%
San Ildefonso	185 - 253 = 36.75%	253 - 321 = 26.87%
San Juan	833 - 1040 = 24.96%	1040 - 1287 = 23.63%
Santa Clara	598 - 688 = 15.05%	688 - 787 = 6.56%
Taos	963 - 1278 = 32.71%	1278 - 1465 = 14.63%
Tesuque	170 - 1292 = 12.94%	192 - 236 = 22.91%

Moreover, the age distribution of the residents presently enrolled in Santa Clara indicates a much broader apportionment of the population.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SANTA CLARA'S ENROLLED POPULATION*

AGE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1-17	138	154	305
18-35	138	156	294
36-55	108	107	215
56-65	34	28	62
over 65	17	15	32

*fr. Smith, 1968b:135

As can be seen from this table, the extreme clustering of the population at the lower end of the scale which exists in San Juan (p. 64) seems to be much less prevalent in Santa Clara.

Furthermore, this finding increases in significance when one acknowledges the fact that the proportion of Santa Clara's population which lives off the reservation is much smaller than in San Juan. Evidence for this fact is provided in the following table:

The Rio Grande Pueblos *
January 1, 1960

PUEBLO	Total enrolled population	Total resident population	% resident population	Off-reservation population	% off-reservation population
Cochiti	520	327	62	202	38
Isleta	1967	1830	93	137	7
Jemez	1329	1065	80	264	20
Nambe	203	127	63	76	37
Picuris	156	100	64	56	36
Pojoaque	52	21	40	31	60
Sandia	188	122	65	66	35
San Felipe	1070	976	91	94	9
San Ildefonso	253	216	85	37	15
SAN JUAN	1041	638	61	403	39
Santa Ana	380	350	92	30	8
SANTA CLARA	688	587	85	101	15
Santa Domingo	1683	1375	82	308	18
Taos	1278	847	66	431	34
Tesuque	192	136	71	56	29
Zia	371	334	90	37	10
TOTAL	11,380	9,051		2,329	

* Adapted from the census records

What the figures from the previous two tables imply is that the retention of young adults in the community provides a potential source of stimulation and role modeling for the adolescents of Santa Clara, which may account for Smith's (1968b) attestation that the problems of drinking and delinquency are minimal in Santa Clara.

b. Institutional

An example of how Santa Clara has handled the change from traditional rule by a religious hierarchy to a government which gives secular power and responsibility to the community's younger members is presented by Smith (1968b). She reports that a young man, who, having spent his years from age 12 away from the pueblo, thus lacking knowledge of religious responsibilities, has been asked by the old religious leaders to undergo initiation and training.

> Instead of holding the young from being progressive, they are encouraging them to be more on the progressive side. They say, "You take care of the business part of it, and we will take care of our tribal customs." And the young people are following them in their religious ceremonies.
>
> (Young man from Santa Clara — as cited in Smith, 1968b:136)

Moreover, in order to prevent the suspicion and apathy toward government which exists in San Juan, in 1964 the governor of Santa Clara began holding quarterly meetings for all pueblo members, at which he explains how the tribal government operates, what kind of expenses they have, what plans they are making. During these meetings, the people are also given an opportunity

to express their ideas about plans and problems.[7] The openness in communication between Santa Clara's leaders and their constituency has apparently contributed to the pueblo's ability to undertake certain projects which could not be actualized in San Juan. Indicative of this is a case which occurred in the summer of 1969. Movie producers had come to the area in order to run a film on Indians. While leaders from both San Juan and Santa Clara were approached to give permission to use their lands as the background, San Juan's leaders rejected the offer for fear that their residents would think that they were receiving personal "kickbacks" from the producers. Santa Clara's leaders however readily accepted the offer and have allocated the money received from the movie company toward further development of the pueblo's resources (from interviews conducted in summer of 1969).

B. COMPARISON OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN LIGHT OF INTERRELATED VARIABLES

In summarizing, I would hypothesize that the primary difference between San Juan and Santa Clara lies in the way each has exploited the resources it possesses. It seems that whereas an attachment to traditional institutions and cultural patterns has served to limit further agricultural output in San Juan, a greater diversification of resources in Santa Clara has allowed for an increase in this community's subsistence base.

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[7] Santa Clarans informed me that this policy was recently expanded. Under the present system, the pueblo's Council meets every other Monday and Wednesday. On Mondays the Council handles internal matters. On Wednesdays the whole community is invited to discuss internal and external problems.

The historical causes contributing to these differences are many and intertwined. San Juan's residents have apparently adhered to their traditional methods of farming for three basic reasons: 1) diffuse leadership, 2) Spanish influence, 3) strict adherence to religious principles.

Because of its diffuse leadership, strong authority is absent in San Juan and no single leader who might be capable of initiating innovation can exert enough individual power to influence the community. Moreover, the fear of being sharply differentiated from others in the community or being suspected of personal motives seems to have curtailed attempts to introduce changed conditions into the pueblo. The risk of endangering personal security among groups of kin has probably served as a barrier to further economic development. Secondly, the emotional associations connected with the Spanish use of farming techniques by hired Indian farm-hands also seems to have influenced patterns of agricultural pursuit in San Juan. Relating their evaluation of modern agricultural techniques to the experiences they have had using them, San Juan farmers perceive of these methods primarily as alien means by which they were exploited. As such, they are unable to perceive the intrinsic value of these modern techniques and have not taken advantage of their use. Thirdly, strict adherence to religious principles has served to define each individual's role in the total social structure of the pueblo and has probably also served as a factor mitigating against innovation. Because no group in San Juan was strong enough to undermine the established position of traditional rule, the

clearly defined spiritual order has been maintained to this day. The resulting entrenchment of San Juan residents in traditional institutions and cultural patterns has hindered them from being able to conceive of changes which are external to their patterned way of life.

The residents of Santa Clara, on the other hand, seem to have been better able to exploit their resources than have San Juaners for a number of reasons: 1) their leadership is not diffuse, 2) they have more successfully integrated outsiders into their pueblo's social structure, 3) they have retained more adult members due to the presence of viable means of livelihood.

Because of the division between secular and religious responsibility, a clearer differentiation of role has been attained in Santa Clara. As already seen, a definite delegation of responsibility to the traditional and modern elements has apparently allowed for each group to pursue its activities and retain its ideology without fear of political interference from the other.

> The elders have demonstrated their willingness to recognize what the youth has to offer at the same time stressing the importance of the old religious values.
>
> (Smith, 1968b)

Many informants believed that respect for the organized allocation of role has been crucial in facilitating the orderly functioning of communal programs, and has probably accounted

for concrete results.[8]

Moreover, it seems that because of the periodic absence in Santa Clara's history from unanimous ceremonial activity, members of the community have not remained so entrenched in the dynamics of the religious system that they are unable to perceive the value of those modern methods being presented to them.

Secondly, there has been no outside group (such as the Spanish Americans in San Juan) to directly mitigate against communal integration and to undermine the possibility for unanimous decisions to take place. This too has probably contributed to the pueblo's ability to exploit its resources more efficiently. Decisions in Santa Clara can be reached quicker than in pueblos which must devote time to convincing negative factions of a situation's advantages.

Finally, and in part emerging as a result of the first variable (i.e. Santa Clara's leadership not being diffuse), is the fact that whereas the more enlightened of San Juan have apparently felt compelled to leave the community because of

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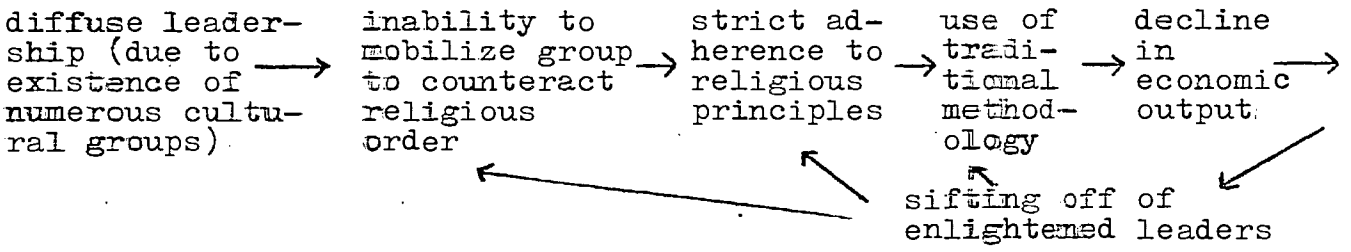
[8]As evidence for this claim Santa Clarans related the following incident: Early one Saturday morning one of the more experienced in decision-making and management of the younger leaders in the community spontaneously ordered certain individuals to clean up Santa Clara Canyon before tourists arrived. He provided no reason and promised no pay. Nonetheless, the job was carried out as soon as the demand had been made without any question or refusal from those delegated to carry out the task.

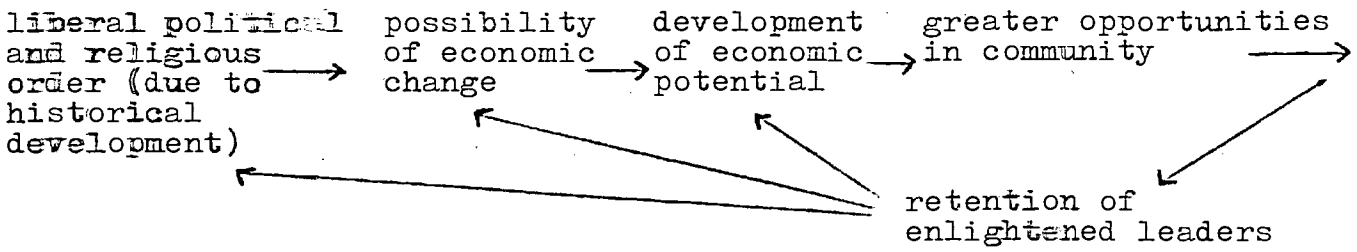
Informants stated that they doubted that such a reaction could be found among the members of other pueblos. Upon questioning San Juaners I learned that voluntary work can rarely be elicited from the residents of this community. Said one informant: "San Juaners feel that the people who get paid to do a job should attend to everything."

its political and religious limitations, Santa Clara has been able to retain the more progressive element of its population. Not threatened by the same stigmas and suspicion attached to individuals attempting to change the pueblo's ways, Santa Clarans have felt freer to introduce innovative methods which would maximize the economic potential of their community. As a result, an economy that provides sufficient opportunities and income to retain the more productive members of the community in the pueblo has developed. It seems that this, too, has contributed toward maintaining a source of impetus to social change within Santa Clara.

SAN JUAN



SANTA CLARA



PART II

EDUCATION IN TWO TEWA COMMUNITIES

In the previous section we pointed out which factors contributed most to developing the economic, political and social conditions presently existing within San Juan and Santa Clara. In this section we will describe the changes that have occurred in the school system of the two pueblos. From the following description it will become evident that the variables described in Part I not only influenced the economic and political characteristics of the communities under question but also played a vital role in defining the educational structures of San Juan and Santa Clara.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL SYSTEM IN SAN JUAN AND SANTA CLARA

A. HISTORY OF FORMAL EDUCATION OF AMERICAN INDIANS

For three centuries after the settlement of Europeans in the United States the formal schooling of Indian children was conducted by missionaries. The first missionary school was established in 1568 in Havana, Cuba, for the education of Indian children from Florida. There were few of these schools and their primary purpose was to convert the children to Christianity.

Many of the treaties between the United States and Indian tribes contained clauses promising to establish schools for Indian children. In 1842, thirty seven Indian schools were being operated by the B.I.A. and by 1881 the number had increased to 106. Most were boarding schools whose philosophy was to turn the Indians into participating members of the white culture by teaching them the three R's and manual skills appropriate for urban life. Indian parents however could see little use in these schools, as these schools did not prepare their children for life on the reservations, nor did they fit them for a superior life outside. They were therefore reluctant to send their children to them. The early Bureau of Indian Affairs school policy was thus doomed to failure, and it was replaced in the late 1930's by a policy which admitted the right of Indians to be Indians. However, the continuity of personnel perpetuates earlier educational goals in many of the schools.

In 1968 the B.I.A. operated 226 schools with an enrollment

of 51,595 Indian children and eighteen dormitories for 4,204 children attending B.I.A. boarding schools. Moreover, as of the fiscal year 1968, the Bureau of Indian Affairs made provisions for financial aid for Indian students within fourteen States and in school districts within four additional States (U.S. Department of Interior - Statistics Concerning Indian Education for Fiscal Year 1968, p.4).

Despite these improvements, the basic problems of the Indians in the United States today can still be traced to unemployment and lack of education, and the relationship between these two is clear and unmistakable. There are 25,727 Indian children aged 6-18 in New Mexico. Of these Smith reports that approximately 2,300 were never enrolled in school. The children not now in school, with few exceptions, are expected to remain illiterate and in poverty for all their lives (Smith, 1968a).

B. THE HISTORY OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN SAN JUAN

It appears that no systematic attempt was made to educate the people of San Juan during more than two and a half centuries of Spanish and Mexican rule. Published documents are notably silent on this point. Ortiz reports that a few young men in each generation were taught to read and write Spanish by the parish priests, but their use of these skills was limited to the service of the church (Ortiz, 1965:11).

A U.S. Agent named Greiner spent a few days in San Juan in 1852. At that time the people allegedly indicated a desire to have a school but nothing was done until about 1880, when an educated Spanish-American named Alejandro Garcia opened a school in a one room house at the northwestern corner of the village (Ortiz, 1965:11). Here a few Pueblo residents and Spanish

Americans from the neighboring villages learned the rudiments of reading and writing both Spanish and English.

In 1887 a second school for the Indian children of San Juan was established by the Archbishop of Santa Fe. Classes were taught by nuns in a converted home just outside the village proper. Ortiz (1965) reports that in 1890 the school was contracted by the federal government, with the government providing part of the cost of operating it, as part of its first nationally authorized program to pay for local schools in which Indian students were enrolled.

In 1909, the San Juan Pueblo Council agreed to donate two acres of land so that the growing school could be permanently located. This was done at the request of the B.I.A., through the Superintendent of the United Pueblos Agency. A two-room school-house was built first, then a residential building to accommodate the teachers. Another schoolroom was added in 1927. In 1936, a fourth school-room and supplementary buildings for craftwork meetings and for storage were built. Together these comprised the structure for the present San Juan Day School (Ortiz, 1965:12).

Classes have always been conducted through the sixth grade in San Juan. During the first three decades of this century, many San Juan children were also sent to boarding schools located far from the pueblo. In addition, since the 1920's, those who have been able to continue their education beyond primary school have enrolled in the Santa Fe or Albuquerque boarding schools while some attended Haskell Institute in Kansas, a post-high school vocational school for Indians.

In 1937, the public school in nearby Chamita was moved to San Juan, and the nuns assumed the teaching duties. In 1948, a Court decision resulted in the removal of the nuns from the public schools of New Mexico. They then reestablished their old school adjacent to the church, and have since maintained a parochial elementary school in the Pueblo (Ortiz, 1965:13).

After World War II, a few San Juan parents began to send their children to the local state run public schools rather than to schools administered by the B.I.A. Heretofore, they had regarded the B.I.A. Day School as superior, but the improved facilities and increased aid provided to Indian students by the state run public schools served as an incentive to attend the latter. Indian enrollment in the local public school therefore increased from twelve in eight grades in 1951, to a peak of sixty in 1965 (Ortiz, 1965:14).

The parochial school, on the other hand, has never been a very significant institution in San Juan. It cannot receive federal aid, so the physical plant has remained modest, and it has had to charge a nominal fee. Enrollment actually decreased from a peak of over 200 in 1960 to 127 in 1965. Only six in the latter year were from San Juan.

The following table, which was compiled by Ortiz in 1965, reveals that the Day School too declined from a peak enrollment of 117 Pueblo students in 1951 to 68 in 1965. Moreover, as of the fall of 1969 the enrollment figure totalled only approximately 60 students. This has occurred despite a dramatic rise in the school-age population of San Juan during the same period. In 1961, the number of teachers at the school declined from four to three and at present remains at this figure (from interviews

SAN JUAN DAY SCHOOL CENSUS*

1937 -1965

YEAR	ENROLLMENT	AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE	GRADES
1937	82		B-6
1938	89		B-6
1939	85		B-6
1940	100		B-6
1941	95		B-6
1942	115		B-6
1943	106		B-6
o 1944-1950			
1951	117		B-6
1952	116		B-6
1953	111		B-6
1954	104		B-6
1955	108		B-6
1956	100		B-6
1957	111	102.0	B-6
1958	106		B-6
1959	99	92	B-6
1960	101	97	B-6
1961	97		B-6
1962	79		B-6
1963	74	70.4	B-6
1964	69	66.5	B-6
1965	68		B-6

o Figures for 1944-1950 not available. *From Ortiz, 1965

held in the summer of 1969).

Ortiz's 1965 report reveals statistics which show that during the entire history of San Juan only seven persons who were born and raised there have earned college degrees. All of them have done so during the past two decades. Of the seven, only two have graduate degrees and as of 1965 only three were living in San Juan. Also, as of 1965, four students were in college and four other residents had some college training. Twenty others had completed some type of vocational training beyond high school, with the largest concentrations being in the building trades for men and practical nursing for women. The table on the following page summarizes the rather complex

educational picture in San Juan in 1965.

School Attendance Distribution of San Juan Residents*

October 1, 1965

Name of school	Location	Grades	Number attending	
San Juan Day School	San Juan Pueblo	Beginners-6	68	
San Juan Elementary	San Juan Pueblo	Beginners-6	54	
San Juan Parochial	San Juan Pueblo	Beginners-8	6	
John F. Kennedy Junior High School	San Juan Pueblo	7 and 8 only	38	
Española Junior High School	Española, N.M. (5 miles away)	9th only	15	
Española High School	Española, N.M. (5 miles away)	10-12	4	
St. Catherine's Indian School (boarding school)	Santa Fe, N.M. (28 miles away)	9-12	3	
Albuquerque Indian School (boarding school)	Albuquerque, N.M. (90 miles away)	9-12	1	
Institute of American Indian Arts (boarding school)	Santa Fe, N.M.	9-12 and post-high school	2 3	5
Other vocational schools	Albuquerque, N.M. Chicago, Ill. Oakland, Calif. San Francisco, Calif.		4 2 5 1	12
College			4	

*From Ortiz, 1965

C. ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION IN SAN JUAN - 1965

In 1965 Dr. Alfonso Ortiz made a survey of the prevailing attitudes toward education in San Juan (Project Headstart in an an Indian Community, Nov., 1965, Univ. of Chicago). From this survey he arrived at several conclusions. First, he found that formal education was uniformly accepted as a desirable goal by the people of San Juan. Secondly, Ortiz found that most Pueblo residents, even if their children attended other schools, believed

that the B.I.A. Day School should be kept in operation.

> They believe that the quality of education is at least as good as that offered in the Public School, and they fear that many Indian children would suffer socially and emotionally if they had to attend the Public School. Many of the parents whose children attend the Public School mention that they do so because of its proximity, bus service, free luncheons, and even the athletic program for older boys. On the other hand, those who enroll their children in the Day School do so because they honestly feel it serves the needs of their children best.
> (Ortiz, 1965:18)

That a fairly clear distinction existed between the family background of the 68 children attending the Day School and the 54 attending the Public School in 1965 was noted by Ortiz. The Day School children came from "traditional" families; those in which both parents were Indians, participated in native cultural activities, and spoke Tewa in their homes. The Public School children usually came from the more marginal families, those resulting from mixed marriages. English is usually emphasized in these homes. The traditional families are usually better educated, more stable and economically more self-sufficient. They include the majority of those employed in Los Alomos (Ortiz, 1965).

D. HISTORY OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN SANTA CLARA

The B.I.A. school has been in existence in Santa Clara for over fifty years. There is not presently, and has never been, a parochial school in the community. The B.I.A. school, staffed with three teachers, contains from the first to the 6th grades. After graduation from the Day School children go to the Española Public High Schools (from interviews held in summer of 1969).

The majority of Santa Clara children attend the B.I.A. Day School rather than commuting to the local public elementary school. As of this past fall (1969) 78 students were attending the Day School. This figure has been consistent over the past three to four years although the number has declined generally in the last decade or so. This general decline is due, the principal informed me, to families leaving the community rather than children leaving the school.

Bureau of Indian Affairs statistics for the fiscal year of 1968 reveal that the average daily attendance among Santa Clara students is significantly higher than in San Juan. While the average daily attendance among San Juan pupils equals 47.6% of the pueblo's total Day School population, in Santa Clara on an average 74.2% of those enrolled in its Day School attend classes (B.I.A. statistics concerning Indian Education, 1968:21).

Although there is no kindergarten in the Day School, Santa Clara has a pre-school project. This program was initiated by the community before the B.I.A. instituted it, or any other kind of kindergarten project, in any other of the pueblos. The pre-school project is completely staffed by teachers who are from Santa Clara (personal communication with Principal of Santa Clara Day School, August, 1969).

E. ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION IN SANTA CLARA - 1965

Realizing that many children are hindered in learning English because Tewa persists as the main language spoken in their homes, the inhabitants of Santa Clara decided early in the 1960's to pursue the possibility of establishing a pre-school training program for their community. They estimated the cost for

construction of a suitable building for teachers and equipment over a two year period to be $15,337 of which the pueblo would supply $3,725 in the form of land, materials, plans and specifications. Initiating the application for federal aid on their own, Santa Clarans felt that such a project would not only aid the pueblo's youth but would also afford training and work experience for untrained and unemployed members of the community. The proposal was granted by the O.E.O. on March 3, 1965 and with this act Santa Clara became the first pueblo to receive funds for a Headstart development program (Smith, 1968).

During an interview with the person who served as coordinator of the Headstart project in 1965 I learned that the reason that programs such as this could be successfully initiated by Santa Clara was that already in 1965 the following attitudes regarding education prevailed among the members of the community:

1) Because teachers often were unaware of the total cultural background of their pupils they (the teachers) could not do justice to their roles. Santa Clarans therefore felt that auxiliary means had to be developed to help children adjust to the Anglo school situation.

2) Santa Clara residents expressed a deep concern for raising their childrens' academic standards. In order to achieve this they saw the necessity of establishing a setting in which individuals properly trained in Tewa and English could point out equivalent meanings to the children in both languages. They believed that only an indigenous corps of teachers could provide students with the initial foundation needed by them to succeed in school.

CHAPTER 5

1969 - FROM HEADSTART TO LOCAL CONTROL - A COMPARATIVE OVERVIEW

A. HEADSTART

In his report of 1965, Ortiz describes the occurrences which preceded the establishment of a pre-school project in San Juan. He recounts that before the Economic Opportunity Act was passed by Congress, it was discussed in detail at a meeting of the All-Pueblo Council, held during the summer of 1964. Interest at that time centered on Title II, and its provision for community action programs. Four Pueblos had already been selected (among sixteen Indian tribes nation-wide) to prepare pilot community action proposals. These four, among them the Tewa Pueblos of Tesuque and Santa Clara had, however, already had their plans well formulated previous to this time, and they reported their progress at the Council meeting. A keen interest was aroused in all of the Pueblo officials by the example set by Santa Clara and Tesuque and by the prospect of preparing their own community action programs and submitting them to Washington independent of the B.I.A. (Ortiz, 1965).

Ortiz further recounts that in San Juan a community action committee was appointed by the Pueblo governor in late October, and during the next two months individual community members were canvassed in an effort to determine local needs and to enlist the help and cooperation of local voluntary organizations and governing agencies. Pueblo adults most often mentioned the need for educational programs - preschool, remedial and tutorial. With the unanimous consent of the committee, a Headstart-type

pre-school program was among the three for which funds were requested from O.E.O. The relevant applications were mailed to the San Juan Council from the federal agency for final approval and signatures in early February 1965.

Ortiz notes that at this point two events occurred. First, the three new members of the Council who took office on January 1 wanted to delay action. They knew little about the proposal and even less about the Economic Opportunity Act itself. They asserted that the previous governor had not kept them properly informed on the activities of the Community Action Committee and that they wanted to think about the proposal and discuss it before affixing their signatures. As previously mentioned in this paper, unanimous consent of the Council is required on all important matters so this process of discussion continued until early in April. At this time, the governor finally decided to support the proposal. Secondly, the requirements for community action proposals had been broadened and altered by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the request for the program had therefore to be rewritten in accordance with new guidelines and specifications. Because of these two incidents the opportunity to institutionalize a Headstart program in San Juan was considerably held up.

At the same time however action was being taken on another front by the Northern Pueblo Council. This Council was organized in 1963, and it consists of the governing officials of the six Tewa Pueblos plus the two Tiwa Pueblos of Taos and Picuris. The Northern Pueblo Council had been meeting frequently in Santa Clara during the summer of 1965, in order to explore the possibility of

submitting a joint proposal because they had heard that the O.E.O. was not considering favorably those community action proposals submitted by small communities.

Ortiz reports that on September 10, 1965 a broad and comprehensive proposal was finally agreed upon by all, and a resolution was passed to that effect at the meeting of the Council. The pre-school program would be patterned after the highly successful one already established in Santa Clara. The teachers would be given training by the Director of the Santa Clara program, while the aides would be given special instruction in the Indian Education Center of Arizona State University.

At the same time that San Juan was submitting its individual request for a Headstart Center and the Northern Pueblo Council its joint proposal, a Headstart program sponsored by the Northern Rio Grande Council on Youth was taking shape (Ortiz, 1965). The Northern Rio Grande Council on Youth is a chartered private organization of teachers and community leaders throughout the Española Valley. It was formed in 1964 to attempt to improve the quality of education available in the area. Although consisting entirely of Spanish-Americans and a few Anglos, in 1965 this agency was the only organization to receive funds to conduct Headstart programs in four communities within the Espanola Valley. San Juan was one of these communities and it was from this source that the pueblo received its Headstart Center.

The San Juan Elementary School was selected as the site for the San Juan-based program and its principal was appointed director. Although the Headstart program was funded to accommodate only 45 children from San Juan and the four neighboring Spanish-American communities those who were enrolled represented

a quite equitable distribution from the five communities. Seven were San Juan children, but they were not typical Indian children. None came from the more traditional families in which only Tewa is spoken; only one was more than one half Indian, and she could not have participated if strictly economic criteria were used. In order to ascertain why seven atypical and not seven typical children participated in the program Ortiz investigated the events which contributed to the development of the Headstart program. The following summary of the process is not a first-hand account, but was corroborated from testimonies in which nine San Juan parents revealed all or a portion of the events to him during the summer of 1965.

Initial plans and contacts for the Headstart Program had to be made by the Director of the San Juan Headstart Center during May, but it was not until mid June that she met with the San Juan Pueblo Council. It was an open Council meeting, so several interested parents also attended to hear the Director explain the new program. She answered many questions, and it appeared as if those in attendance understood what was being offered and why. When the meeting ended it was also understood that the councilmen would assist in notifying the parents of eligible children and that the Director herself would go from door to door to recruit participants.

When the Headstart program began on June 21, there were only the seven Indian children from San Juan. Two others from traditional families had agreed to come, but they never appeared. There was very little communication about Headstart from the Council, so most parents with eligible children simply were not aware of it.

Ortiz reports that the following factors, indicative of the governmental system of San Juan (which was described in Part I), contributed to the communication breakdown at this critical point:

> 1. The members of the Pueblo Council do not represent a broad cross-section of the community in terms of education, age, occupation or even residence. Several of the older members are barely literate; consequently they missed the significance of the meeting, and the potential benefits to the community of what was being proposed.
>
> 2. Open Council meetings are rarely held in San Juan, so there is no tradition for general participation in Council deliberations. Those who did attend were families of past or present Councilmen, or persons who are prominent in the several voluntary organizations. Most parents stayed away because they either were not notified of the meeting, or they felt that nothing they could say would affect the outcome of what was under discussion.
>
> 3. The very fact that the Headstart Director was also the Principal of the San Juan Public School caused many to feel that it was a public school program, so that it was greeted with some apathy. The participation of the public school was interpreted by those parents who did not enroll their children there as a sign that Headstart was really not intended for them.
>
> (Ortiz, 1965:27)

This leadership vacuum and communication impasse do not exist to such a marked degree in the other Tewa Pueblos, Santa Clara in particular. When the opportunity to participate in Headstart became known in Santa Clara, community members joined together to develop a successful program. Informants reported that many contributed their time and suggestions in order to establish a viable center (from interviews held in summer of 1969). Moreover, once the Headstart project had been initiated into the pueblo, the community continued to develop it into an

on-going institution. While an Anglo was initially hired to train local members in carrying out bi-cultural projects, Santa Clarans demanded that her post be turned over to someone from the community as soon as a local resident had attained the expertise necessary to handle the position. Simultaneously, the pre-school project was expanded in staff and student enrollment in order to service a broader base of Santa Clara's population. All aides as well as regular teachers were chosen from the community by the Council. In addition, in 1967 Santa Clara decided to add a summer program to the range of activities undertaken by its center, and has, since then, provided courses throughout the summer months for students from its community. Furthermore, in conjunction with the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, Santa Clara has established a system whereby remedial classes are being conducted in the center for those high school students from their pueblo who need additional academic help (from interviews held in summer of 1969).

B. LOCAL CONTROL

1. 1968 - Establishment of Advisory School Boards by B.I.A.

On March 6, 1968, in a message to the House of Representatives President Johnson stated,

> To help make the Indian school a vital part of the Indian community, I am directing the Secretary of the Interior to establish Indian School boards for Federal Indian schools. School board members - selected by their communities - will receive whatever training is necessary to enable them to carry out their responsibilities.
>
> (B.I.A. School Board Handbook, 1968, ii)

To implement this commitment to the Indian people, the B.I.A., through the United Pueblos Agency, contracted with

Educational Consultant Service, Inc. for school board training and for writing a handbook to serve as a guide for community involvement in educational programs.

The Chairman of the All-Indian Pueblo Council, members of the Education Committee of that Council, and the United Pueblos Agency Director of Schools were advisors in planning a training workshop. School Board members of the Indian communities in the United Pueblos Agency assembled at the University of New Mexico during the week of June 24-28, 1968 and there participated in designing the first B.I.A. School Board Handbook (B.I.A. School Board Handbook, 1968, ii).

In its final form, the Advisory School Board Handbook listed certain requirements for the implementation of local boards. Appendix VI contains the list of the eleven basic functions considered requisite for responsible school board performance, as well as an account of further specifications for governance, i.e. authorization procedures, legal conditions, etc. Although limiting the Board's jurisdiction to recommendation rather than decision, if broadly interpreted, these guidelines provided the local school boards significant opportunity to determine the kind of conditions they wanted instituted in their schools. At the same time, the communities were informed that if they desired a greater degree of control they could sub-contract for complete responsibility to manage their schools. Under this option, total operational and financial authority would be vested in the community, with only minimal backing from the B.I.A.

Contracting school boards would have to submit a written

plan of organization and a statement of objectives. Once granted legal and institutional authorization by the Commission on Indian Affairs, the boards would have the power to establish working conditions for school personnel, authorize rates of pay and develop courses of study. Appendix VII presents the list of functions permitted contracting school boards as well as the requirements to be met for approval and establishment of such a board.

Presented in 1968 with two alternatives - the establishment of an Advisory School Board or subcontracting for complete local control - the Pueblos were left to decide their preference. Fearful at that time of their inability to finance a school operated on their own, none sub-contracted for such an institution. Each however undertook the alternative of establishing an Advisory School Board.

2. Scope of Advisory School Board in San Juan - 1968-1969

The extent to which the members of the San Juan community exploited the potential to exert control over their school in the period 1968-1969 was described to the author by a number of informants - the principal of the Day School, the members of the School Board, knowledgeable individuals in the community. It seems that, in the first place, some difficulty existed in establishing a school board. The governor is required to select the members of the School Board and the principal is responsible for initiating the process by making the governor aware of this duty and suggesting to him people that he feels would do justice to the job. However, "that didn't get off too well" in San Juan, explained the present principal. Each year a new governor is

installed and in San Juan the new governor had not established enough contact with the principal to have his (the governor's) duties regarding this role communicated to him. Because of this, it was the Director of Schools for the 8 Northern Pueblos who took the initiative in persuading the governor to select and get an Advisory School Board going. Then the governor chose the three people for the Board.

> "Did the Governor then consult with you (the principal) when choosing the members?"
> "No, he did not. I didn't even know we had a school board until the Director of Schools came up for an affair and wanted to talk to the Advisory School Board (A.S.B.) members. When he and the school board members showed up I found out who the latter were."[9]
>
> (From interview with principal of San Juan Day School - July 29, 1969 - confirmed in communication with Chairman of A.S.B.)

Secondly, once the board had been established a number of factors came into play regarding allocation of power. From various informants I learned that the amount of weight held by the principal vis à vis the selected board members varies greatly from pueblo to pueblo.

> "What do you mean, 'plays a role' - does this mean that the principal has an equal voice?"
> "Yes, in this community but not as an absolute rule"
> "When you say 'not as a rule' - what do they do in other communities?"
> "The communities have a Handbook but they have the option to operate on their own terms. It is left up to the Governor and the Council as to how much will be accepted from the Handbook or not - how much will be altered to fit their

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[9]The principal also explained that during the transition of power on the political level little could be accomplished in the educational sphere by the A.S.B. because the gap in leadership prevented decisions regarding educational issues from being legitimized.

> own purposes. There are many gaps in the Handbook so that the principal in other communities does not necessarily vote or, on the other hand, his vote may count more - this depends on the individual pueblo."
>
> (From interviews held in San Juan, July, 1969)

Since the beginning of the A.S.B.'s existence in San Juan, the principal of the Day School has played a decisive role in determining the policy which it adopts. Rather than merely providing accessible expertise on educational matters, the principal has been allowed to assume an equal voice on the board. Authority thus has become distributed correspondingly among a group of four rather than representing only the will of representatives from the community. The extent of this is evidenced in the following testimony by the mother of a young woman from San Juan applying for a teacher's aid position.

> Mrs. J. told me that in June her daughter had come home and decided to file an application for the newly vacated place as teacher's aide in the kindergarten for the fall. Her daughter felt that perhaps she would work to help out, take the year off and save the money and then reapply to college. Mrs. J. was upset about this and decided to call Mr. C. (the principal). Mr. C. said that he would accept the application with the others he had but that he personally was more in favor of Mrs. J's daughter continuing her education. On the night that Mr. J. was going to the A.S.B. meeting (he was one of the three members) his daughter mentioned, in passing, that her application would be among those that he, along with the other two board members and Mr. C. would have to review. Mr. J. was very angry and said that he wanted her to continue her education. As a result, she decided to remove her application from the list of applicants.
>
> "Who chooses the teacher's aide?"
>
> "The three man A.S.B. and Mr. C. Before the board came into existence, this selection was left totally to the discretion of the principal."
>
> (Interview with Mrs. J.)

With regard to the amount of authority exerted by the governor on the board, here the influence has been more subtle in nature. Although the governor does not define what the school board should do, the A.S.B. and the principal consult with him when they think it is necessary to have his opinion in deciding on matters calling for their endorsement. However, the real source of the governor's influence on the board's decisions was revealed by informants answering the following question: "What if the governor says something contrary to the school board - does the governor have the final say?" "The governor chooses all the members of the school board." (Note: Two facts are interesting here: 1) the response to a hypothetical with the actual, and 2) the fact that no specifications as to who should appoint board members are made in the Handbook thereby leaving this decision totally up to the pueblo and thus open to the most influential force in the community.) It becomes evident then that the particular orientation represented by the governor of San Juan at the time will be the one reflected in those chosen to be on the community's school board.

Thirdly, the actual amount of power which has been exerted by the A.S.B. in San Juan has depended not only on the formal and informal distribution of authority to various individuals but also on the amount of initiative that the three board members have themselves assumed in carrying out their roles. Numerous interviews confirmed the fact that the A.S.B. in San Juan could most effectively bring its pressure to bear in the area of hiring teacher aides; that is, it is through this issue that it could most successfully influence the character of its school.

Desirous of determining the degree to which this has had actual meaning in San Juan, I asked numerous people, "Who selects the Teacher Aides?"

> Principal:
> "The A.S.B. selects them - it has been doing so for the last two years. The A.S.B. has been given the authority to put out notices related to hiring - they don't do the actual hiring but they give recommendations. They have the authority to screen applications and recommend who would do the job best. Then these recommendations are sent to the Agency and as a rule the Agency agrees with what the A.S.B. has done."

> Chairman of the A.S.B.:
> "The three man A.S.B. reviews and decides on who shall be taken as Teachers Aides for the school. This is subject to B.I.A. approval but we have never been contradicted by them in the decisions we made."

> Teacher in Day School during conversation pertaining to hiring:
> "The A.S.B. is more than just advisory; it makes recommendations too. This is not absolute however, and in that sense it is merely advisory - if they recommend somebody it doesn't necessarily mean that that person will be hired, but there is a good chance that he will be. The people that hire teachers aides have a great deal of confidence in the people on the A.S.B. Also, this is the trend- letting Indian people have a greater voice in problems of their school and exerting greater interest in their own matters."

Another area often mentioned by San Juan inhabitants as constituting a source of potential control over the educational structure was the board's power to call meetings and decide on the nature of the agenda. The principal explained that the chairman calls the meetings of the A.S.B. and makes up the agenda. He might allow the principal to make up the agenda, but it has to be signed and approved by the Chairman. Sometimes the Chairman might designate the Secretary to make up the agenda.

"Does he consult with the other two members of the board when he makes up the agenda?"
"Yes, generally."
"How many times do they meet?"
"As a rule the board meets once a month and special meetings are called if necessary - by the Chairman. The principal might call a meeting if necessary but this has to be approved by the chairman. However, in practice I usually make out the agendas and he signs and approves it - it has to have his consent."

Upon inquiring as to what issues generally constituted the agenda at regular meetings, Mr. C. noted: problems regarding playground equipment, food for the school, maintenance of the school.

"When petitioning for materials are the letters signed by all of you?"
"No, the chairman states who was there and who approved but he is the only one who signs it. With the backing of the A.S.B. they feel more can be done than if the principal sends the letter in. The A.S.B. holds more weight than the principal asking for something alone."

Thus, we see that the potential of the A.S.B. to decide on issues considered of importance to the community seems possible within the guidelines set forth by the B.I.A. The A.S.B., it appears, holds the power to call meetings when <u>it feels necessary</u>, regarding issues that <u>it considers relevant</u>. How this has in fact been actualized in San Juan can be assessed from the following quotations from the interviews:

1. From the principal:
"However in practice I usually make out the agendas and he (the chairman of the A.S.B.) signs and approves them - it has to have his consent."

2. From the Chairman of the A.S.B.:
"One of the most important changes necessary to be made regarding the A.S.B. is expanding its number from three to seven so that meetings don't have to depend on whether one of the three people can make it. With the expanded number we would not need to depend on the presence of <u>all</u> for a meeting to take place and a meeting could be called without the principal."

3. From a wife of one of the members of the A.S.B.:
"Who calls the meetings of the A.S.B.?
"The chairman although he hasn't called any in a long time, or else we just don't know about them because Mr. __ isn't here very often. He hasn't been able to go to any P.T.A. meetings either so I sometimes go for him because he either isn't here or is too tired when he comes home from work."

4. From a teacher at the school during a conversation in which we were discussing the lack of participation among the parents in school matters:
"The three men on the school board don't get things started either because they're too busy in their own jobs. They leave the dirty jobs to the staff. They never make an attempt to persuade the people to participate. They think it's the people's own decision; if they want to or not. It's not for them to tell them they should.
"We have to find a way to get the people over. The A.S.B. members don't want to be responsible for things being carried out because 1) they receive no pay and 2) it can be turned against them by federal officials and/or the rest of the community."

5. From a member of the A.S.B.:
"The principal usually calls the meetings. Progress would be made if the board itself would call the meetings. This would constitute a significant step forward in terms of local initiative being generated in decision making."

3. Scope of Advisory School Board in Santa Clara - 1968-1969

During the period in which San Juan was instituting an A.S.B., Santa Clara too was establishing such a structure. Its genesis however not only differed considerably from that of San Juan's but also set the tone for the type of body into which it was to develop.

Santa Clarans informed me that when faced with the task of setting up an A.S.B. the Council decided to turn this responsibility over to the parents and teachers as well. The Council felt that decisions regarding the appointment of school board members should be shared by all three groups so as to

insure full representation. In this way they hoped to receive much greater cooperation from the community in all educational matters affecting the pueblo than had they restricted the task of selecting board members to themselves. By allowing community members to engage openly with one another in the formulation of policy relevant to their lives, the Council looked forward to instilling trust and generating further participation in pueblo affairs (from interviews - 1969).

The ideals advocated by the Council at the initial stage of the School Board's existence continue to manifest themselves in the period following its establishment. The principal of the school explained how the board is run:

> "They meet with us once a month and they advise the Governor and the Education Committee about the school - they give suggestions for the operation of the school and they make a Report to the Director of Schools for the Area every month."
>
> "What do you mean by 'us'?"
>
> "The principal and the parents. The parents are invited every time to each meeting. Sometimes an official from the Department of Education comes to the meeting to explain issues which are important and relevant to the community."
>
> "When do you have meetings?"
>
> "Every month. These are decided upon at the beginning of the year. They (the A.S.B.) set up a schedule of meetings for the whole year and get speakers for each occasion. When special issues arise new meetings aren't called but the speakers are postponed until the next meeting."
>
> "What is the role of the P.T.A.?"
>
> "We have no P.T.A. The parents come to the A.S.B. meetings instead. There has never been a P.T.A. We feel we have the backing of the parents and therefore don't need a formalized one. The Governor and Council decided they didn't want a formal P.T.A. Rather than have a forced one, it is made known to the parents that they can come to school whenever they want. They do, and we have a better relationship that way."

These remarks were confirmed by a member of the A.S.B. who said:

"When a speaker comes, the parents ask him questions

> and then a discussion usually ensues. If there is no speaker, the parents discuss problems only with the A.S.B. and tell them what they feel should be tackled."

The relationship of the A.S.B. to the Day School's staff differs as sharply from that prevailing in San Juan as does its relationship to the community. In the first place, the chairman of the board is the one who arranges for the meetings, with no advice or guidance at all from the principal. This was indicated by all those interviewed of an official or non-official position. Secondly, plans made by the chairman alone, or in association with the other members of the board, are never thwarted by any sort of power play on behalf of the principal. The reason for this is that the principal is highly vulnerable because in this community the Board has assumed the role of selecting whom they feel should act in this capacity. Thirdly, in order to insure that desired conditions be maintained in the school, the school board members constantly observe and evaluate the way in which the teachers are carrying out their roles. (Note: An example of this tendency can be found in a resolution which was passed during the Spring of 1969 in which the A.S.B. 1) commended the activities of one teacher and recommended that she be promoted; and 2) demanded a change in the subjects taught by another teacher whom they felt had been assigned to the wrong class.) Fourthly, the A.S.B., in choosing teacher aides, has not only submitted recommendations as to whom they would prefer, but has also made general demands to the Bureau of Indian Affairs that it follow certain criteria in picking these teachers. In this way, the board hopes to extend an on-going influence regarding hiring on the B.I.A. rather than having its weight felt only with regard to individual applications (from interviews conducted in summer 1969).

Finally, the composition of the three member A.S.B. differs significantly from that of the San Juan board. This is epitomized in the fact that one of the members is a woman. As a mother of four and the former leader of the pueblo's 4H club for a number of years, she was chosen for her experience in working with the children of the community. In addition, having worked closely with the school on a voluntary basis even when not on the School Board she was known to have a basic familiarity with the staff and facilities.

4. Establishment of PROJECT TRIBE by B.I.A. - Spring 1969

In the spring of 1969 the B.I.A. issued a set of guidelines which would allow for complete community control over education in the pueblos. Given the title Project Tribe, this document constituted an extension of the provisions granted to the A.S.B. in 1968. While providing the same conditions that previously would have been defined as subcontracting the new document however assured the communities greater B.I.A. support in the undertaking. A presentation of its major specifications can be found in Appendix VIII.

5. Summer 1969 - Presenting PROJECT TRIBE to San Juan Pueblo

As mentioned in the Introduction to this paper, in the summer of 1969 Dr. Alfonso Ortiz and I, under the sponsorship of the Association on American Indian Affairs and with the consent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs entered the San Juan pueblo in order to present the new set of guidelines and assess the community's reactions to it. Our task was to determine both for the A.A.I.A. and the B.I.A. the degree of receptivity

to this program by the total community.

Before describing the reaction by the community to the option of total community control over education, a reevaluation of the previously mentioned conditions regarding local initiative in this area should be made:

1. The first conclusion that can be drawn regarding community participation in the educational matters of San Juan concerns the position of the A.S.B. in relation to the political system of the community. Although a deep-rooted ideological connection seems to exist between the traditional governing structure and the members of the A.S.B., no functional interlocking of responsibility exists between leaders of the two institutions. The credibility gap that prevails with regard to decision making on the political level impedes proper functioning and full legitimization of the A.S.B. At the same time, the attempt by the school board members to adhere to the values existing in the political sphere adds to their ineffectiveness. In trying to formulate policy that would be representative of the ideals prevalent in the Council they are not doing justice to the level of efficiency they should be attaining.

2. The second conclusion that can be drawn concerns the nature of decision-making engaged in by the A.S.B. members. It seems evident - from testimonies representing all sides of the issue, as well as from the actual position taken by the B.I.A. - that the B.I.A. has permitted and encouraged members of the A.S.B. to fully explore the possibilities of grass roots democracy. The degree to which the A.S.B. appears to have taken

advantage of this opportunity is made evident through a number of indications: a) the principal's attesting to the fact that he, in actuality, makes up the agenda; b) reference by an A.S.B. member's wife to the fact that meetings are called very infrequently; c) one of the board member's complaints that meetings often have to be postponed because of conflicting personal schedules of its members.

3. The third conclusion that emerges concerns the role of the professional people who are associated with the workings of the school board. On the one hand, it seems that the professionals connected with the running of the school are totally unaware of relevant political and social occurrences in the political realm and thus cannot carry out their duties effectively. An example of this is the case of the principal being so divorced from knowledge about the transition of power in the community that he could not initiate appropriate changes in the educational sphere when it was necessary for them to be made by him. On the other hand, a certain amount of infringement of power by these professionals seems evident. The degree to which the principal participates in the decisions adopted by the school board serves as the most striking example.

We noted earlier that in attempting to determine the nature of communal opinion regarding local control we interviewed the broadest possible cross-section of inhabitants, while simultaneously conducting in-depth and repeated discussions with political and educational leaders of the community (see pages 10-15 for full description of this procedure).

As a result of the home visits and impromptu conversations carried out with the members of the average population of San Juan, it became evident that the following aspects of the childrens' schooling concerned them the most:

1. Maintaining their tradition and culture in the curriculum presented to their children. They felt that this would contribute strongly to establishing a sense of self-pride necessary among the younger generation.

2. Improving the quality of the teachers employed both in the public and B.I.A., schools.

3. In addition, some parents were dissatisfied with the type of responsibility being allocated to teacher aides, particularly in the Day School. Many felt that what the aides had to offer was being mishandled because they were being assigned clerical work for which they had no experience, i.e. marking papers, rather than being put to good use as liaisons between the teacher and student in the classroom.

4. All parents questioned expressed definite support for local control.

5. When questioned further on this matter many gave reasons for their position which revealed a responsible assessment of the issues involved. Their commitment was thus evaluated as a potential resource for carrying the program through. Many however were unable to explain logically why they favored local control. When probed more intensely it became clear that these people considered local control to be a "good" thing because they knew they should, but not because they had any real intellectual or

ideological commitment to it. When faced with local control in practice, they would pay it lip service but never extend themselves in any way in order to actualize it.

6. The main reason given in support for local control by those who revealed a conscientious involvement in it was that it could serve as an influence on the teacher situation. As one mother put it:

> Local control could be of help as the community would be more able to make teachers aware of their responsibilities. The community, as a unified force, could more readily approach the teachers directly to make them aware of the roles they should be leading.
>
> (Interview held in August, 1969)

The reactions among the leaders were largely mixed. Although all expressed approval for the goals of Project Tribe in theory, many were skeptical about implementing it. Among the traditionally-minded, this skepticism revolved around the question of whether such a program would infringe on their political control. For the untrusting, skepticism focused on the possibility of once more being deceived by their Anglo neighbors. The B.I.A. was only initiating this program, they felt, as a means of gradually fading out their school. Project Tribe was a device they believed, to hand over another sphere of tribal affairs to the community in order to terminate necessary federal support and thereby eventuate the closing of the Day School (from interviews held in summer of 1969).

Those who genuinely did favor local control felt that it could profit the community most in the area of teacher performance.

They believed that this could be achieved not by bringing power to bear on the teachers once they had been appointed, but rather in terms of the actual hiring.

> Said one:
> "If the community would have a say as to who should be hired, then our influence would be filtered down. This would safeguard against political appointments and would permit us to reach the classroom situation and improve it."
>
> Said another:
> "If we were allowed to hire qualified Indian teachers the community would have much more confidence in its Day School and more would return to it and be able to benefit from its other advantages.' If local control means being able to choose teachers who are more developed in our culture, then the program could be a very good one."
>
> (From interviews held in summer of 1969)

6. Summer 1969 - Presenting PROJECT TRIBE to Santa Clara

It often happened that, during interviews or conversations in San Juan, informants would mention Santa Clara as the more logical place for discussing the goals of Project Tribe. We therefore decided, as in San Juan, to interview as many of the average residents of Santa Clara as possible in order to investigate thoroughly the basis for a difference in approach to local control over education between the two communities. Moreover, here again the sessions were supplemented with more intense discussions with the pueblo's leaders. There was only one major difference between these sessions and those conducted in San Juan. At Santa Clara the interviews were usually held later in the day and therefore included the opinions of more heads of households.

During the home visits and the more informal conversations

engaged in at other occasions and in different places, the following major views regarding their childrens' schooling were expressed by the parents of Santa Clara:

1. Cultural activities should not be taught by the school. Parents emphasized the fact that they were sending their children to school to learn English and other basic skills and that the school should attempt to develop successful programs for their children primarily in these areas. They themselves would take care of the child's cultural identity at home. Only in this way would their children, they hoped, be provided with the necessary background in both areas.

2. Many parents complained about the teachers. Although they did not raise the issue of quality as much as San Juan parents, they deplored the fact that the teachers were "only a part of the school" rather than "part of the community." They felt tha the teachers were unaware of the needs of the students and thus unable to help them because of their unfamiliarity with the childrens' total social setting.

3. All individuals interviewed expressed support for local control and pointed out that the community had already played with the idea of instituting such a program before having even heard of Project Tribe. They believed that the pueblo could undertake such an enterprise successfully and that the community would definitely back those more functionally involved in carrying the program through.

4. Some of the residents of Santa Clara had joined the community's leaders on a trip to Rough Rock Demonstration School

in order to investigate the implications of local control. Although all supported the ideal involved and would work toward actualizing it in their community, many, as a result of this visit, had definite ideas as to the advantages and disadvantages of local control. They felt that the greatest advantage lay in the program's potential to provide residents with a large number of meaningful roles and thereby raise the morale of the community. On the other hand, local control might serve, some felt, to isolate the pueblo to a greater degree than it already was as a result of natural consequences, i.e. geographic position, cultural differences. By minimizing interaction outside the pueblo community control could prove more harmful than helpful to the community. This, then was a factor which the pueblo would have to guard against when implementing local control.

The views expressed by the leaders of the community regarding local control revealed much forethought and deliberation. They pointed out that before the issue of local control had ever been raised, they had contracted to the B.I.A. for Government funds to go <u>directly</u> to them rather than through Washington. They also explained that they considered the prospect of local control to be such an important issue that they had conducted a trip to Rough Rock in order to study this model and learn from it. Upon their return, they had conferred with the B.I.A. as to the possibility of instituting such a program in their community. Yet, because certain misgivings remained, the task had, as of August 1969, not yet been undertaken.

On the one hand the leaders felt compelled to institute local control as quickly as possible because they realized the limitations inherent in the structure of the A.S.B.

> Said one:
> "The most important aspect of a successful school is the curriculum and the teachers. The A.S.B. is nothing because it has no power over these two most crucial issues."

Moreover, many leaders said that local control was necessary as a precautionary method for that day when the B.I.A. would close down all reservation schools. If local control could be instituted before this happened the community would be able to take over their school rather than have it die out. It was therefore necessary to have the appropriate experience in advance which would allow the community to handle the situation when the critical moment arose and not be caught in the chaos of crisis. "It is important that this be done," said one, "because the Indian people like their Day School as an institution and like having it on the reservation," (From interviews conducted in summer of 1969).

On the other hand, however, some of the leaders were fearful of the responsibilities attached to such an undertaking. They were worried about having to bear a burden that perhaps might create a financial and political strain on the community. They expressed concern over the fact that by providing the supplies and insurance previously handled by the B.I.A. they might be jeopardizing the economy of the pueblo in other areas. They would, the leaders said, be willing to initiate the project immediately if they knew they could rely on a definite

source to provide them with 1) publicity, 2) money (private funds), 3) political support, and 4) a follow-through person committed totally to carrying out the administrative tasks during the school's first year of its existence. (Note: On September 8, 1969 the Council of Santa Clara passed a resolution to implement Project Tribe in their community - see Appendix IX for the document. Since then, one of the community's younger leaders, and recently elected Lieutenant Governor, has been actively engaged in settling the financial and bureaucratic matters necessary for the establishment of the locally-run school.)

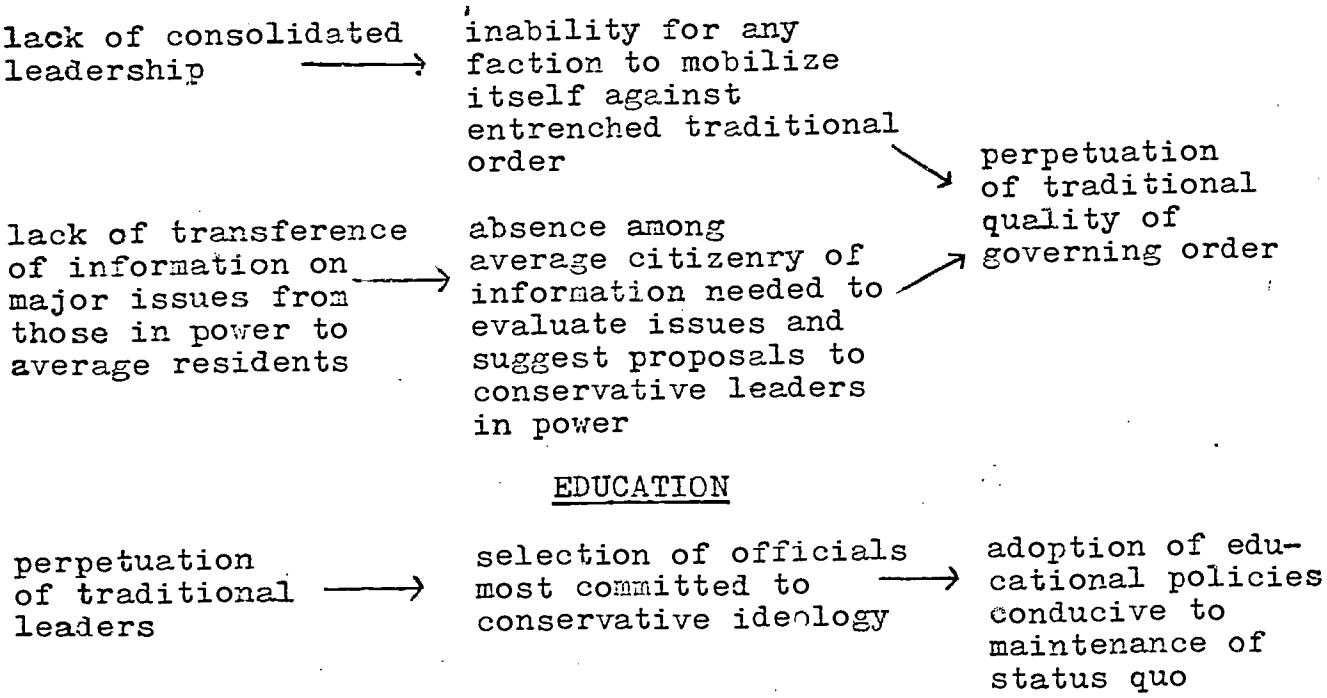
C. THE TWO COMMUNITIES: IMPACT OF SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES ON ESTABLISHMENT OF LOCAL CONTROL

In comparing the two communities, the difference in extent to which each has exploited the possibilities for local control provided by the Advisory School Board situation becomes evident, and sheds light on the potential for further development of local control over formal education within San Juan and Santa Clara.

Although the interviews revealed that members of both pueblos possess an interest in establishing complete community control, Santa Clara has advanced much more toward actualizing this objective. From the testimonies received in the summer of 1969, I would hypothesize that Santa Clara's progress can be attributed to the fact that it has not had to cope with certain structural variables which have interfered with San Juan's potential for educational change. Most important among these

variables are: 1) the absence of consolidated leadership to generate consensus over major issues; 2) the existence of a communication gap between the community's governing body and its average citizenry; 3) the subsequent allocation of final decisions to those community leaders who are least aware of, and/or committed to, modern demands.

The following diagram will help to clarify the way in which these three factors have had a direct impact in defining San Juan's educational system:



In Santa Clara the already institutionalized policy of conducting open meetings among all members of the community has contributed significantly toward laying a foundation for complete local control. Furthermore, the division of secular and religious responsibility in the pueblo has also added to this community's more progressive stance toward educational issues.

sharing of decision-making by all members of the community → tradition of general participation in determining issues → potential force for undermining arbitrary rule of traditional leaders

division of secular and religious responsibility → authority derived on basis of expertise rather than position held → potential force for undermining arbitrary rule of traditional leaders

EDUCATION

limited power of traditional leaders → selection of officials most experienced in modern techniques → adoption of education policies geared to meeting modern demands

PART III

PRESENT "INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES: What They Are and How They Developed

Underlying present objectives to institute local control over the schools on Indian reservations is the hope that such a policy will improve American Indians' sense of relevance of their own behavior to the outcome of their destiny. Although the connection between community control and sense of personal efficacy has never been established among American Indians, a relationship between the two has nonetheless been hypothesized widely among scholars (i.e. Josephy, 1969). In the following section I will describe the "internal control" attitudes of San Juaners and Santa Clarans - that is, the degree to which they expect that their behavior can affect changes in the specific situations in which they are involved. The discussion will not be based on rigorous measurement of individuals' sense of mastery over their fate. Rather, it will be based on a critical examination of the attitudes revealed to me during the open-ended interviews which I conducted. Nor will I suggest any directional interplay between approach to local control over education and more generalized attitudes. Instead, I will limit myself to a description of present "internal control" attitudes of the members of the two communities under consideration. Hypotheses as to the interrelationship between local control and "internal control" attitudes and the implications of these interrelationships will be suggested in Part IV.

DEFINITION OF "INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES

In this discussion, "internal control" attitudes will not refer to specific, measurable reactions to certain situational stimuli[10] but rather will represent an overall perception of one's ability to master circumstances.

It should first be pointed out that "internal control" implies an expectancy variable rather than a motivational one. High "internal control" refers to the perception of events as being a consequence of one's own actions and thereby under personal control; low "internal control" refers to the perception of events as being unrelated to one's own behavior in certain situations and therefore beyond personal control.

Individuals differ in the specific areas over which they believe themselves able to control outcomes (Kleinfeld, 1968). One person might believe that he could exert control over his career advancement but could not influence political outcomes. A different person might believe that his actions could influence political outcomes, although external forces block his career advancement. The generalization of control attitudes may thus differ among individuals within a group. At the same time, they may differ considerably between total population groups. Among high status groups, which control varied resources, control beliefs in different areas may be highly related; in more marginal groups, they may not. Individuals, as members of groups, are prone to internalize

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[10] That is, an individual's "internal control" attitudes will not, in this paper, represent his possession of certain predefined attributes which are measured along a scale developed for this purpose, i.e. Havighurst and Neugarten, 1955; Rotter, Seaman and Liverant, 1962; Jessor, et. al., 1958.

the attitudes toward mastery most representative of their group. A true indication of individual "internal control" attitudes therefore is one which separates a sense of personal control from the acceptance of cultural norms of personal responsibility for success.

In this paper "internal control" attitudes will be differentiated first by area - control over nature, over social situations, and over self will be treated as separate constructs. Furthermore, the analysis of "internal control" attitudes which is to follow reflects certain precautions which were taken during the actual field investigation. When questioning pueblo residents about their "internal control" attitudes an attempt was made to have them differentiate attitudes reflecting cultural norms from those representing personal points of view, i.e. "Everyone says it can be done," vs. "I personally feel it can be done." In addition, informants were asked to distinguish their attitudes toward mastery over generalized, objective situations in the three areas from attitudes regarding personal situations, (i.e. "It is not difficult to attain a position of leadership in this community," vs. "I don't feel I could ever overcome my shyness enough to aspire to a position of leadership."). Furthermore, a reality measure (how do you plan to do it - where do you go for resources to accomplish it) and a defense measure were included, the latter in order to mitigate against confusing low "internal control" attitudes with externalization of defensiveness because of past failure.

Although the analysis which is to follow incorporates the

precautions which were taken during data-collection, it does not treat as a separate theoretical issue each of the specific considerations enumerated above. Rather, it assumes, for instance, that those variables affecting "internal control" attitudes on the cultural level will do so on the personal level as well. In cases where this cannot be assumed, the analysis will differentiate between respondents' objective vs. subjective evaluations, between cultural vs. personal outlooks, between realistic vs. unrealistic appraisals.

CHAPTER 6

"INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES OVER NATURE

A. SAN JUAN

1. Natural Phenomena as Viewed by San Juaners

All accounts of San Juan's development report that the Tewa Myth of Origin has traditionally constituted the foundation upon which San Juaners have organized their perception of time and space (Parsons, 1929; Aberle, 1948; Dozier, 1969; Ortiz, 1969). Recent studies (Ortiz, 1969; Ford, 1968) as well as my own investigation reveal that this myth continues to provide San Juaners with a set of definitions which place human, spiritual and animal species into a set of related categories. According to the resulting classification, certain natural phenomena are viewed as spiritual forces capable of determining natural life. Thus, San Juaners deify and worship those elements of nature about them which provide concrete evidence of the force, i.e. the clouds, the wind, the snow, the rain. The sun, the moon and the sky are considered the beings of greatest power.

Because the inhabitants of San Juan perceive natural phenomena as abstract, spiritual forces, it is difficult for them to comprehend the practical workings of these elements. Ford, when questioning them in 1968 found them unable for instance to recognize the relationship of topography and drainage patterns with the amount of water in their irrigation ditches and the level of their water table (Ford, 1968:142).

A connection is perceived between moisture and the growth of some, but not all, plants. In addition, San Juaners recognize

that various plants and animals are found at different altitudes and they maintain that without the mountains certain plants and animals would not be present. However, they believe that the mountains are responsible for certain plants because they are closer to the deities who control important meteorological events such as thunder, lightning and rainfall.[11]

Residents of San Juan interpret various signs from nature as indications from the deities of future meteorological events. Some of these signs are derived by viewing 1) the behavior of animals (i.e. robins migrating up the Rio Grande Valley before they are expected in early March indicate an early spring), 2) various celestial phenomena (i.e. when the moon is encircled by a gray halo, low temperatures are expected), and 3) such phenomena as corn at husking (i.e. if the husks are numerous the winter will be very cold), (Ford, 1968; interviews, 1969).

2. Ability to Control Nature

San Juaners do not passively witness the unfolding of natural events in chronological succession throughout the year. Instead, they believe that their actions can influence the rhythm of nature both beneficially and adversely. This belief is limited however by their adherence to those definitions of their Myth which specify which natural events can be controlled by Man and who in the community is allowed to control them (Parsons, 1929; Ortiz, 1969; Ford, 1968).

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[11] In the Emergence Myth, the four mountains surrounding San Juan are defined as sacred areas because they indicate the boundaries within which the spiritual forces that preside over San Juan should reign (from personal communication with Ortiz, July 4, 1969).

The people of San Juan believe that life continues as it did in the past and that the population survives only if the rules of behavior established by their ancestors are obeyed (from interviews held in summer 1969). Individual and group misconduct can anger the ancestral spirits and elicit a negative response from the natural forces, whereas proper behavior can bring forth the opposite reaction (Ford, 1968:145). This concept constitutes a major theme in all past and present San Juan fables. Permeating their tales is the moral that the surest way for San Juaners to insure their existential safety is by finding favor in the eyes of those gods controlling the natural forces. Therefore, the most advantageous way to master one's fate is to be a righteous man; that is, to do ritual, give gifts to the gods and to follow traditional patterns (de Huff, 1922; Parsons, 1926; Ahlee, 1927; La Farge, 1965). Note: Appendix X should be consulted for a more extensive analysis of Tewa literature.

3. Views on Nature→Farming Activities

We have seen that although San Juaners view nature as a force beyond their direct control, they believe that ritual attempts can influence the spiritual intermediaries responsible for directing natural events. As a result, the initiation and pursuit of agricultural activities are controlled on the ritual level. The basic structure of San Juan's activities consists of retreats and prayer sessions[12] and throughout the year dance

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[12]The annual cycle of Spring Works by the Made People is an example of the attempt to elicit a specific event in nature, in this case, influencing the rain gods to "bring the leaves to life." This is achieved through fasting and by conducting a pilgrimmage and special rituals in the hills to the east of San Juan. There, several small piles of stone (Kaye) represent

ceremonies are performed, the intent of each being to harmonize man's relations with the spirits and thereby to insure that desired changes will continue to occur in nature. In the summer the dances are meant to bring rain for germinating and maturing the crops. The winter dances are hunting dances in which San Juaners get into harmony with the animal world by imitating animals of the chase in dress and movement (Parsons, 1926; Ford, 1968; Ortiz, 1969; Dozier, 1969).

The effect that these religious ceremonies have on the farming activities of San Juan residents seems to be two-fold. First, San Juaners will pursue the secular activities related to specific rituals only after they have conducted the ritual or else they feel that their attempts at farming will be futile. Thus, actual harvesting for instance will not take place until the harvest dances invoking the spirits to protect the crops are held (Parsons, 1929; Ford, 1968). Secondly, the religious influence extends into the actual process of produce gathering. Younger residents are obligated to conduct certain activities with the more revered members of the community so as to insure their success by virtue of the latter's presence. At the same time, San Juaners are required to gather goods only from those areas specified in their Myth as providing the desired resources. As a result, hunting usually involves pairs of men going into

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shrines or places where prayer meal is sprinkled and prayer said by the moiety chiefs. Then feather offerings are made to the Water Serpent. A San Juan informant referred to the function of prayer feathers as being "like a telephone," i.e. they carry the message to a distance. This remark rests on the community's belief that feathers are a gift of clothes and adornment for the spirits and thus have the ability to influence them (Parsons, 1929; confirmed by Ortiz, 1969).

certain hill areas together for four or five days after deer, elk, turkeys and quail for about a month in late winter and two weeks in the fall.

This method of procurement guarantees San Juaners no surplus over the long run - birds and other produce are not stored but are eaten daily when available. Depending as significantly as they do on their immediate reapings, San Juaners feel unable to lay aside some of their produce for experimental purposes aimed at possibly enlarging their agricultural intake (from interviews held in summer 1969). In addition, the ceremonial organization provides a built-in mechanism to eliminate inequalities in need, in that it functions to pool and redistribute food from the "haves" to the "have nots" (Ford, 1968; Dozier, 1969). In this way it contributes toward counteracting any incentive to innovate as it provides an ultimate source of food which can be counted on.

In summary, we note that San Juaners have internalized and continue to adhere to the distinctions provided in their Myth of Emergence to define the environment in which they live. This has served to provide them with a particular perspective on nature and their ability to control it. These views, in turn, seem to have affected their agricultural activities in the following three ways: 1) Because they consider spiritual support to be a necessary part of any successful agricultural venture, all farming activities are initiated and defined by religious ceremonies developed for each seasonal demand. 2) Because they believe certain geographical areas to be designated with particular characteristics, only activities which correspond

to the specifications of the areas will be undertaken there. 3) Because they consider certain signs from nature to be spiritual indications of events to come they regulate their agricultural activities accordingly. If unforeseen conditions develop they interpret this as punishment by the gods for bad behavior, rather than resulting from their limited techniques. Consequently, they see little need to develop modern farming methods. At this point we would like to consider how certain of the community's objective characteristics have also played a role in this process.

4. Agricultural Situation→"Internal Control" Attitudes

Because the most important variables affecting the natural environment of San Juan, i.e. rainfall and temperature, are highly unpredictable, San Juaners feel intimidated in their ability to predict the ultimate outcomes of their activities. We have seen however that because they adhere 1) to the belief that spiritual forces are causing these circumstances, and 2) to a social system in which punishment is received for deviating from the traditional order, few modern methods have been developed by them to minimize the unpredictability of weather and geographic phenomena. Traditionally, San Juaners were able to accept this uncertainty as a natural component of life. However, recently, their sense of being able to manipulate their natural environment has decreased due to the following closely associated factors: 1) a deterioration in productivity of their plots because of overuse of land, 2) a decline in the market demand of their goods - a condition which they feel

themselves unable to affect, 3) an increase in having to be hired by Spanish-Americans - a situation in which they feel that the decision of <u>others</u> rather than their own are those which are affecting results, 4) continued expropriation of their lands despite increased and more conscientious attempts to counteract this.

When questioned about their present economic conditions as compared to those that they remembered living under when younger, San Juaners made reference to the interrelationship of the four above-mentioned factors. Increased awareness of the inappropriateness of their goods in a market economy, and the limitation of their land base has decreased their sense of being able to determine their fate through the manipulation of their natural environment. At the same time, an increase in <u>relative deprivation</u> has contributed toward undermining San Juaners' "internal control" attitudes over nature. The increase in relative deprivation has been brought on by 1) a growing disgust over their inability to maintain possession over their land as compared to other groups who have been able to do so; and 2) a heightened awareness of their inability to take advantage of the ever-more desired goods on the market.

When asked whether their adherence to the traditional methods of controlling their environment might not, in part, account for their inability to adapt to changing demands and consequently their economic decline, San Juaners dismiss this argument. Instead, they attribute their present condition to the infiltration of an externally imposed economic system.

Nonetheless, an increased awareness of the potential to change the situation exists in the pueblo. Although none felt personally capable of initiating such a change, San Juaners did express confidence in the pueblo's geographic capacity to produce a more viable economy if community members would unite themselves in a common revival of agricultural activities. Some felt that if a garden program were pursued as a group, a greater general sense of accomplishment and confidence would result as community members would once again have the opportunity to develop their own produce (from interviews held in summer of 1969).

B. SANTA CLARA

It would be redundant to describe again the different approach that Santa Clarans have taken toward controlling the environment in which they live. However, it would be unfair to assume a total incorporation of the "mastery over nature" principle into the "weltanshaun-" [illegible] se people. As in San Juan, the residents of Santa [illegible] a[illegible] strongly committed to a religious interpretation of nature, i.e. humanization of animals, deification of meteorological forces. However, these beliefs are relegated to a cultural position and are divorced from decisions of a practical nature.

Although it might seem that maintaining a traditional religious orientation would automatically interfere with the implementation of modern techniques necessary for community development, one example might aid in understanding this community's ability to incorporate successfully two basically divergent ideologies.

As part of the annual cycle of ceremonial activities meant to implore the natural phenomena to provide the community with their necessary resource is the Summer Rain ceremony. This ceremony consists of 1) the Summer Rain Retreats and 2) the Summer Dances. Both activities are carried out in all the Tewa pueblos, Santa Clara included. The former activity consists of a four day retreat in late August during which time the Summer Chief takes out food, melon, corn, etc. to their Mother. The Summer Dance Ceremony is performed in the hope of bringing rain for germinating and maturing the crops. I was fortunate to be able to attend all of those ceremonies scheduled during the summer months and therefore could make the following comparisons between Santa Clara and the other pueblos, San Juan in particular:

1) Santa Clara was the only pueblo which allowed observers to photograph the ceremony. However, aware of the fact that many people would do s because they wanted to retain this experience not only for itself but as an example of all other dances they had attended, the pueblo charged $2.50 for the privilege. (After payment each person had to attach a red, white and blue tag to his camera to indicate having paid the fee.)

2) Santa Clara was the only pueblo in which the governor, rather than standing near the shrine (to which each dancer payed his respects) and holding the cane of authority, walked around among the observers distributing pamphlets which advertised the Cliffs and the Canyon and chatted with

the onlookers. (Note: Although a "long-hair", the governor of Santa Clara - Chaverria - is most progressive in ideology and has been reelected by his community four times in succession.)

3) Santa Clara was the only pueblo in which the stands displaying Indian-made crafts for sale were in the square where the dances took place rather than in the adjacent plaza.

4) The Dances

The dances at Santa Clara differed markedly from those at San Juan and especially from those performed in the southern pueblos. Among the southern pueblos, the dances are composed of an incessant repetition of steps and chant intended to impress the deities with the importance of the people's needs. The only variation is the interchange of performance between the Summer and Winter Moiety dancers.

In the dances at San Juan ceremonies of reverance to the Catholic saints and Madonna are included as well. In addition, dances in which animals are impersonated are performed in this ceremony. However, despite these additions the basic structure of the Summer Rain Dance is maintained. The dancers emerge from the kiva. They are led by a pole carrier and accompanied by a chorus and drummer. There are two phases to the dances and both phases together are performed alternately by the two different moieties. The first phase includes the entrance and the circling of the plaza; during this time the two dance lines are parallel, with the leader of one dancing behind the pole carrier. For the second phase the two lines face each other with the leader of one line opposite the tail of the other line. From these basic positions the two lines break into several segments, forming a

series of circles and other formations as they weave back and forth between the original positions.

In contrast to the traditional dances described above, the ones in Santa Clara include a greater emphasis on the impersonation of animals rather than an invocation to rain. Although the rain dance is performed once as a part of the total ceremony in Santa Clara it does not constitute the entire ritual as among the more traditional pueblos where it is repeated over and over again. This would indicate that although Santa Clara continues to feel the need to beseech the gods for rain, it does not display the same sense of urgency and desperation which is evidenced in the solemn repetition of this act among the other pueblos. Secondly, the dances performed in Santa Clara constitute a series of separate types rather than only one dance performed by the two moieties alternately. This can be accounted for by the fact that the sense of moiety is not at all represented in the dances, and hence there is no need to repeat the performance back and forth between the groups. In addition, the variation of types can be understood in light of the fact that the Santa Clarans probably want to provide their paying onlookers with more of a "show" and therefore feel compelled to present a variated program. Thirdly, the act of giving penitence to the shrine is maintained. Here, as in all the other pueblos, sacrifices are given, offerings presented and personal penitence made by each dancer.

What has been presented here thus serves as an example of the way in which Santa Clara has incorporated its religious and practical attitudes toward nature into one construct. While

still maintaining a sense of subservience to the deities controlling natural forces, Santa Clarans, at the same time, display an ability to use this orientation as a means to further their control over other aspects of the environment.[13]

The lack of strict adherence to religious tenets as a guideline for controlling nature also has ramifications in terms of the agricultural techniques used by Santa Clarans. The account presented on page 59 of this report attests to the fact that, unlike San Juaners, Santa Clarans do not attribute frosts, floods, insect damage and other destructive events 1) to the improper performance of ceremonial works or 2) to ritual misconduct by a member of the pueblo. Rather, because they see a direct link between technological methods and agricultural processes, they seem more willing to experiment with modern techniques in order to elicit desired results in farming. Moreover, whereas San Juaners still tend to depend on the use of ritual for the redistribution of communal surplus of goods, Santa Clarans informed me that they had recently (June 1969) applied to federal and state agencies for technical assistance in the following areas: 1) soil conservation, 2) proper treatment of their crops and livestock, 3) maximal distribution of their goods to pueblo residents (from interviews held in summer of 1969 - confirmed in the June, 1969

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[13]This is not to imply that a deterioration in adherence to the traditional ideology of Tewa culture has occurred. Religious leaders still maintain a revered and superior position in the community. However, religious activities are given full attention only when they do not deter from the pueblo's ability to exploit potential financial opportunities.

Report of the North Central New Mexico Economic Development Action Program).

CHAPTER 7

"INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES OVER SOCIAL SITUATIONS

A. SAN JUAN

1. Social Institutions

San Juaners' orientation to social conditions is not affected by the same sense of defeatism which permeates their attitudes toward nature. In the social realm a much greater optimism regarding their ability to master the demands of the situation exists. The following example is a case in point:

Five years ago an Adult Education course was set up in San Juan. This was a government project designed to provide vocational training and to give credits toward attaining a high school diploma. Last year the women taking the course decided on their own that rather than merely acquiring a degree, they could put their skills to good use in a cooperative where they would sell what they produced to others and thereby make money for the community. As a result, they developed an independently functioning cooperative and most people have since been involved in it simply for the sake of raising the community's income. Recently the community incorporated this institution with no aid from the government, and all the money it now receives goes back into the pueblo.

The degree of community participation in making this enterprise a success has been widely publicized. An article in the "New Mexican" on July 28, 1969 describes this cooperation in the following terms:

> The 8 Northern Pueblos Vocational Arts and Crafts Project met Wednesday concerning the setting

up of cooperative businesses in Pojoaque.

Lee Richardson of the Coop League of America in El Paso spoke on how to set up a cooperative business. The San Juan group of craftsmen who recently formed a coop called Oke Oweenge explained to the group how they had started their coop. After only a week of existence the store has orders for $2,500 of hand-crafted work. This includes an order from the United Pueblos Agency in Albuquerque to decorate five offices. The coop also has an agreement to produce country aprons for a mail-order firm. The enterprise developed out of a class sponsored by the B.I.A. Adult Education Unit of San Juan. Classes were taught by Mrs. G. Montoya and Marcelino Garcia, both natives of San Juan pueblo.

The twenty five members of the coop make pottery, ceramic tiles, embroidered feet ponchos, drapes, aprons, hand-bags, colorful necklaces made of corn, pumpkin and melon seeds, woven sashes and blankets.

The cooperative ventures at San Juan began in late April when individuals at the adult education classes began selling their crafts and contributing a portion of the profits toward a cooperative to purchase materials more economically. With the election of officers this informal enterprise became a business.

Governor Frank Cruz of San Juan has expressed enthusiasm for the Oke Oweenge Co-op seeing it as another example of Indian self-help.

One of the unusual aspects of the Oke Oweenge Coop is that it was started with no outside money. It is self-supported and is managed by residents of San Juan pueblo.

Moreover, as of the summer of 1969 the Co-op had extended its sales to areas all over the country. In August a group of representatives from Oke Oweenge traveled to Georgia to speak of the coop's accomplishments and to share with others the sense of pride felt by its members. Following is the text of the Treasurer's remarks which I was asked to proof:

> My name is Crucita Talachy. I am the treasurer of the Oke Oweenge Crafts Cooperative. I live in San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico. My people have lived there for hundreds of years, even before any white men came to America.

Until recently we have always made out pots for cooking, our clothes and our ceremonial objects. Farming was a source of food for us.

Now, a few of our people still are farmers. But more of them have learned skills like welding, carpentry and drafting. Some of the men are maintenance men. Now, more young people are going to college.

But many people in San Juan are not well off. The part of New Mexico we live in has a high unemployment rate and very little new industry coming in.

About five years ago some of the people in the village who made crafts began to come to the adult education classes run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The teachers there, both craftsmen from San Juan themselves, encouraged these skilled people to come in order to keep the old crafts alive and to teach others how to make them. Potters, painters, woodcarvers, weavers all began to come regularly to the classroom.

After a few years the number of craftsmen interested in selling articles was over thirty. They did not want to stop making crafts, but they were tired of having to sell their crafts to Indian traders at wholesale prices that amounted to 10c an hour wages.

So we decided to organize a co-operative to keep the real old crafts alive and to adapt them to modern clothes styles and to bring money into the pueblo. Last year, on October 16, 1968 we were officially incorporated in New Mexico as the Oke Oweenge Crafts Cooperative. Oke Oweenge means San Juan in our language. Our coop is made up only of Indians who live in San Juan Pueblo. Our officers and board of directors are all Indians.

Since we organized we have sold many items to people far away as New York City and California. Many of our customers are Indians from other pueblo villages who want things for their ceremonies.

We are growing bigger. Now we have our work room and our salesroom together. We want to build a bigger building for our coop but so far we don't have enough money. All of the members are working very hard to reach this goal.

Now we have thirty eight members of the Oke Oweenge Cooperative making new items, filling orders from all over and making items under contract. It has been hard for us because none of us had ever run a store before. We get some advice from non-Indians but make all the decisions ourselves. We want to help our village and our families so we keep working and learning about business ways.

Thank you for this chance to tell you people

> about our co-op. I have never been to Georgia before and have flown in an airplane just once but I want to help the Oke Oweenge Cooperative any way I can so I came here. I hope you have learned something about how our co-op started and how it is going.

Although the Coop has made considerable progress, at the time that I was living in San Juan, the community was actively involved in trying to retain its hold over it. An Anglo man who has owned the general store in the community was trying to wrest the control (and subsequently the income) over the co-op from the residents of San Juan. In order to achieve this he told the people that he was putting them on the Board of Directors of the Co-op and issuing shares in it to them. Community members began to notice that they were being left out of the actual decision making process when they read in the newspaper that the name of the coop had been officially changed. Not having been notified of this formal transaction beforehand, they began to realize that the surreptitious change in name was really a change in who was wielding power over this institution. During the latter half of the summer they therefore were preparing to take action against this man in any or all of the following ways: 1) economic and social sanction, 2) Council sanction, 3) legal action.

I spent a lot of time during the summer of 1969 in the Coop doing clerical work for those running it. During that time I was able to question many of those working full or part time there as to whether they thought the community would be successful in counteracting the external force working against them. All expressed a definite optimism that they would.

Moreover, each accompanied these remarks with a realistic explanation of how they planned to achieve their goal - whom they planned to consult on the legal proceedings, how they planned to inform the rest of the community so as to make all aware of the general issue and the particular action that they were taking. Meetings were held throughout August under the leadership of the officers of the coop and with the legal advice of Anglos brought in for this purpose. At the time of my departure, the community had successfully achieved its goal - all responsibility had once again been turned over to the representatives of the people of San Juan.

This particular example is not an isolated case in San Juan's development. Similar such undertakings have been initiated and carried out by the community. Among them have been the following:

1) Sanitation Project

A sanitation program was started by the federal government in 1962 and terminated in 1965. At that time, the community was provided with the most minimal facilities necessary to take advantage of the sanitation system, i.e. pipes and a commode in each house. Realizing that the whole system could not function if they did not install further facilities necessary to carry water into their homes, the community decided to supply on its own the fixtures necessary to accomplish this. Since then, the program has been continuing under the total control of the community with no external agents helping in the process.

Moreover, Mr. Bartholomew, the Public Health Service

representative for the Tewa pueblos, informed me that San Juan was considered the "best" pueblo in terms of having contributed hired plumbers and laborers as well as facilities for the initial project. In addition, it has been most cooperative in passing ordinances to collect water bills and in properly keeping up the maintenance of what has been implemented. San Juan has also been the only pueblo to set up its own Utility Authority in order to carry out these responsibilities. Furthermore, in 1968 San Juan itself initiated the extension of the Sanitation program to the rural areas of the pueblo in order to serve those previously not reached (Interview, July 30, 1969 - confirmed by the P.H.S. reports to which I had access over the summer of 1969).

2) General Store

We noted before that the general store in San Juan is owned by an Anglo. It has been the policy of this man to hire those members of the community most gifted in arts and crafts so as to undermine the competition provided by the Coop. The members of the community however have become increasingly aware of the disservice this is doing them. As a result, in the fall of 1969 the community decided to launch a campaign to raise enough money so as to be able to buy the store when the lease on it expires.

4) Law and Order

In July of 1969, at a pueblo council meeting on law and order a decision was reached to remove or lower in rank a particular officer who was working against his own people in the name of the larger system. Previously, San Juaners would

not have engaged in decisions of this sort as they considered such positions to be subject only to regulations made by Anglo officials (from interviews held in summer of 1969).

5) Building Own Houses

In the summer of 1965 Professor Ortiz had an informal interview with P.K., one of the most prominent leaders of San Juan. During this interview the issue of the San Juan child's culturally inculcated reluctance to believe himself capable of becoming anything but what he saw around him was raised. Mr. K. felt that this issue was not a new one in the pueblo but "what is significant is the fact that the tendency is carried through to the individual's adult years." Several examples were recalled by Mr. K. of San Juaners hiring outsiders to build their homes, fill out income tax forms for them, plow their fields with tractors, etc., because they did not consider themselves able to do these things by themselves. Mr. K. explained that traditionally this may have resulted from the Bureau's policy of doing things for but not with the Indians. But more importantly, it was due to the fact that the traditional setting in which San Juan children grew up taught them that only certain types of aspiration were permissible and only certain goals attainable. These consist of the very general virtues of humility, cooperation, obedience to elders and pueblo authority, commitment to ritual knowledge, hard work (but with one's hands), raising many children to take care of one in his old age.

Mr. K. pointed out that until the post-war years the non-traditional tasks of carpentry, masonry, large-scale farming,

stock raising were left to Spanish-Americans and Anglos because they were regarded as skills which the Indian child could not develop. Only after service training and direct experience during the war effort did some Indian veterans begin to work in these occupations. However, as of 1965 Mr. K. could still cite many who were saving to pay an outsider to perform services which they could do themselves with a minimum of instruction.

During the summer of 1969 a marked change in attitude with regard to these matters could be evidenced. New homes were being built in a developing area of San Juan by the federal government but San Juaners were refusing to live in them because they did not represent the type of style they desired. Rather than being constructed of adobe, the homes were modern in format. San Juaners objected to the builders' failure to consult with them and planned to boycott the new houses until they themselves were permitted to specify what type of homes they desired and how they wanted them built.

A further extension of this trend can be found in the community's intention to establish a Center for Arts and Crafts. On July 13, 1969 the Arts and Crafts Coop had an exhibit of their goods. During the exhibition a number of San Juan residents and I spent time making a sign indicating the exact place of the event. While undertaking this activity they told me that they intended to build on their own a center for arts and crafts - a place where they could produce, display and store goods and [illegible] they could teach others in the community their skills. They felt that the process of building and developing

the center would instill pride in the pueblo and be a good issue around which members of the community could be brought together in mutual activity.

One informant explained that one of the reasons that the residents of the community wanted to participate in the construction of the Arts and Crafts Coop was to insure its being built in adobe rather than in the concrete that had been used for the new houses. He said that the community found it particularly necessary to create an Arts and Crafts Coop which maintained a style representative of their culture.

6) Multipurpose Building

Two years ago the residents of San Juan decided that the community needed a multi-purpose building in order to house many of the activities heretofore scattered among available rooms in the pueblo. It therefore filed a request for such a building to the N.C.N.M.E.D.[14] and promised to match this organization in funds necessary to actualize the project. On September 25, 1968 the "New Mexican" reported the approval of a $75,200 government grant from the Department of Commerce to help construct this multi-purpose building. "The facility will provide classrooms for adult basic education classes, Indian arts and crafts courses, and job-training programs of local firms, and provide shelf space for the Pueblo library. Other community and tribal activities can be held in the

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[14]The North Central New Mexico Economic Development Organization is an agency developed to plan the integrated development of, and to provide technical assistance to, small communities in northern New Mexico.

building. It also will house the programs of O.E.O. including Headstart activities for eighty children and the Neighborhood Youth Corps."

In addition, on May 11, 1969 the "New Mexican" ran the following article regarding the building:

> Grounding ceremonies got under way for a $94,000 San Juan multi-purpose training facility Lt. Governor Ed Cata told the New Mexican that this project is the first major project and the first major breakthrough in securing aid from the E.D.A. "But it won't be the last," he predicted. The facility was funded 20% by the tribe and 80% by the E.D.A. Cata said the facility will alleviate the congestion of facilities at the B.I.A. and parochial school since the classes being taught there will be transferred to the new center. He said that the classes now are scattered all over the reservation. "This is the first major breakthrough for the tribe" Cata said, "and it gives a a chance to see what we can do." Cata said there are other E.D.A. projects in the making.

2. Leadership

Although San Juaners feel a much greater sense of mastery over most social situations than over nature, this feeling does not extend into the realm of government. Leadership patterns and political decisions we noted are still molded by the conservative order and individual community members therefore feel unable to exert personal weight on such issues as have traditionally been reserved for those at the top of the religious hierarchy.

At the same time, the image that the leaders present to pueblo residents makes the latter question the significance of the decision-making process in their community. Many informants reported that most of the pueblo's leaders are

uneducated men; often they are of all members the most ignorant of changing social trends and national policies which could aid social conditions in San Juan. Consequently, they serve as ineffective intermediaries between the dominant culture and pueblo society and therefore are unable to effectuate necessary reform. More specifically, one San Juaner evaluated the capabilities of the present governor of San Juan in the following terms:

> Things are in a shamble with the present governor (because he was) elected by men who are increasingly out of touch with modern demands. The governors of San Juan have generally not known where they are going. Quite often they are the most ignorant men in the community with regard to modern demands and because of their ignorance assume more power than they should.

Aware of their leaders' lack of expertise yet knowing that these are the men responsible for communal decisions, San Juaners seem unable not to question the relevance of the whole governmental process in their community. They realize that many of the solutions presented by the elders to Anglo administrators have not been incorporated into the official policies applied to the community simply because of their irrelevance to modern demands. This probably has contributed to the sense of purposelessness among San Juaners regarding the outcome of their pueblo's decisions.

3. Difference in Attitudes Toward Social Situations

In 1965, Robert Bunker, author of Other Men's Skies, a widely acclaimed book describing the administrative development in the Tewa pueblos, said: "There are so many complex

reasons why a people may think they cannot achieve and the only proof- achievement itself- that they can. If success breeds success we must know what vast looming obstacles to success the habit of success overcomes."

It is interesting to note that San Juaners apparently have significantly less confidence concerning their ability to manipulate their government vs. other social institutions. This difference can probably be attributed to the fact that the opportunity which San Juaners have had to control their other social institutions has not been mirrored in the governmental realm. Whereas, until recently authority over such issues as law and order, sanitation and construction was vested in the hands of external authorities, of late pueblo members themselves have been allowed to assume responsibility in these areas. Because Anglo bureaucrats have increasingly permitted local residents to define the degree of community involvement in these matters, San Juaners have been able to acquire enough experience in handling institutional issues to make them believe in the worth of their own management.

It appears that the same sense of relevance does not exist with regard to patterns of governance for the following reasons: 1) The average citizen of the community is not permitted to contribute to the decision-making process of the Council; 2) San Juaners are rarely informed of the workings of the Council and therefore feel that they are unimportant to the system; 3) If an individual or group is permitted to present an issue to the Council, it can do so only after proving that the

suggestion is not directed in any way toward uprooting the traditional order;[15] 4) San Juaners are aware of the fact that the decisions presented by the pueblo's traditional representatives to Anglo administrators regarding political matters have little influence on final federal policies.

In summary, it seems that San Juaners have tended to initiate reform in social institutions other than their government because: 1) members of the traditional power structure have not as yet assumed leadership positions in these instituions; 2) expected rewards from involvement in these institutions appear more immediately accessible than those possible from participation in the political system; 3) the issues concerning these institutions do not interfere with the official functioning of the conservative order.

B. SANTA CLARA

1. Inside the Pueblo

a. Social Institutions

Santa Clarans have come to realize that not some vague, spiritual right to act within a predefined jurisdiction, but their own practical power to affect meaningful decisions is what is needed to bring about community development. However, before community action could become habitual, pueblo members

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15 It should be pointed out that where certain programs have been initiated and developed out of the community's awareness of its immediate needs (i.e. sanitation project), the traditional order has not interfered. As long as the changes have been made over issues considered outside of their functional realm and sphere of influence, traditional leaders have allowed necessary modern demands to become actualized in the community.

had to prove to themselves that their laws could be made practical and flexible for the solution of major local differences and that they were willing to administer and live by those laws. As Bunker (1965) has pointed out, they needed the initial experience with success to motivate them toward further success.

We have shown what historical forces allowed Santa Clara to undertake the initial political change which was to underly further success in the social realm. However, we have not as yet described what other factors have contributed to reinforcing a sense of mastery over social situations among members of the pueblo.

The Museum of Fine Arts of the State of New Mexico has an exhibit in which the crafts of each pueblo throughout time are displayed. The largest part of the exhibit is devoted to pottery from the varying communities. When examining the display the viewer is struck by a number of observations: 1) The largest number of articles come from Santa Clara; 2) Santa Clara is specified as the "Pottery Pueblo"; and 3) Santa Clara's pottery shows the least amount of change through time in form, design and theme of any of the pueblos.

Although it may seem trivial, informants' testimonies revealed that this point played a significant role in Santa Clara's development. Because this pueblo never had to adjust its traditional art form to the demands of the market, Santa Claraans have been able to retain a sense of pride in the worth of their skill. The pottery of Santa Clara, which represents

the pueblo's unique tradition, religion and artistic taste has thus served as a major resource for instilling confidence among community members that they can define the nature of their economic situation.

In addition, all the pueblos have used part, and in some cases all, of the Accelerated Public Works funds to develop recreational facilities, but Santa Clara is the only pueblo which has been able to reap a financial profit from this resource. It has been able to do so because, as already noted, it developed an indigenous program to train rangers and game wardens. The leaders of Santa Clara feel that by employing community members to make the pueblo a more viable tourist attraction a greater sense of self-efficacy has been instilled among the inhabitants of the pueblo (from interviews held in 1969). At the same time this program has provided the pueblo with the highest gross tribal income in New Mexico (Smith, 1968b).

Finally, because Santa Clara possesses, and has developed, these resources, the pueblo's residents have not had to compete for jobs with the local Hispanos. Consequently, they have not had the same weakening of self-esteem to which San Juaners have been subjected as a result of their vulnerability to a wage market controlled by Spanish Americans.

b. Leadership

1) Los Alamos - Source of Leadership for Tewa Communities

I reported previously that Los Alamos serves as a major source of wage work for the Tewa communities. The table on the following page illustrates the distribution of the residents

Tewa Indians Employed at Los Alamos*

August 1, 1963

PUEBLO	1 Enrolled population 4-1-63	2 Number of households	3 Number employed at Los Alamos as of August 1, 1963	4 Number of households affected	5 Percentage of households affected	6 Number of people affected (All members of commuters' households)	7 Percentage of enrolled population dependent all or in part for subsistence on L.A.	8 Projected number of non-residents (projected from 1960 figures)	9 Projected percentage of non-residents	10 Percentage of resident dependent population on L.A. for subsistence	11 Sex ratio of commuters	12 Median age of commuters
San Juan	1129	325	48	45	14	255	22	441	39	37.1	M-25	41.7
											F-23	43.09
Santa Clara	710	231	53	45	19	214	30	207	29	40.54	M-31	40.6
											F-22	41.4
San Ildefonso	269	67	14	14	20.8	77	28.6	40	15	33.6	M-8	38.6
											F-6	45.1
Nambé	214	66	3	3	4.5	14	6.5	79	37	10.37	M-3	34.6
											F-X	X
Tesuque	207	63	8	8	12.6	39	18.8	69	29	28.25	M-5	43
											F-3	40.6
TOTALS	2529	752	126	115	15.3	599	23.3	836	33.1	35.4	M-72	
											F-54	

* From Ortiz, 1963

from San Juan and Santa Clara as well as from the other three Tewa pueblos who commute to Los Alamos for wage work. The table reveals definite similarities in the age and sex characteristics of the commuters from San Juan and Santa Clara. In addition, Ortiz (1963) reports that the commuters generally are the most ambitious and intelligent of the pueblo residents and the ones who would migrate most successfully from the pueblo if they could not work at Los Alamos. He further notes that they are characterized by a greater flexibility in economic behavior, greater mobility, a higher degree of economic security and a more significant level of average educational attainment. Because they are continually exposed to the Anglo-American model of social and cultural behavior, they are more acutely aware of the social problems which exist in the pueblos and they take a more active part in trying to improve conditions for their children. As a group, they have done the most to provide the pueblos with informed, active leadership (of an informal or formal variety).

Despite the demographic and personality similarities among the commuters, each pueblo reflects some unique aspects in incorporating the commuters into the community, the differences in social and cultural integration of the pueblo itself determining in large part the roles the commuters can perform.

2) Influence of Commuters on Community

San Juan is the largest in population of the five pueblos

who derive employment from Los Alamos. Of the five communities however the commuters exert the least amount of influence here. This can be evidenced by the fact that although commuters have occasionally been chosen as govenors, proportionally fewer official positions have been granted commuters in San Juan than in the other Tewa pueblos from which these workers come (from interviews conducted in 1969). The literature (Ortiz, 1963, 1965) as well as informants' testimonies reveal two reasons for this. The first reason is one already alluded to a number of times before. In San Juan positions of leadership are generally reserved for those most committed to traditional values. Moreover, if a leader should happen to have been exposed to more progressive trends, his views are generally counteracted or redirected by the Council to which he is subject.

The second reason why the commuters exert less influence in San Juan than in any other pueblo probably stems from the fact that today the least amount of tribal unity exists in this community. Because San Juan has been surrounded by Spanish American villages since the seventeenth century, there has been much intermarriage and many Spanish Americans have settled in the Pueblo. As a result, there exists among the pueblo's population a large bloc of devout Catholics. This factor has contributed to disunity in that San Juan society has never devised a means of integrating these non-Indians into the social structure of the community. The Hispanos have been excluded from initiation into the moiety and from participation in all native secret ceremonies and life-crisis rites. Because the

Indian leaders have not brought the Spanish-Americans into their cultural domain and subsequent political jurisdiction they cannot control the deviant behavior of this alien group.

Santa Clara differs from the other Tewa pueblos in that its long history of disruptive factionalism was partially alleviated in 1935 with the adoption of the Indian Reorganization Act Constitution by which the elder religious society members were relegated to a position of primarily religious effectiveness, thereby making Santa Clara politically a more stable and effective pueblo than San Juan.

Moreover, more than in the other pueblos, people who have married into Santa Clara have been treated as part of the community. Unlike San Juan, intermarriage has historically been much more rapidly accepted in Santa Clara and those having engaged in exogamy have not lost their kiva rights. Upon questioning numerous scholars as to the reasons for this difference, I was informed that much research has been done into the problem but no definitive answer found. The only fact which has been generally recognized is that, once integrated into the community, external factions have not attempted to undermine the political system of Santa Clara (from interviews held in the summer of 1969).

In summary then, we note that in San Juan the real potential of the commuters cannot be developed because no unanimity can be obtained on any issue. Moreover, when allowed to exert some influence, the energies of the commuters become channeled

largely toward maintaining the traditional system and they, more than in most other pueblos, have to assume a dual existence.

In Santa Clara the commuters have been permitted to assume a greater influence in pueblo secular positions of leadership. As a result, their higher educational attainment, cross-cultural understanding, and more modern expertise have had a chance to be exploited for the benefit of the community. I would hypothesize that the commuters' influence has probably contributed to Santa Clara's ability to deal more effectively with modern demands, and thus has served as a factor in making this pueblo feel less vulnerable than San Juan to external forces.

2. Outside the Pueblo

In order to draw a clear picture of the difference in "internal control" attitudes over social situations between San Juan and Santa Clara, a comparison of their orientation to institutions in which they both participate should be made.

The first analysis will deal with the two pueblo's participation in the 8 Northern Pueblos Council, established to provide the pueblos with the opportunity to discuss pressing issues with Anglo bureaucrats. I was fortunate enough to be able to attend a Governors' Meeting of this Council during the summer of 1969 and during that time could make the following observations: 1) Although both San Juan and Santa Clara were represented at the meeting, it was noted immediately by all those present that the number of people that Santa Clara had sent was so large that this pueblo alone could have formed a

quorum for the meeting. 2) During the meeting which I attended (and which I later discovered from numerous informants was very typical of other meetings) the representatives of Santa Clara were those who raised issues, had assembled information prior to the meeting on the problems at hand, and were able to present specific cases in order to support whatever argument they had. Moreover, even more than the Anglo bureaucrats, the members of Santa Clara tried to clarify matters and to gear the discussion to the point under consideration. The proceedings of this meeting can be found in Appendix XI as testimony of these points. From the account presented there it becomes evident that Santa Clara is the only one of the pueblos who in any way displayed an active and confident involvement in determining its fate.

The second example in which the "internal control" attitudes over social situations of Santa Clara and San Juan residents can be compared concerns the issue around which this paper revolves and therefore serves as a relevant case for more than one reason. On August 19 I had a prolonged interview with the principal of the Espanola High School which services the residents of both San Juan and Santa Clara.

Mr. McN. and I first discussed whether he had noted any difference in attitudes and level of achievement between students from Santa Clara and San Juan. He said there was a definite difference in <u>attitude</u> - the students from Santa Clara were "much more Indian in consciousness." They were much more concerned about the federal funds that they should be getting as Indians, more belonged to the Tewa Club and more were officers

in those school activities which involved Indian culture. He pointed out that in 1966, all of the officers of the Tewa Club were from Santa Clara; that generally the "students from San Juan are not as concerned about being Indian." He also noted that the developments in the Tewa Club, i.e. changing the pow-wow from a one day affair to a week-long activity was the work of students from Santa Clara who "are leading the others in self-pride."

I then inquired whether the criteria that Indian students use among themselves to define a successful individual has changed, i.e. the standards for popularity. He said that Indian high school students have always respected the individual who could integrate well with other students. I asked whether this was not antithetical to the trend toward pride in their own culture, and he explained that it was not because whereas before integration had meant being able to get along with others by becoming more like them now it meant getting along with others on one's own terms.

We then discussed trends in student enrollment and I was informed that enrollment figures are frequently presented to the Council of Santa Clara upon the pueblo's request. In addition, the officials of the Espanola High School are called to a meeting with the Council of Santa Clara every year. Santa Clara initiates this procedure and has done so for the past two years. Such a meeting has never been called by San Juan. However, only the govenor of San Juan comes in regularly to check up on the attendance of San Juan students attending the

school.[16] On the other hand, Mr. McN. told me that Santa Clara calls in to inquire about educational issues which apply to Indians and if they feel that they don't get adequate answers on the phone, they request that the school officials come to the pueblo to provide answers and to discuss the issues with the parents.

I then inquired if parents from San Juan and Santa Clara were coming to school more frequently than formerly to ask questions. He replied ,that more parents from both pueblos were coming in to discuss issues concerning Title I (i.e. whether or not student supplies are being allocated equitably), but that their interest was constant regarding other matters. In addition, parents from Santa Clara were coming in if a topic discussed at one of the meetings in the pueblo had not been properly cleared up and they wanted to pursue the issue further.

I indicated earlier that although San Juaners have taken some initiative in running certain institutions on the pueblo, this tendency has not extended into the political realm. What also seems evident is that this tendency has not been transferred to social institutions outside the pueblo. Santa Clarans, on the other hand, seem much more consistent in this respect. Whether in their own community or in the dominant society, they apparently have tried to exert influence over the social institutions in which they are involved.

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[16] Mr. McN. noted in passing that although Santa Clara does not call in about attendance, attendance is usually higher from this pueblo.

CHAPTER 8

"INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES OVER SELF

A. SAN JUAN

1. General Definition of Successful Individual - Not Changed

As part of the interviews in which San Juan residents discussed their "internal control" attitudes, they were asked to define what they had previously, and what they presently, considered to be a successful member of the community. Generally, they felt that someone "who can do an outstanding piece of work is a successful person." Many referred, as a case in point, to the person who drinks the most in the community. Because he is the best carpenter in the pueblo he is evaluated on the basis of the latter characteristic and can therefore elicit respect from his fellow community members despite his pathology.

One informant elaborated on the community's perspective toward this issue in the following way: He said that he had been driving on the road near the Rio Grande a few days previous to our interview, when he came across some boys wanting to do bricklaying across the river. He stopped and helped them take the bricks across in his pick-up truck. The Indian boys informed him that they were doing the brick-laying for Mexican Americans. He felt that "if you know a skill even prejudice breaks down. The respect for certain skills that no-one else has is a high priority in the pueblos and the people of the pueblos do have such unique skills."

Upon further investigation of this issue it became apparent that the reason the criteria for what constitutes a "successful

individual" probably have not changed significantly is that the demands for this type of expertise have remained relevant within the community. Whereas previously a good craftsman could contribute significantly to the community by building ditches and by repairing communal edifices, a good craftsman can now contribute to the pueblo's development by making articles that can be sold at the Arts and Crafts Coop. This hypothesis was confirmed by the fact that all those interviewed mentioned the lady who runs and teaches in the Arts and Crafts Coop as the most respected individual in the pueblo. The second most frequently mentioned person was the woman who has made the largest number of articles for the Coop.

2. Personal Definition of Successful Individual - Changed

On the other hand, what individual members of the community consider to constitute "success" in and for their own lives has not always remained as congruous with past criteria. Although most residents of San Juan have only superficially participated in the technological society outside of their community and therefore are pessimistic as to the possible opportunities open to them for economic improvement, a number of residents have been significantly exposed to the dynamics of both the modern and traditional order. As a result, the latter have learned either 1) how to exploit whatever opportunities the limited job market offers, or 2) how to capitalize on their own skills. A representative example of the goals and sense of "internal control" over self among the latter section of the population can be seen in the following

case:[17]

TYPE I: PETER G. - Attempt to Adjust to New Forces While Maintaining Status Quo

Peter G. is the second lieutenant govenor of the pueblo and an alternate member of the three-man school board. During the day of the evening that I spent with Peter over dinner he had performed Indian dances with his children on T.V. He had also sung Indian chants. He regularly does commentating on T.V. and radio and feels it is very important for his people that there be Indian commentators. He has tried to encourage young men from the pueblo that he knows to do the same. Even to give it a try if they are not committed to this activity. He says however that many are either shy or lazy and therefore do not want to do it.

Peter learned the chants that he sings from his father who was a shepherd. When he was a little boy he sat next to his father in the carriage that brought them back from the hills. His father sang the chants to him then and he, in turn, is passing them on to his children. He hopes that they will maintain the flavor and spirit of these songs. One of his boys is playing the guitar and singing Indian songs in the band of which he is a member. His other boys are performing ceremonial dances at the feasts where he himself sings the chants.

Peter has a job in the grocery part of a large food store. He applied to be C.A.P. director of the pueblo but did not receive the position. He was very disappointed about the decision and does not know if he did not receive the post because he does not have a high school diploma or because he is already the Lieutenant Govenor and they might have wanted to spread out the responsibilities among as large a number of community members as possible. He feels however that because he is Lieutenant Governor he knows the needs of the community better than others and therefore should be appointed the C.A.P. position. He is presently striving to be head of personnel at the cafeteria of the J.F.K. Junior High School. He feels that this would be a good job to have in order to "further myself."

Peter served in the U.S. Army for a number of years. During the time he served as well as upon his return to the

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[17] Clyde Kluckhohn suggests that "... even in the most favorable cases field workers cannot hope for more than a few full length biographies. Hence the attraction of getting a considerable number of persons of varying statures to describe very intensely certain episodes in their lives which converged ... With any kind of personal document the advantages of overlapping accounts are tremendous for the scientist." (from "The Personal Document in Anthropological Science" in The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, 1945, as quoted in Burleson, 1966).

pueblo he always considered himself "as much an Indian as before I went." He believed that he had no reason to compromise himself as other Indians did and continued to speak his native language as much after he had learned English as before he had left the pueblo.

Peter is very religious and believes that the more religion a person has, the better. He feels that man cannot live without religion.

Peter believes that parents should spend as much time with their children as possible. He attended boarding school and is very proud of the fact that his son was accepted to the Haskell Indian Boarding School. All of his eight children have for all, or part, of their education gone through the B.I.A. system. He feels that the teachers in the local Day School are good and that they give his children a proper education. He feels that none of his children are lacking anything. Only once did he feel that a problem existed in the Day School. This concerned a teacher of Spanish background whom he felt was espousing nationalistic ideas. Considering this an infringement of rights, Peter asked the principal if he could speak to the teacher about it. When the principal granted him permission he reprimanded the teacher and thereafter she stopped.

Peter noted that he was particularly impressed with the Indian Circle program in which children from each of the pueblos teach others the particular culture of their pueblo. He explained that although this program received federal aid it had been designed by the Indians of the pueblos themselves. Five students from each pueblo are selected to join the program for the summer and to live with other students and share their culture. He had heard that the students were happy in the program and that they were participating enthusiastically.

Peter's beliefs and aims represent the basic compartmentalization of "internal control" attitudes over self found among the more personally ambitious members of San Juan.

On the one hand, Peter displays a marked initiative and desire to manipulate his own fate. He has eight children and is aware of his responsibility to them. He has been working for eighteen years in a grocery store but wants to earn more money and act in a position which will provide him with increased status as well as allow him to help his community. When asked how and why he aims to actualize his goals he explains that he

has the skills needed to attain a higher position because, in the store where he works, when the check girl goes out he takes care of the business' finances and organizes its "goings on." He plans to make the personnel director at the J.F.K. School aware of this so as to prevent any false underestimation of his (Peter's) capabilities. At the same time, he is studying for his high school diploma so as to make himself more eligible for the job and continuing to do commentating on the radio in order to make himself more known to those in charge of hiring.

On the other hand, Peter's testimony reflects some deep-rooted examples of a traditional orientation. First, he displays a marked tendency toward ethnocentricism. This is evidenced in the fact that 1) he objects strongly to any nationalistic references made by the Spanish teacher and 2) he sees the Indian Circle program as initiated and carried out by the pueblos. This latter impression is a false one, as the Indian Circle project was an O.E.O. idea which has been executed and maintained under this agency's auspices for the last two years. Such ethnocentricism reflects a basic lack of information as to the total picture of an issue and was evidenced in numerous cases encountered in the course of this study. Secondly, Peter is a staunch defender of the status quo. Not having emotionally, intellectually or psychologically emerged from the confines of his environment, he invokes the past by believing that the way he has done things previously should be perpetuated in the future. He raises his children in the same way he has lived his own life, adhering to the

principle that "what was good for me is good for my children," i.e. boarding school. As such, he is unable to see some of the flaws that are inherent in the conservatism of his own system and believes in unquestioningly retaining its traditional form. In this sense he manifests much the same syndrome as others who are more personally ambitious, i.e. although he wants to improve his own situation, he sees his community's governing structure as requiring no reform.

3. General Level of Defeatism - High

Although a certain segment of San Juan's population is aware of the potential and means to improve personal conditions, the general level of optimism in the community seems to be low. Indicative of this is the fact that San Juan has the highest alcoholism rate of any of the pueblos.[17a] Numerous studies have been made to explain the pathological dependence on this stimulant by members of this community. The explanation most

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17a I feel justified in using San Juan's alcoholism rate as an indicator of the community's level of defeatism primarily because of the relevance that the conclusions arrived at by Jessor, et al. in their extensive study of deviance among Indians, Hispanos and Anglos (1958) have to conditions in San Juan. Jessor et al. state:

"Alienation refers to the sense of social isolation and estrangement from basic life roles. It implies a pessimism about the possibilities of achieving meaningful interpersonal relationships and gaining satisfaction from the daily transactions required in the carrying out of social role behavior. Related to this general belief is belief in external control, the orientation that outcomes of one's behavior are not contingent on what one does but are determined by outside forces, such as powerful other persons, or impersonal random forces, such as fate, luck or chance" (p. 125).

In addition, they note that:

"Conforming behavior is simply not always successful for achieving certain valued goals; and this is especially the case

widely accepted as being relevant to the Tewa pueblos (Dozier, 1969; Menninger, 1967; Proceedings of the Third National Conference on Indian Health, 1964) however attributes this syndrome to a lack of self-worth which results from an inability to adjust to the conflicting demands of changing environmental conditions. Says Menninger:

> Alcohol (among this group) is a relief and welcome escape from the torture of not being anything or having any recognition or self-respect.
>
> (Senate Sub-Committee Hearings, 1967:2139)

Similarly, Jessor et al. in attempting to analyze the causes for alcoholism among members of an Indian community with many of the same social, economic and political characteristics as San Juan point out:

> (If) the interpretation of limited access in the legitimate opportunity structure creates pressure toward reliance upon illegitimate means (is supplemented) by the external control orientation, then preserving the schedule of conforming behavior which is specified by society and which is justified because it is supposed to eventuate rewards can have little personal conviction (p. 105).

Another indicator of the general sense of defeatism which

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for persons who occupy disadvantaged social locations...

"(Alcoholism) occurs when the expectation of its maximizing valued goal attainment or preferred outcomes is higher than that for conforming behavior" (p. 42).

They go on:

"Washburne (1956) has emphasized that alcoholism can function as a cue for a new social situation in which people define each other differently and in which the individual may not be held responsible for certain aspects of normative adherence."

seems to exist in San Juan was revealed in the interviews. Informants pointed out that the proximity of the three surrounding Spanish-American communities has contributed to an involuntary breakdown of this community's culture to a greater extent than in other pueblos and has added to their sense of frustration. Although the culture of San Juan and that of the Hispanos differ basically, intermarriage and physical communication have contributed to the sharing of certain features marginal to the core tradition of the pueblo. The form and content of the pueblo's ceremonies have been significantly affected. Despite the fact that these rituals are more faithfully performed in San Juan than in the other pueblos and that San Juan still represents the "mother village" in terms of her adherence to Tewa ideology she is also the pueblo in which spiritual activities have incorporated most additional elements from another culture. (Dozier, 1969; Ortiz, 1965). The feeling expressed by San Juan informants that an alien culture has made significant inroads into even the most unique aspect of their social system seems to have contributed to a decline in their self-esteem.

4. Personal Level of Defeatism - High

There is only one resident of San Juan who does not drink at all. During a discussion with San Juaners as to what might account for this fact (July 4, 1969) they pointed out that alcohol serves as an escape from the incongruous demands that have been made on their social role. Informants stated

that their dilemma has been aggravated by social conditions in San Juan: the political structure offers official authority only to those of traditional ideology, while the economic situation has declined to such an extent that it forces individuals into an Anglo environment where more progressive values must be internalized in order to assure success. As a result, most have felt thwarted in their ability to define the nature of their own existence. In reaction to the sense of frustration they have found it necessary to turn to temporary substitutes for gratification.[17b] The following is a more serious example of the tendency toward artificial escape which seems to be manifested by many in the community:

TYPE II: AURELIO - Inability to Adjust to Modern Forces

Aurelio was sitting on the steps of the General Store on the first morning that I arrived in San Juan. Deeply set in his dark, beautiful face were a pair of eyes that looked far out into the beyond. His face was severely aged yet there remained in his features a strength that made his age irrelevant. He knew that I was looking at him yet he looked beyond me intuitively rather than purposely.

Over the weeks that I lived in the pueblo I saw Aurelio sitting in this very same spot nearly every day. During this period of time I also learned a lot about him.

Aurelio was at this stage of his life at the point of physical, psychological and cultural deterioration. At the beginning of his life he had lived with all the members of his extended family, and caring for them had given him some

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17b In Jessor, et al.'s terms this can be explained as following:

"The stress on the normative structure deriving from the condition of limited access by legitimate means to valued goals is one major and potent source of anomie in various sectors of American society.

"Another source of anomie lies in the simultaneous presence of multiple or alternative normative structures.

"The prevalence of these two conditions can readily be seen as a potential source of deviant behavior" (p. 64).

personal satisfaction. His father had died while Aurelio was still young and his mother had passed away shortly thereafter. He married a local woman early in his life and had a son and daughter with her. Both children, upon maturity, had moved away to Chicago in order to divorce themselves from traditional ways which they considered detrimental to achievement. Aurelio followed them to Chicago but was unable to remain there as he felt "like a fish out of water." He had no-one to relate with on his own terms in this environment and felt that life was totally meaningless for him under these circumstances. Returning to the pueblo he found that he lacked any of the skills necessary to hold a job in the nearby town and those which could be exploited in the pueblo would provide him with only a minimal income. The irrelevance of his abilities and the loneliness that he felt drained him of any motivation and he started to drink. This led to the cycle of aimlessness and subsequent deterioration so frequently described by social scientists.

The passiveness exhibited on Aurelio's face is not one of reverence or peace with the universe and himself which is so typically attributed to Indians. Instead, it is one of despair so commonly found among residents of San Juan as they lounge outside their houses, walk up and down the main road, or sit on the main steps of the General Store. It represents a deep-felt sense of meaningless resulting from the inability to reconcile conflicting social and environmental demands on the personal level.

> The earth where we lived was hard and dry and brick red, and Daddy plowed and planted and watered the land, but in the end there was only a little yield. And it was the same year after year after year; it was always the same, and at last Daddy began to hate the land, began to think of it as some kind of enemy, his own personal and deadly enemy. I remember he came in from the fields at evening, having been beaten by the land, and he said nothing. He never said anything; he just sat down and thought about his enemy. And sometimes his eyes grew wide and his mouth fell open in disbelief, as if all at once he knew that he had tried everything and failed, and there was nothing left to do but to sit there in wonder of his enemy's strength. And every day before dawn he went to the fields without hope, and I watched him, sometimes saw him at sunrise, far away in the empty land, very small on the skyline, turning to stone even as he moved up and down the rows.
>
> (Momaday, House Made of Dawn, p. 123)

B. SANTA CLARA

1. General Level of Self-Determinism

I noted previously that the families of those working in Los Alamos are generally among the most modern in orientation in each of the pueblos. The commuters emulate the child-raising patternsand other aspects of family organization which they observe in Los Alamos, and they have effectively internalized the values of thrift, hard work and education for their children. They do not find these goals incompatible with the performance of their traditional duties (Ortiz, 1963:23).

As we saw, the effect that the commuters have on communal decision-making is much greater in Santa Clara than in San Juan. In addition, however, in Santa Clara a proportionally larger number of households per population have people working in Los Alamos, and thus a larger number of homes are directly influenced by the values to which the commuters are committed. Finally, the average number of people per household for those commuting to Los Alamos from Santa Clara seems to be smaller than for those from San Juan (5.7 = San Juan; 4.7 = Santa Clara). Although, at first glance, it might appear that San Juan would, as a result, have a larger number of individuals adhering to the values advocated by the commuters, this is not necessarily the case. Interviews indicate that families find it easier to instill those goals of self-mastery generated by working at Los Alamos when there are fewer children to raise. With a larger number, the daily problems of child care loom so large that elder siblings are made responsible for the younger ones

and the transmission of parental ideology is thereby minimized. Thus, a more meaningful dispersal of the modern values acquired at Los Alamos seems to exist in Santa Clara - a larger number of families with a smaller number of people in them are affected.

When talking to individual members of the pueblo many characteristics reflective of a modern orientation were revealed. Santa Clarans discussed issues concerning education, for instance, on a more general level, rather than relating the problems under discussion to their children in particular as did San Juan informants. In addition, their approach toward securing better educational conditions for their children differed from that of the residents of San Juan. San Juaners limited their involvement in education to encouraging their children to attend school regularly; Santa Clarans were also absorbed in the establishment of an All-Pueblo Education Committee meant to insure proper allocations of funds to Indians throughout the state and with the development of a Scholarship Committee to provide funds to all needy pueblo high school students.

2. Individual Orientation to Self-Determinism

The conflict visible among San Juan residents between individual ambitions, traditional responsibilities and structural limitations seems not to exist to the same degree for Santa Clarans. Residents of the latter community apparently have not been plagued with the problem of having to reconcile incompatible personal goals with communal demands. Quite to the contrary, they have received the institutional reinforcement necessary to allow each to develop in much the same way as is

represented by the following case:

TYPE III: JOHN SH. - Adjustment to, and Exploitation of, Modern Forces for Communal and Personal Advancement

1. This interview lasted from 8:45 in the evening until approximately 10:45. I had called Mrs. Sh. to inquire if I could see her during the day of August 20 and she said I should come in the evening so that her husband could talk to me as well. When I entered I recognized Mr. Sh. from the Governors Meeting. I had taken a few notes at the meeting on a small piece of paper and he had been the only one who had given me anxious looks about it. He had been the one to suggest the adjournment of the meeting that night, looking me straight in the face and I had feared that my actions might have prompted this move on his behalf. Therefore, when I walked in and we both recognized one another I felt anxious at first. However, both were extremely nice to me and talked more openly to me than anyone else had done before. When I walked in, Mr. Sh. was working on the books of the Santa Clara Council, as he is its treasurer. It is his responsibility to take care of the pueblo's accounting and he was doing this on an adding machine before him. Both Mr. and Mrs. Sh. were very articulate.

2. The Shs. told me that they have five children. The oldest girl is starting Highlands College in the fall. She is presently taking a course to prepare for college rather than working. She decided to make this financial sacrifice as she felt it would help her once she got to college, and she wanted to do well there because she realized the importance of a college degree. She had also been accepted at Haskell Institute for post high-school work but had decided to go to Highlands because they administer a college degree, although she knew it would be more difficult and more lonely for her. She had decided to major in business administration in college because she sees a need for such expertise within and outside the pueblo, both on the educational and general level.

The Sh.'s two youngest children are now in the Day School, the two middle in Catholic boarding school in Santa Fe. The Sh.s had sent their children to this boarding school because they did not want their children to attend the local high school which they felt was over-crowded and therefore could not provide the individual attention needed by Indian students generally.

Their oldest daughter, who is starting Highlands, applied for an All-Pueblo Grant. This grant is given by the quarter semester in case students drop out. I noted that I had spoken to Mr. S. (who is in charge of the scholarship program) and he had mentioned that they presently have extras of these scholarships. Mr. Sh. responded that the reason for this is that they have difficulty getting students to apply for these grants. He said it is because "the kids get the run-around and then get tired of having to go through the process over and over again. They lose their perserverance and give up." Mr. Sh. said that he had gone down to those in charge of the program

in Albuquerque and had told them this. He also told them that they don't provide enough and proper counselors in the high schools to inform students about these grants. He added that he felt there was a great need for counselors to make themselves and their expertise known to students so that the latter could avail themselves of that information which the counselors had to offer students in order to help them further their education.

3. Mr. Sh. noted that he had been stationed in the East when he was in the army. Mrs. Sh. told me that she wants to go to Washington D.C. because a family from Los Alamos where she works had told them to come to visit them and stay with them. This is what the Sh.s plan to do on their next trip.

It can be argued that the Sh.s, because of their extensive contact with Anglo society and because of their relatively stable financial position, represent an atypical example of the integration of modern forces into the life style and psychological orientation of individual Santa Clarans. Much to the contrary however, the Sh.s are highly exemplary of the social experiences and economic status of most families in the pueblo. Yet, the Sh.s, like Peter G. from San Juan, exhibit some of the traditional characteristics which prevail throughout the pueblos. A definite sense of ethno-centricism remains in their outlook despite their more modern orientation. However, whereas this ethno-centricism is intensified in San Juan because it has no force to counteract it, in Santa Clara it remains dormant in the face of those progressive ideologies which have become formalized in the political, social and economic institutions of the pueblo.

C. COMPARISON OF "INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES IN SAN JUAN AND SANTA CLARA IN LIGHT OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES' STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

In summary, we see that rather than differing in kind, the "internal control" attitudes between members of San Juan and

Santa Clara seem to differ in degree. Among San Juaners a sense of subjugation to nature and a feeling that natural forces can be controlled primarily via spiritual means still seems to prevail. In Santa Clara residents too retain an animistic interpretation of the natural forces and still tend to deify them. On the other hand however they apparently consider themselves much more able to directly harness their environment. This can be evidenced by their reliance on experimentation with, and manipulation of, their environment through technological means rather than through religious ritual.

In the social sphere, the "internal control" attitudes among San Juaners also seem to differ in degree from those of Santa Clarans. Although San Juaners have begun to exert control over some of their social institutions, they have not yet extended this tendency to the political realm nor to institutions outside of the pueblo. While Santa Clarans have also only begun to demand some authority over the institutions in which they are involved outside of the pueblo, they nonetheless have taken active steps toward insuring that externally imposed federal policies not be as arbitrarily formulated as before. Exemplary of this tendency have been their attempts to obtain an equitable allocation of Johnson-O'Malley funds in public schools where their students are enrolled, and their investigation into the legal sanctions which should be used against individuals performing crimes on pueblo land (Appendix XI).

Finally, in trying to achieve the most advantageous economic, educational and health conditions for themselves, members of both pueblos are subjected to the same emotional and psychological strains. In both communities limitations in the amount and type of local resources thwart individual ambition to achieve beyond certain material standards. In San Juan however this situation has apparently had a more extreme effect on the residents' sense of personal efficacy. Indicative of this fact are the higher rates of deviance (juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, illegitimacy) in this community than in Santa Clara. Moreover, whereas in San Juan one receives the impression that a sense of hopelessness over personal advancement seems to exist, in Santa Clara one notices more tangible signs of optimism, i.e. planning for trips, expansion of programs aimed at improving personal achievement (adult education courses, supplementary classes for high school students).

In order to understand why the "internal control" attitudes among the residents of San Juan vary in degree from those in Santa Clara one must consider the differences which exist between the basic characteristics of the two pueblos.

In the first place, as farmers, San Juaners have always been highly dependent on their natural resources for supplying them with products necessary to maintain a viable economy. Because of the unpredictability of this source (i.e. inconsistent weather conditions → decline in amount of crops; unexpected

temperature changes → decline in quality of crops), the residents of San Juan have developed a built-in sense of insecurity with regard to the stability of their economic situation. Santa Clarans, on the other hand, have traditionally possessed resources other than those dependent on the conditions of the natural environment (i.e. pottery, tourist sites) to provide them with an income. As a result, they have been able to count on more consistent economic conditions within their pueblo.

The nature of the economic system outside of the pueblo also seems to have contributed to a greater sense of insecurity among San Juaners than Santa Clarans. Whereas the change in market demand has made San Juan's goods inappropriate, the continued interest in Santa Clara's pottery has confirmed this community's confidence in the ability of its residents' skills to determine the outcome of their economic situation.

Moreover, San Juaners' vulnerability to the Spanish American population has apparently contributed significantly to the decline of this community's sense of efficacy. Depending on the local Hispanos for 1) farm jobs and 2) wage work, San Juaners are kept constantly aware of the state of dependency in which they exist. Furthermore, the incorporation of Spanish elements into the social composition of the community has not only created a state of divisiveness within the pueblo but has also contributed to a breakdown in cultural pride among San Juan's residents.

The adherence to a conservative religious ideology has probably also contributed to the way in which San Juaners

developed their "internal control" attitudes. Because their religion defines, in large measure, the way in which they should pursue their farming activities, San Juaners have retained their conservative methods and, as a result, have not achieved significant success in manipulating the environmental oscillations affection their agricultural situation. In Santa Clara however, the lack of strict adherence to religious tenets as a guideline for agricultural techniques has allowed for a greater flexibility in methods. This has produced better results in farming and has further served to confirm Santa Clarans' feeling that they can successfully influence desired outcomes.

It appears that the particular perception that San Juaners have of their ability to manipulate their destiny has also been affected by the nature of their governing system. Represented by political leaders who maintain a traditional orientation, they are thereby unable to contribute significantly to federally formulated policies. In Santa Clara, the inability to influence external decisions adopted for the pueblo does not exist to the same degree. Allowing those leaders who can deal with federal bureaucrats on their own terms to represent the community, Anglo officials have been more willing to incorporate the suggestions of these Indians. As a result, Santa Clarans see their own contributions as having some influence on the official policies applied to them.

Finally, the incongruity between the type of role which

the individual is required to play in San Juan as opposed to that in the dominant society apparently results in his feeling unable to define for himself either a consistent or effective pattern of behavior. Aspiring toward modern economic goals in a social setting which continues to value a traditional ideology, San Juaners are unsure of how to reconcile these opposing conditions in order to achieve desired ends. In Santa Clara, individuals have more readily been able to see a clear connection between their own behavior and desired ends probably because individual modern economic goals are paralleled, complemented and reinforced on the political level.

D. CONCLUSION

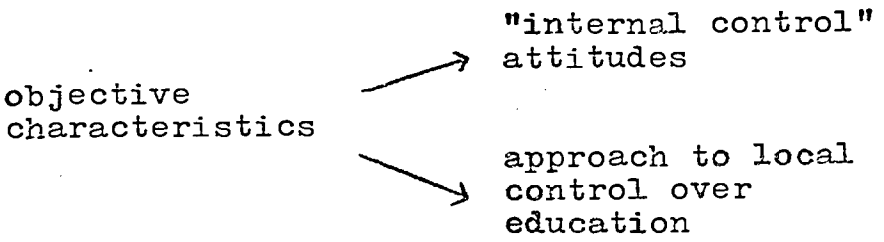
Although the previous pages would have it seem that a clear-cut division exists between Santa Clara and San Juan concerning their ability to control their fate, the examples cited on pages 127-132 indicate that San Juaners can manipulate their social environment in some respects. But, whereas these examples constitute only isolated instances in San Juan, in Santa Clara a sense of control over all aspects of life constitutes a more general policy to which the pueblo's residents adhere. Although a new vitality in dancing as well as in digging their own roads is being manifested in both communities, this feeling has been formalized in Santa Clara. In San Juan the leaders of the community are still struggling to shape the chaos of popular hopes and fears into community self-understanding and self-direction by turning to spiritual forces for aid and guidance. In Santa Clara however, the leaders no

longer expect some unlikely "freedom" from outside pressures but have recognized that their real freedom is their own capacity to create together.

PART IV

INTERRELATIONSHIP OF FACTORS

What I have done in this paper so far is to indicate the objective characteristics of the two communities, their differing approaches to control over formal education, and their unique "internal control" attitudes as essentially separate issues. The material that I have presented is based largely on speculation deriving from the impressions that I received either directly from informants or through personal observation. The only inter-connections that have been drawn are those in which I related the unique characteristics of the two pueblos to the "internal control" attitudes prevailing in them. An attempt has been made to speculate as to <u>which</u> variables have accounted for the differences in "internal control" attitudes and <u>how</u> they have done so. In so doing, I have assumed the following causal direction:



What I have not dealt with is the possibility that certain predisposing attitudes might have contributed to the development of the objective characteristics hypothesized as being crucial to the particular evolution of each community. In addition, I have as yet not drawn any connections between the two communities' "internal control" and their approach to local control. What remains to be considered then are the following possibilities:

A.
1) "internal control" attitudes → objective characteristics → approach to local control
2) "internal control" attitudes → objective characteristics → "internal control" attitudes → approach to local control
3) "internal control" attitudes → objective characteristics → approach to local control → "internal control" attitudes

B.
4) objective characteristics → "internal control" attitudes → approach to local control
5) objective characteristics → approach to local control → "internal control" attitudes

A. OBJECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS → "INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES VS. "INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES → OBJECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS

I have throughout this paper presumed that the fundamental difference in orientation between the two communities emanated from the historical fact that in 1935 Santa Clara adopted a political system which eliminated the theocratic influence from political decision-making. It can be argued that had the necessary "internal control" attitudes not existed among the residents of Santa Clara at that time, they would have continued as passively as the inhabitants of San Juan to retain the traditional structure of their government.

Although definite causality cannot be proved, certain facts would suggest that the circumstances rather than the attitudes at the time acted as the catalyst needed to start the process by which Santa Clara developed into a more progressive community. Among these are the following: 1) punishment for violating religious demands were more oppressive in this pueblo than any other at the time and therefore aroused greater contempt of the existing theocratic order; 2) there was no habitable land immediately accessible to the residents of Santa Clara to which they could go in order to escape religious oppression. As a result, those opposed to the system were forced to confront

the conditions rather than flee from them.

I have shown that the resulting compartmentalization of religion from other areas of communal concern probably facilitated Santa Clara's progress. It did so by allowing 1) for decisions to be made on the basis of secular expertise, and 2) for modern techniques to be applied in order to exploit the pueblo's resources. Working under the contention that success breeds success (which Bunker contends is the most relevant assumption for understanding the initiation of modern policy among the Pueblos), I have hypothesized that the positive results attained from the use of modern methods served to instill within the community the confidence needed to further undertake progressive programs.

In 1962, Leo Srole constructed a "scale of anomie."[18] In part, the scale incorporated items referring to the individual's perception of his social environment; in part, to his perception of his own place within the environment. More specifically, the five items comprising the scale refer to 1) the perception that community leaders are indifferent to

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[18]As initially developed by Durkheim, the concept of anomie referred to a condition of relative normlessness in a society or a group. Since Durkheim, the concept has extended to a condition of individuals rather than their environment. Merton explains that the sociological concept of anomie presupposes that the salient environment of individuals can be thought of as involving the cultural structure, on the one hand, and the social structure on the other. "Anomie is then conceived as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals, and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them. In this conception, cultural values may help to produce (individual) behavior which is at odds with the mandates of the values themselves." (Merton, 1959:161)

in the society which is seen as basically unpredictable and lacking order; 3) the perception that life goals are receding rather than being realized; 4) a sense of futility; 5) the conviction that one cannot count on personal associations for social and psychological support.

Although San Juan and Santa Clara should not be viewed as two divergent cases at opposite ends of a continuum, it cannot be denied that, if one uses the items in this scale to define low "internal control" attitudes, judging from the open-ended interviews, San Juaners seem to have generally lower "internal control" (or higher anomie) than Santa Clarans. However, according to the data received from informants, it would seem that the applicability of the definitions provided by the scale refer more to present conditions among residents of San Juan than to past ones. In the first place, in the pueblo of San Juan there has been a significant breakdown of the communal activity which previously gave these residents a set of meaningful roles to play. Accompanying this has been a decline in communal spirit and sense of commitment toward one's fellow residents. Said one informant:

> The people in the community used to plaster houses together and then have a big feast. Now we don't do that anymore because people will only do it for money. There used to be a much greater sense of communalism with regard to matters like that. One would ask others to do it for one and everyone thus helped everyone else. The reward came from the sense of satisfaction of the task accomplished, the feast afterwards and the knowledge that others would do it for you in turn when you needed something done. The feast was always alot of fun and something to work for.
>
> Cornpeeling is another example of previous communal activity. It used to be a communal project

> because it was very difficult to do so one helped the other in a big group in the center of the village. Afterwards there was a big feast . . . There sure was a lot of satisfaction that used to come from the group effort.

Secondly, San Juaners' perception that little can be accomplished in a society which is seen as basically unpredictable and lacking order and the feeling that life goals are receding rather than being realized has been generated largely from the recent lack of market demand for their goods and subsequent decline of their economic position.

In order to claim that initial differences in "internal control" attitude caused residents of one pueblo to be more receptive than the other to exploiting their resources, one would have to prove that San Juan historically had lower "internal control" attitudes than those of Santa Clara. However, from the material collected, it would seem that a sense of control was previously quite high in San Juan and only declined as a result of the pueblo's inability to come to terms with social changes brought on by the dominant society. It therefore appears that the relative difference in development between the two communities did not derive from the absence among San Juaners of the initial confidence needed to initiate change, but more probably from the lack of certain objective characteristics which only Santa Clara possessed.

B. "INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES → APPROACH TO LOCAL CONTROL VS. OBJECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS → APPROACH TO LOCAL CONTROL

It would be unfair, and factually unjustified to present a totally dichotomous picture of the two communities' approach

to formal education. Although Santa Clara has advanced much more than San Juan toward instituting local control over its school system, both communities possess some commitment to this concept.

It has been difficult to ascertain whether San Juaners have been less enthusiastic about the prospect of local control because at present 1) they lack the confidence necessary to undertake it, or rather because 2) they have made a realistic appraisal of the potential for such a program in light of San Juan's existing social structure.

I have hypothesized that it is the latter factor, realism, which has contributed more heavily to the indifference on the part of San Juaners toward establishing local control over education in their community. In support of this hypothesis, I would point out that where San Juaners have previously been given the opportunity to develop programs, they have felt capable of carrying them out provided 1) they knew the community would be willing to participate in the project, and 2) they received sufficient reinforcement from the Council.

We have seen however in this paper that where community and Council support have not existed, projects were doomed to failure. The Headstart and Advisory School Board incidents can be cited as relevant cases in point. In the first situation, the lack of communication between leaders and the pueblo's populace served to create a credibility gap which made appropriate communal participation impossible. In the second situation, the inability of the Advisory School Board members

to reconcile 1) their commitment to the traditional order which appointed them, and 2) their desire to meet the goals of the project as set forth by the B.I.A., has caused them to turn much of their responsibility over to an outside professional.

It is probable that in contemplating the prospect of local control over education, the community has suspected that the basic conditions which curtailed previous educational projects from being successful would again prevail. In the first place, appointment to the most responsible positions would be subject to the selection of the governor. Whereas successful cases of community control in San Juan were initiated by ordinary citizens involved with the issue, (i.e. Co-op), acceptance and legitimation of a major policy such as local control over education would have to come from the top of the community's social hierarchy. As a result, those responsible for actualizing the program would be chosen by the Council and would be subject to pressures brought to bear on them by the elders' traditional orientation. The resulting sense of incongruity between the demands of the conservative political order vs. the more modern goals of local control would probably lead to the same breakdown of interest found among Advisory School Board members. Secondly, the lack of experience among the pueblo's residents in developing projects which promise only long-range results would mitigate against the amount of communal cooperation needed to carry the program through. All those examples of effective community control over an institution

which have been cited in this paper shared the characteristic that they provided the members of the community with immediate gains for the effort they expended. Organizing the community around an ideological issue such as local control for which one cannot see results on an immediate practical and personal level would be a more difficult goal to accomplish in San Juan. The reason for this is that the community has not yet internalized an orientation to risk-taking gained from previous involvement in long-term projects.

Rotter, in describing "internal control" attitudes states that expectancies regarding the nature of the causal relationship between one's own behavior and its consequences "generalize from a specific situation to a series of situations which are perceived as related or similar" (Rotter, 1966). I believe that San Juaners have evaluated the possibility for instituting local control over education in light of the factors which contributed to similar past projects, and have defined their ability to master the potential challenge accordingly. Realizing the limitations that the community's social and political structure would impose on this undertaking, pueblo residents have been unable to develop the confidence needed to assume responsibility for the project.

In Santa Clara, on the other hand, there is a governmental system which has allowed for more open communication among all elements of the community and provided support for experiment aimed at improving the pueblo's conditions. Realization of this fact has served as the foundation upon which the motivation

to undertake innovative projects could develop. Moreover, the actual process has been reinforced by the fact that communal decision-making has been successfully realized. The Headstart Project serves as a representative example of the pattern which Santa Clarans have followed in order to secure the conditions which they desire for their community. When the possibility for such a program became known, pueblo officials joined with community members to develop a set of precisely enumerated demands and specifications which they could present to the Office of Economic Opportunity. At the same time, the community pooled together all its manpower and financial resources in order to successfully actualize the program if and when it was approved by federal officials. Because of the extensive preparation and cooperation on all levels the Headstart program could be turned over to the community almost immediately. Moreover, continuing support by all elements of the community has allowed the center to flourish. Initial programs have been expanded and additional activities added.

With a backlog of many such successful experiences, Santa Clarans have reached a point where they can generalize a sense of mastery over any issue regardless of its specific demands. As a result, they feel that they are capable of making their community totally self-sufficient. Because of this, they see control over education not as an end in itself but as another institution over which they must exert complete authority in order to make their community a self-governing entity. Whereas San Juan parents view local control as a means to instill among

community members a greater sense of pride in the pueblo, Santa Clarans take this pride more for granted and see local control over their schools as constituting one aspect of the way in which they hope to run their community.

C. APPROACH TO LOCAL CONTROL →"INTERNAL CONTROL" ATTITUDES

One of the conclusions which emerges from this study is that isolated experiences in community control cannot serve as a basis for improving individuals' "internal control" attitudes. Evidence for this can be found in the fact that a generalized sense of confidence has not emerged as a result of the successful projects in which San Juaners have been involved, i.e. Coop, sanitation. In addition, experience gained in conducting the Advisory School Board has not instilled further initiative toward undertaking local control among the residents of San Juan. What becomes evident then is that a more all-encompassing and consistent policy toward local control must be provided by community leaders in order for individuals to believe that they are really affecting their fate. Residents of a community have to be permitted to participate in the decision-making process of all their community's institutions in order to feel that they are making a fundamental contribution to the outcome of their personal and their society's future.

CONCLUSION

INDIAN EDUCATION

In 1965, Ortiz noted: "At a time when problems are becoming more numerous and more complex, adequate leadership is not available to enable the people of San Juan to make meaningful choices toward their future as a community."

In comparing the two pueblos we have seen that in Santa Clara progressive leaders have been given more opportunity to guide the community toward social change. In San Juan, the political and social structure has stifled the influence of those advocating reform and has thus deterred social and economic progress.

For those members of San Juan who are aware of the possible detrimental repurcussions from this trend, an educational system relevant to community needs appears to be the primary solution to the problem. One of the more progressive leaders of San Juan stated that only such schools could produce individuals able to transcend the limitations of the pueblo's conservative political structure in order to achieve goals which would benefit their society. He said: "The San Juan child must be encouraged to believe that he too can aspire to be whatever he chooses in the manner he chooses, and teachers must be aware of the very rigid and narrow horizons within which this child learns and makes his choices. Similarly, these cultural restraints and sanctions cannot be swept away by simply exposing the child to more varied stimuli" (from interviews conducted by Ortiz, 1965).

One of the implications which emerges from such remarks is that in those communities where the traditional order has become so powerful and life so ingrained in the definitions provided by it, meaningful education can instill in students the confidence needed to undermine the detrimental aspects of their social system and to introduce necessary innovation. This does not mean that education should provide residents of the more traditional pueblos with the feeling that they should obliterate their cultural and religious heritage. Rather, schools should integrate those elements of Indian culture which will make education relevant to the Indian's own ideals and values yet, at the same time, develop skills in the individual which are necessary for him to lead his pueblo toward becoming a viable community.[19]

The conclusion which seems to emerge from this preliminary investigation is that the contribution of community control over education lies not primarily in the opportunity to practice decision-making, but rather in the opportunity for local residents to contribute toward making formal education relevant to their present needs and future goals. Formal education can become meaningful to American Indians if the Indian child identifies with the school as a meaningful part of his

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[19] In this way individuals will not destroy their culture but will supplement it. Evidence for this can be found in the fact that the compartmentalization of religious and secular activities which has been attained in Santa Clara has not reduced the prestige of the community's religious leaders. Rather, it has increased their status by making them the sole guardians of a very exclusive aspect of the pueblo's social system.

environment. If local residents are allowed to develop schools in which policies and instruction reflect an understanding of, and commitment to, the needs of the community, then the psychological and practical foundation to initiate reform can be expected to develop among American Indian students. Formal education might thus become a more meaningful institution in Indian communities.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

The social structures of San Juan and Santa Clara are similar; the secular offices in each are the same; the same religious societies still are present; they have the same kinship system. Yet, differences exist between San Juan and Santa Clara in their relative degree of receptivity to external demands.

What we have done in this study is to indicate some of the differences in "internal control" attitudes which seem to prevail in these two communities and to suggest some of the minute underlying factors which might be responsible for their development. Although realization of these factors constitutes only the first step toward comprehending the divergent paths that the two pueblos are taking, it opens the field for further investigation of the dynamics which will be involved in defining the future structures of San Juan and Santa Clara.

We do not deny that many questions raised during the initial formulation and beginning section of this paper have remained unanswered. No final explanations of the cause and effect relationship between the "internal control" attitudes among the residents of these communities and their willingness

to assume local control have been reached. Moreover, whatever imputations and hypotheses have been made in this regard (especially in the final sections of this paper) are acknowledged by the author to be inconclusive. Nonetheless, it is believed that the evidence as to members' "internal control" attitudes and the attention which has been drawn to structural differences between the two culturally similar communities has intrinsic value as a basis for determining the type of educational and social policies which should be applied to these communities. Moreover, it is hoped that this study will serve to stimulate further (and perhaps more conclusive) investigation into the directionality inherent in the processes which have been described in the paper.

APPENDIX I
GENESIS OF STUDY

A.

During the year 1968-1969 I spent much time reviewing the literature concerned with the problems involved in educating the American Indian child. As a result of this research I became interested in investigating further the present attempts being made to solve these problems. This led me to the study of the primary method being used to make school more relevant to the Indian child - that of having the Indian people play a greater part in the planning of their own schools. Because the premise underlying this approach consists of the following assumptions,

actual community control by adult generation → greater relevancy of own behavior → "internal control" attitudes among adult generation →

transferance of "internal control" attitudes to their children → greater motivation to achieve among students

I had originally decided to investigate the five above-delineated steps. However, at my oral examination it was recommended that my focus be modified in order to limit the scope of my study and thereby enhance its validity. As a result I decided 1) to deal with only the first three steps of the premise; 2) to limit the investigation basically to a comparison between attitudes at Rough Rock on the Navaho reservation (where local control had already been achieved) and those on the Pueblo reservation (where community control is presently being instituted); 3) to view my findings as suggestions rather than conclusions as this study would constitute only an exploratory one.

In limiting my study to an investigation of the dynamics

involved in the first three assumptions of the premise I hoped to be able to achieve the following:

1) To isolate the relationship between community control and "internal control" attitudes from other closely associated influences. By eliminating from consideration student attitudes I would be minimizing the contaminating role that other variables such as a) unique characteristics of the school experience on individual, and b) immediate effects of idiosyncratic qualities of socialization process, might have on differential orientations to "internal control".

I also hoped to isolate the nature of the interplay between community control and "internal control" attitudes from the impact of closely associated historical trends. By studying the dynamics at work among members of a population who have lived under objective conditions and a social climate undermining commitment to "internal control" I hoped to minimize the effect that social forces reinforcing the relationship under consideration could have, more than if I studied "internal control" attitudes among members of a population growing up under the influence of a socio-historical climate more conducive to the development of "internal control" attitudes.

2) To view the phenomenon under study in light of a total life span rather than merely as another factor introduced into the individual's present social and psychological development. By questioning the parental generation, I hoped that individuals would communicate what "internal control" means to them in view of their past experiences. This would permit a greater opportunity to learn about the totality of past and present social and cultural

forces which may have contributed to a change in "internal control" attitudes.

Although the ultimate purpose of this study is motivated by concern over student initiative to achieve in school, I felt justified in limiting the investigation at this point for the following reasons:

1) Jessor has reported a .38 correlation of transference of "internal control" attitudes between mothers and children (Jessor, et. al., 1958). Similarly, Curtis has presented evidence to the effect that "internal control" attitudes are passed on from one generation to the next within individual families (Curtis, 1966).

2) Much of the research cited in the Senate Subcommittee Hearings points to the need for appropriate role models as a relevant motivating force in elevating Indian students' sense of fate control (Bryce, Menninger, Senate Subcommittee Hearings, 1966-67). It can be assumed that if Indian children observe indigenous community members to be engaged in, and committed to, manipulating their own institutions, the development of their own (students') skills will seem a more relevant goal to them.

B.

During the summer of 1969 I was engaged in research in the two Tewa pueblos of San Juan and Santa Clara. I had originally entered the field intending to determine how actual local control over the elementary schools in the pueblos affects general "internal control" attitudes among the communities' inhabitants and later to compare my findings with the effect of local control on "internal control" attitudes at Rough Rock on the Navaho reservation. However, as a result of my field work I learned that San Juan and

Santa Clara possessed a unique outlook and approach toward the prospect of local control over their schools. I therefore decided to limit my investigation to two communities of the same tribe presently dealing with the issue of local control rather than comparing two communities from two different tribes.

At my oral examination it was decided that I would investigate the following premise as a product of the differing socio-historical development of the tribes with which I would be concerned:

actual community control by adult generation ⟶ greater relevancy of own behavior ⟶ "internal control" attitudes among adult generation.

However, when engaged in the actual field work I decided that more could be learned if the original question of how actual local control over the elementary schools in the pueblos affects general "internal control" attitudes among the communities' inhabitants would be treated as only one aspect of the inter-relationship between community control over educational institutions and "internal control" attitudes rather than merely as an isolated factor in the process. I felt that this approach would be a better one than that originally proposed because the relationship between local control over education and "internal control" attitudes among members of the pueblos could thus be investigated from its varying directional interactions rather than as the effect of one isolated variable on another;

community control over education ⟷ "internal control" attitudes

instead of

community control over education ⟶ "internal control" attitudes

APPENDIX II
MODELS FOR STUDY

I have used David Burleson's Proleterian Perspectives, Robert Roessel's Indian Communities in Action, Alfonso Ortiz's Project Headstart in a Tewa Pueblo and Edward Parmee's Education and Culture Change among the San Carlos Apaches as models for my essay. The latter three works are all case studies of the development of changing educational structures and their impact on community values within Indian tribes. Each traces the general socio-economic background of the community, the historical role of education in its development, the present socio-economic conditions of the group and the basic needs, demands and problems of the community which arise out of its socio-economic characteristics. Each report also presents a descriptive analysis of the establishment of current educational programs, community reactions to, involvement in, and identification with these programs.

Burleson's work is a critical examination of the impact that introducing a modern social force has on a traditional society. Rather than being descriptive, his study attempts to assess the process in the light of a theory of social change - that of the reevaluation of rising expectations. Using this as his focus he presents personal accounts of how individuals integrate a modern phenomenon into their traditional orientation and life style. Says Burleson: "In order to illustrate the process we need a number of detailed life histories selected according to structured sampling so as to represent the crucial types that are emerging." According to this method, illustrative data of the processes being undertaken in the community is gathered by observing individual

and group behavior and is supplemented by material obtained by questioning representative types from all levels of the community about their norms and feelings.

> We must sample systematically among the various levels of the hierarchy and then collect cases with full life-history data. We cannot rely upon a few informants to tell us what the traditions are, for the traditions are changing and informants have knowledge that is limited to their own immediate social type. We must observe behavior in a large number of specific situations for a large number of different types of persons. Then the scientific observer can construct a picture of the general forms of behavior in such a way that central tendencies and significant variables from them can be described and analyzed and even explained . . .
>
> (Kahl, "Some Social Concomitants of Industrialization," Human Org., XVIII, 1959)

APPENDIX III

NORTH AMERICA-LANGUAGE FAMILIES

ESKIMO-ALEUT (Northern Canada)

Aleutian
Eskimoan

UTO-AZTECAN

Ute
Tanoan
Zunian
Kiowian
Aztecan

ATHABASCAN

Northern Athabascan
Southwestern Athabascan (Navajo-Apache)
Californian Athabascan (Tolowa-Hupa)

HOKAN-SIOUAN

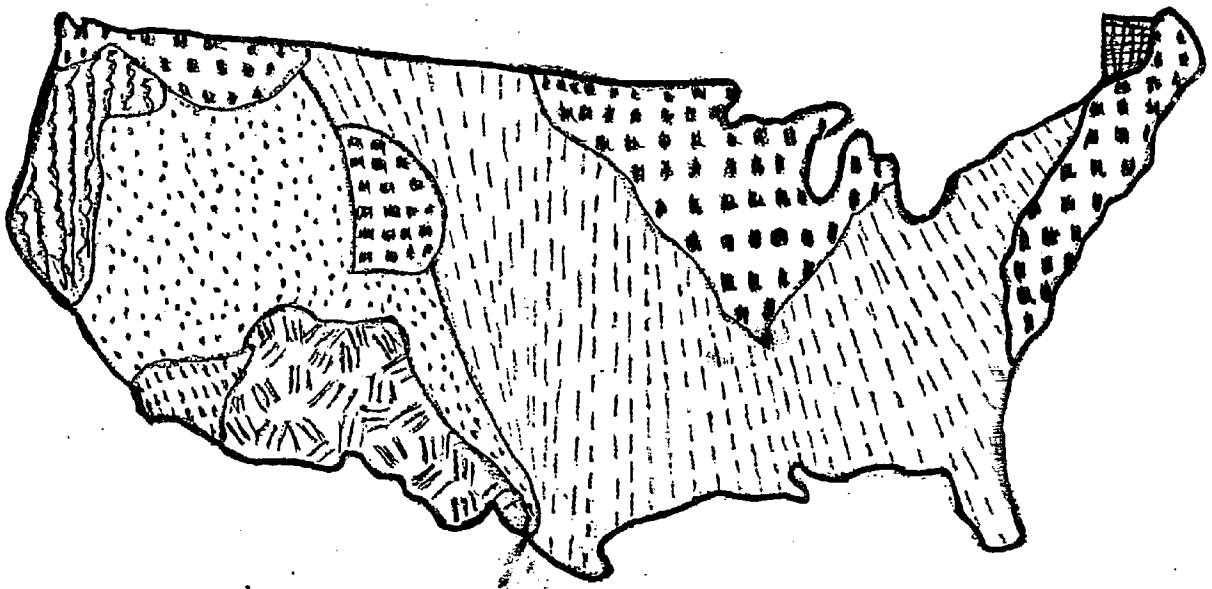
Siouan
Caddoan
Muskogean
Iroquoian
Yuman
Californian
Keresan

ALGONQUIAN

Wakashan
Salishan
Algonquian
California Algonquian (Yurok-Wiyot)
Plains Algonquian (Arapaho-Cheyenne)

PENUTIAN

Sahaptan
Californian
Tsimshian



Bass and Burger, 1967, p. 3

APPENDIX IV

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS OF THE PUEBLO OF SANTA CLARA NEW MEXICO

Deleted because of nonreproducibility

APPROVED DECEMBER 20, 1935

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1957

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS OF THE PUEBLO OF SANTA CLARA, NEW MEXICO

PREAMBLE

We, the people of Santa Clara pueblo, in order to establish justice, promote the common welfare and preserve the advantages of self-government, do ordain and establish this constitution.

ARTICLE I—JURISDICTION

This constitution shall apply within the exterior boundaries of Santa Clara pueblo grant and to such other lands as are now or may in the future be under the jurisdiction of the pueblo of Santa Clara. This constitution shall apply to and be for the benefit of all persons who are members of the pueblo of Santa Clara.

ARTICLE II—MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. *Conditions of membership.*—The membership of the Santa Clara pueblo shall consist as follows:

(a) All persons of Indian blood whose names appear on the census roll of the Santa Clara pueblo as of November 1, 1935, provided that within one year from the adoption and approval of this constitution corrections may be made in the said roll by the pueblo council with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

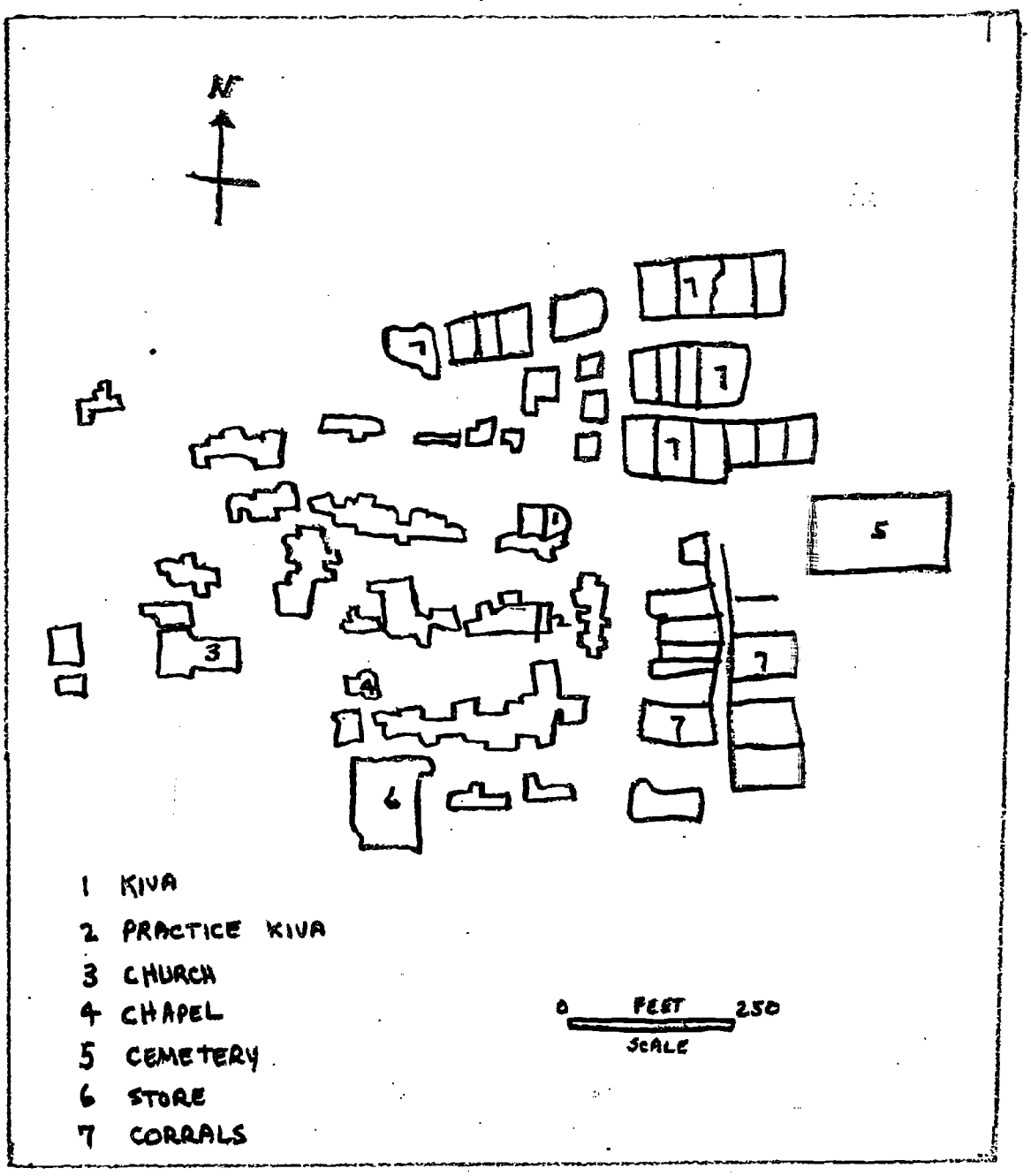
(b) All persons born of parents both of whom are members of the Santa Clara pueblo.

(c) All children of mixed marriages between members of the Santa Clara pueblo and nonmembers, provided such children have been recognized and adopted by the council.

(d) All persons naturalized as members of the pueblo.

SEC. 2. *Naturalization.*—Indians from other pueblos or reservations who marry a member of Santa Clara pueblo may become members of the pueblo, with the assent of the council, by naturalization. To do this they must (1) go before the pueblo council and renounce allegiance to their tribe and declare intention of becoming members of the Santa Clara pueblo. They shall swear that from that date on they will not receive any benefits from their people, except through inheritance. (2) A year later they shall go before the pueblo council again, swear allegiance to the pueblo of Santa Clara and receive membership papers; provided, they have kept their promise from the time of their first appearance before the pueblo council.

APPENDIX V



MAP OF SAN JUAN PUEBLO

APPENDIX VI

ADVISORY SCHOOL BOARD

Authorization

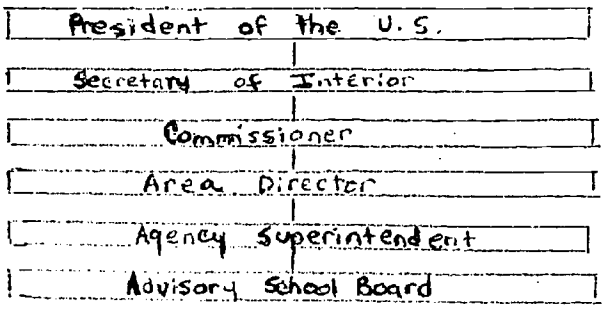
The authority to approve the establishment of advisory school boards and to provide necessary training for such groups is vested in the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or his delegated representative.

A tribal group wishing to establish an advisory school board will submit a proposal, through channels, to its Assistant Area Director (Education). This proposal shall contain the following general information:

Date
Tribal Group
Area, Agency
School(s), Location(s)
Statement of Objectives

The proposal shall answer these questions:

How many members shall be on the advisory school board?
What will be the organization of the board?
What qualifications must a school board member meet?
How will school board members be selected?
What voting procedures will be used?
What will be the term of office of a school board member?
How will officers of the board be elected?
How will vacancies be filled?
When will meetings be scheduled and how will they be conducted?



Implementation

In accordance with the Bureau of Indian Affairs commitment, school board training should be obtained at the earliest possible date.

An advisory school board shall perform these functions:

1. Assist the superintendent or chief school administrator in establishing the best possible school program and organization for Indian children in their respective districts. This refers to review and evaluation of curriculum, the instructional program, personnel, feeding, building, and transportation programs, and supporting services.

2. Act in liaison capacity between the community and school, and reflect the opinions of residents of the community toward education problems.

3. Make recommendations concerning improvements in the local education program.

4. Cooperate with B.I.A. and other school officials in solving problems of mutual concern in the local school district.

5. Keep the residents of the local school district informed about important school problems and activites.

6. Work with parents to encourage their children to attend school regularly.

7. Visit the school to become acquainted with the school program.

8. Encourage school patrons to become active in community school organizations such as P.T.A. and P.T.O., other citizens' committees, and special ad hoc committees.

9. Be responsible for helping develop capable Indian leadership in the community to meet local educational problems.

10. Perform other necessary, related duties.

11. Learn about budgetary process and get some idea of school operational costs.

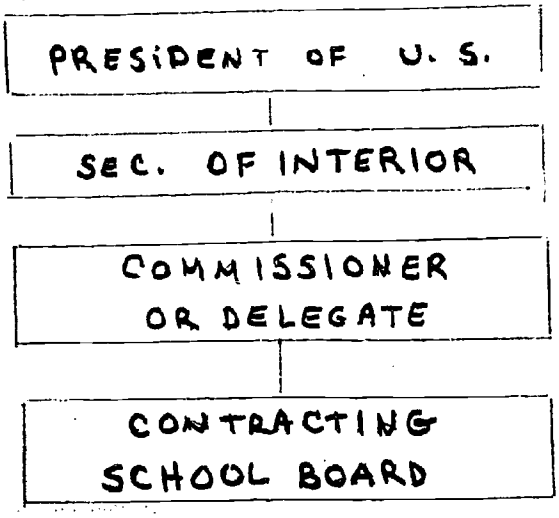
APPENDIX VII

CONTRACTING SCHOOL BOARD

The Indian community organization which is most like the public school board is the Contracting School Board. This group will have complete responsibility for the operation of the school.

Authorization

The authority for duly established school boards to operate local B.I.A. schools is granted by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or his delegated representative. A tribal group, wishing to contract for the operation of one or more schools, will submit proposals, through channels, to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Education, Washington, D.C.



Authorization line for Contracting School Board

Contracting school boards should have a written plan of organization. They shall develop a statement of objectives to submit along with their proposal.

The proposal shall indicate how many members will be on

the contracting school board, the organization of the board, qualifications required of a school board member, means of selection of board members, voting procedures, term of office, election of officers, how vacancies are to be filled, when meetings will be scheduled, and how meetings will be conducted.

Implementation

1. Functions of contracting School Board (general)

   A. The authority for duly established school boards to operate local B.I.A. schools is granted by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or his delegated representative.

      1) The school board must be constituted within certain guidelines and regulations.

      2) Legal authority is vested in a school board only when it acts as a body.

      3) Individual members of committees have no authority unless it is delegated to them.

   B. Control

      1) Legal control is exercised through actions determined by vote of a board quorum in legally constituted sessions. (A quorum refers to the number of members of the school board required to be present to legally transact its business.)

      2) The school board is empowered to hire a chief school administrator to operate a school.

      3) The board should develop rules, regulations, and by-laws consistent with B.I.A. guidelines and with the power vested in it by the Tribal Council.

   C. Organization

      1) After the school board has been duly selected, it will organize and act in accordance with a mutually acceptable plan of operation or constitution.

      2) All schools will be organized in such a manner that the B.I.A. will carry out is responsibility to educate Indian children, which is legally imposed upon it by Congress.

D. Duties

The local school board will outline its specific duties in its written plan. It will also indicate its specific contractual relations with the B.I.A.

2. Functions of Contracting School Boards (specific)

Contracting School Boards or their Professional Staff shall:

1) Develop personnel policies and standards covering all identified levels of employment.

2) Establish rates of pay and fringe benefits.

3) Establish working conditions, assignments, and where pertinent, the length of the work day and work week.

4) Develop or adopt descriptions of courses of study.

5) Develop or adopt guidelines and standards for pupil personnel services.

6) Develop or adopt guidelines and standards, as appropriate, for auxiliary enterprises such as transportation, feeding, housing, plant management, etc.

7) Provide fire, hazard, and risk insurance in accordance with appropriate statute.

8) Establish bid and procurement procedures in accord with generally accepted practices and statutes.

9) Establish and maintain a system of accounting as prescribed by B.I.A.

10) Submit quarterly fiscal reports on prescribed format.

11) Submit annual program report.

12) Submit such special or interim reports as may be requested.

13) Arrange for professional staff participation in in-service training.

14) Cooperate with B.I.A. in Bureau funded evaluation and/or status studies.

15) Authorize intermittent program review activities by Washington Office and Area educational staff members.

16) Submit annual and interim budget requests and supporting documentation.

17) Request professional staff assistance as needed through the appropriate Area Director.

18) Keep appropriate Area Office advised of all contracts and negotiations regarding sources of funding external to B.I.A.

19) Accept all students meeting B.I.A. admission criteria.

20) Maintain student records on prescribed forms.

21) Provide transcripts and other prescribed documents to Area Office for each student transferring out.

22) Coordinate and cooperate with D.I.H. through Area Office for health services.

23) Establish necessary standing and ad hoc committees to carry on its work.

24) Define its school district in terms of geographic area and population breakdown.

APPENDIX VIII

PROJECT TRIBE

Introduction

This is a statement of purposes, policies, criteria, and procedures relating to PROJECT TRIBE (Tribal Responsibility In Better Education).

1. Purposes

The growth, development, and success of the American education system has been largely attributed to the traditional policy and philosophy of local self-determination. This policy assumes the existence of a level of individual and community maturity commensurate with the broader belief in the reasonableness and responsibleness of democratic self-government. The basic covenants of this Nation are based upon the premise of the entitlement of each individual to share in the decision making, the carrying out of decisions, and the abiding by decisions, in the development of those social and political institutions which shape and determine his personal welfare and social well-being. Until this point in time the American Indian has not been afforded this same opportunity to demonstrate and apply his own maturity in helping decide how and for what his own children are to be educated in B.I.A. operated schools. This document constitutes a charter by which this practice can be transformed into a process of educational self-determination compatible with the generally accepted structural and administrative pattern for public education within this country.

2. Policy

When tribal councils or other duly selected tribal groups initiate action to establish school boards and/or operate school programs currently under B.I.A. jurisdiction, it shall be the policy of the B.I.A. to assist them in every possible way to develop and submit proposals for such establishment and operation. These proposals will be reviewed and evaluated as hereafter described and the Bureau will enter into negotiated tribal contracts for the operation of those schools as hereafter indicated.

Functions of School Board (General Guidelines)

A. Authority

1) The authority to permit duly established school boards to operate local B.I.A. schools is vested in the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or his delegated representative.

2) The school board must be constituted within the guidelines and regulations herein indicated.

3) Legal authority is vested in a school board only when it acts as a body.

4) Individual members or committees have no authority unless it is delegated to them.

B. Control

1) Legal control is exercised through actions determined by vote of a board quorum in legally constituted sessions.

2) Operational control of a school will be exercised by the person to whom this authority has been delegated.

3) The board should develop rules, regulations, and bylaws consistent with the power vested in it by the Tribal Council.

C. Organization

1) After the school board has been duly selected, it will organize and act in accordance with a mutually acceptable plan of operation or constitution.

2) All schools will be organized in such a manner that the B.I.A. will carry out its reponsibility to educate Indian children, which was legally imposed upon it by Congress.

D. Duties

School Boards or their professional staff shall:

1) Develop personnel policies covering all identified levels of employment.

2) Establish rates of pay and fringe benefits.

3) Establish working conditions, assignments, and where pertinent the length of the work day and work week.

4) Develop or adopt descriptions of courses of study.

5) Develop or adopt guidelines and standards for pupil personnel services.

6) Develop or adopt guidelines and standards, as appropriate, for auxiliary enterprises such as transportation, feeding, housing, plant management, etc.

7) Provide fire, hazard, and risk insurance in accordance with appropriate status.

8) Establish bid and procurement procedures in accordance with generally accepted practices and statutes.

9) Establish and maintain a system of accounting as prescribed by B.I.A.

10) Submit quarterly fiscal reports on prescribed format.

11) Submit annual program report.

12) Submit such special or interim reports as may be requested.

13) Arrange for [illegible]ional staff participation in in-service training.

14) Cooperate with B.I.A. in Bureau funded evaluation and/or status studies.

15) Authorize intermittent program review activities by Washington Office and Area educational staff members.

16) Clear all prospective news releases and materials for publication involving the education and supporting programs with the appropriate Area Director. (This does not apply to personnel actions except that of the top administrative officer).

17) Submit annual and interim budget requests and supporting documentation.

18) Request professional staff assistance as needed through the appropriate Area Director.

19) Keep appropriate Area Office advised of all contracts and negotiations regarding sources of funding external to B.I.A.

20) Accept all students meeting B.I.A. admission criteria.

21) Maintain student records on prescribed forms.

22) Provide transcripts and other prescribed documents to Area Office for each student transferring out.

23) Coordinate and cooperate with D.I.H. through Area Office for health services.

24) Establish necessary standing and ad hoc committees to carry on its work.

25) Define its school district in terms of geographic area and population breakdown.

26) Perform related duties in keeping with those outlined in the local State school board organization.

APPENDIX A

PUEBLO DE SANTA CLARA

ESPANOLA NEW MEXICO

September 27, 1969

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The bearer, Paul Tafoya of Santa Clara Pueblo is hereby authorized by the Santa Clara Tribal Council to make a complete survey of our school and formulate the development of proposed new local Indian School System.

The proposed survey would help curb the deficiency of the school and better utilize proficient material to develop and educate our people to a high degree.

Sincerely yours,

Juan Chavarria
Governor

APPENDIX X

United States Department of the Interior

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20242

REPLY REFER TO:
Education

October 10, 1969

To Whom It May Concern:

In July 1968 the Bureau of Indian Affairs announced as a part of its education policy an interest in contracting with Indian school boards of education for the operation of schools which have been federally operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Over the past few months I have discussed this with Mr. Paul Tafoya who has been authorized by the Governor of the Santa Clara Pueblo to negotiate such contract.

I wish at this time to express the interest of the Bureau in entering into a contract with such legally constituted board as may be established by the Santa Clara Tribal Council. The Bureau commitment would be subject to the submission by the Council of a proposal which would provide an educational program of no less equivalency than that currently provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is understood that if the Tribal proposal meets the basic criteria contained in 62 IAM 17.0 that the Bureau's contribution under contract would be no less than the per capita commitment under the present Bureau school operation.

Assistant Commissioner (Education)

APPENDIX X
MAJOR THEMES IN TEWA FICTION

Dozier in an article entitled "Resistance to Acculturation and Assimilation in an Indian Pueblo" states that an examination of Pueblo "myths, tales and legends reveals a rebellion to establish a position of respect and prestige without surrendering their own way of life" (American Anthropologist, 5[illegible]). Indeed, upon investigation of the Tewa literature one discovers that a major theme is the population's desire to retain its physical structure in order to insure the survival of its unique spiritual heritage.

> We wanted land, our land, Indian land. But mostly we wanted the mountains. We wanted the mountains, our mother, between whose breasts lies the little blue eye of faith. The deep turquoise lake of life. Our lake, our church. Where we make our pilgrimmages, hold our ceremonies.
> (Waters, 1942:26)

Moreover, as in actuality, in Tewa fiction spiritual ritual is represented as a means by which to elicit desired social and economic results (de Huff, 1922; Parsons, 1926; Ahlee, 1927; Waters, 1942; La Farge, 1965). However, more than merely suggesting a <u>functional</u> link between spiritual means and material ends, the literature emphasizes an <u>existential</u> connection between the two - religious ceremony is the link between the individual and his pueblo's culture. Furthermore, this link imposes on each pueblo resident a sense of responsibility to others in his community. Throughout Tewa literature prevails the theme that because each pueblo member is dependent on every other member for survival, if an individual attempts to impair the activities of another he will thereby be prompting his own destruction,

i.e. moral retribution (de Huff, 1922; Parsons, 1926; Ahlee, 1927; Waters, 1942; La Farge, 1965).

Also permeating Tewa literature is the theme of relativity. Man is seen as a member of his pueblo; the pueblo as part of the natural order; the immediate natural order as one component of the greater natural order. So, too, is viewed the time in which daily existence is carried out - an unvariated rhythm within a larger temporal scheme. "To them time is no moving flow to be measured, ticked out, and struck at funny intervals. Time is all one, ever present and indestructible" (Waters, 1942:44)

APPENDIX XI

8 Northern Pueblos Governors Council Meeting

1. Although there was only minimal representation from the 8 pueblos, it was noted that there was a quorum from Santa Clara alone. It was decided that because of the small number the issues to be presented would just be briefly considered and dates for their fuller discussion set among those there.

2. Started discussing the problem of extradition in Santa Clara. The gentleman representing law and order presented the formal requests of this law and Mr. N. from Santa Clara said he would like "an example." He explained that teenage boys from San Juan had misbehaved on the Santa Clara land during their feast day and they were unable to pick them up. The governor of San Juan had given them permission to do so but they cannot go into the San Juan area and do so otherwise they are liable for sue. The governor of San Juan said that the problem really arose from the fact that he had sent all the boys down to be tried by the Santa Clara Judge on Monday and that on that day at 5:10 the Judge had cancelled the trial and postponed it to another date. "How am I going to communicate with my people that way." Mr. N. then pursued the question on a more general basis and the man representing law and order said that he would want someone from the pueblos for police training so that he could give him a federal commission - then if someone did something on Santa Clara land and to this policeman

it would be a federal assault, and this would supercede tribal ordinance. Mr. N. then asked about the statutes pertaining to non-Indians. He presented the case of a non-Indian living in San Juan - commits a crime in San Juan - cannot be tried by tribal court. Can prosecute him however in Santa Clara on the basis of trespassing - can put this area off-limits to him and if he violates this he can be prosecuted. This can be done, the law and order man said, but he had to check into all the ramifications of it to get the process clear. A Santa Claran then pointed out that issues of this sort are problems for each new incoming governorship and that monthly seminars should be held on each of the important areas of governorship so that information will be available for the governors, on the basis of which they can decide how to handle matters in their pueblos. Because of the yearly change, new governors are unaware of certain ways of handling issues and therefore a monthly seminar devoted to each area, with problems brought up at this time as well would be helpful.

3. Educational administrator from state department of education then came up before the council. He stood as he began and Mr. V. from Tesuque told him to sit down. Administrator said there was a great need to improve matters in the public schools of the 8 Northern pueblos and the job of supervising and looking into the problems was not being done properly. The governors then said that this was the fault of the new supervisor and that the Council had already

suggested that he be removed from his position and replaced by someone more capable. They said he was not doing his job sufficiently - i.e. checking out the public schools in the area. Decided that they would invite him to the more extended education meeting at which they hoped all 8 pueblos would be represented on August 27 so as to confront him with issues then. Representatives from Santa Clara then said that they were mostly interested at that time to discuss where and how federal funds were being poured into the schools of the district. Official from 8 Northern Pueblos Agency (in Santa Fe) then suggested that in order to have as great a representation on the issues of education as possible the members of the education department of the B.I.A. would be at the meeting. He also suggested that the advisory school board members attend. In addition, he said that those individuals serving as contacts between the B.I.A. and public schools in the pueblos be present. One of the representatives from Santa Clara said that this was the first time he had ever even heard of such a position. After a few moments of discussion it was realized that no such post, or individual filling such a role, existed. Another representative from Santa Clara said that he didn't feel that Advisory School Board members and individuals connected with B.I.A. schools should be at the meeting. He said there was enough to consider simply with regard to <u>public</u> education and that all would get confused if B.I.A. people and issues were introduced as well. "We

are interested in public funds, let's keep it at that." Another representative said that what was desired was to have a voice "in the usage of federal funds" and also to see that "our children are given proper attention in the public schools." He said that it was this that they wanted to discuss and didn't want to be side-tracked.

6. Official from 8 Northern Pueblos Agency then pointed out that all the applications for the job of Education Programs Administrator had been received and that he wanted to discuss with the governors who they considered the best choice. He said that they had made nominations, he knew they were interested and that they should therefore be involved in the final aspect.

7. Governor from Picuris commented that the governors should be informed about what was taking place, rather than merely being presented with the alternatives of certain decisions. He said: "It is never too soon to discuss anything with the governors; this is what I object to; things are always discussed once they are about to gell." Governor from Tesuque said it was essential that all complaints be put into writing and signed so that when action was taken the governors could refer back to these complaints and show that their demands had not been met.

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