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ABSTRACT

The first of 3 volumes of position papers presented at the first Native American Teacher Corps Conference (Denver, Colorado; April 26-29, 1973) presents 8 position papers and 3 addresses. The content is: (1) addresses; (2) on Indian's education; (3) culture and education; (4) theoretical construct of the ideal school system for American Indians...K-Life; (5) developing a Native American Studies Program; (6) Indian health professionals; (7) value conflicts as a cause for dropouts; (8) the role of communications in Indian life; and (9) Teacher Corps: a model for training teachers.
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NATIVE AMERICAN TEACHER CORPS CONFERENCE

APRIL 26 - 29, 1973 DENVER, COLORADO

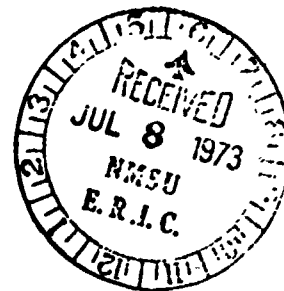
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CONFERENCE REPORT

CONFERENCE



Eastern Montana College
BILLINGS, MONTANA 59101



Dear Native American Teacher Corps Conference participant:

These two volumes of "position papers" are reproductions of those papers presented at the first Native American Teacher Corps Conference held in Denver, Colorado, April 26-29, 1973.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for attending and for making our first National Conference a success. The success of any conference lies in the teamwork that goes into its planning and implementation. I would also like to thank the following people, without whose coordinated efforts the first Native American Teacher Corps Conference could not have taken place:

- * The steering committee - Robin Rutterfield, Leigh Jeanette, Larry Mendoza, and Roger Wilson - for the time and effort they dedicated to the selection of authors and participants and for their supportive work before and during the conference.
- * Ex officio steering committee members - Dr. Caroline Gillin, Mr. Paul Collins, and Mr. Mike Diorio, Teacher Corps, Washington, D. C., for facilitating conference plans.
- * Ms. Kathy Calkin, Eastern Montana College Teacher Corps Research Assistant, who put in "jillions" of hours coordinating all conference efforts. Kathy was one of the key factors in the successful implementation of the conference.
- * The secretaries and staff of Eastern Montana College Teacher Corps - for their help and patience in answering the incessant phone calls and for putting up with the hectic pace generated by conference plans.
- * Mr. Chuck Potter, Eastern Montana College Teacher Corps Administrative Assistant, who helped at pre-conference sessions as well as at the national conference.
- * The authors of all position papers. Comments by conferees are typified by the following: "I've never seen such an impressive assemblage of Indian talent."

* The panel moderators - for skillfully leading discussion groups, facilitating dialogue, and in general adding their individual expertise to the conference.

* The speakers - for presenting timely and most valid remarks relative to Native American education.

I am looking forward to seeing you all at the next conference. In closing, may I wish you a most productive and enjoyable summer.

Sincerely yours,



Tom Thompson
Conference Coordinator

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EDUCATION POWER

Address To The National Teacher Corps Conference

Denver, Colorado

by
Stanley J. Heywood
President, Eastern Montana College
Billings, Montana

Before I get into the body of my text, I want to give you my non-credentials. As far as I know, I do not have a drop of Indian blood to boast about and I would certainly boast about it if I had it. Nor, as far as I know, do I have any Negro ancestors or Spanish ancestors, though I would be proud to say so. Although to many I suspect it would be shocking to find out that we all came from the same tree or that God is rainbow-hued. I have no claim to have had my ancestors know the Indians since the time of the Mayflower. And, speaking of the other Indians after whom the people here were named, I don't even know how to do the Indian Rope Trick!

I talk to you from the perspective of someone who claims to know a little about Higher Education, and I intend to call on my more recent experiences as a college president and with the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. I talk to you from the perspective of someone who has taught Indian students, and probably poorly, but that was when I was younger and knew more than I know now; and from the perspective of someone who has Indian students in the college he heads; and finally, and this may be most important, from the perspective of one who tries to have a sensitive humanistic and objective view toward all peoples, rather than either a bigoted,

or on the other side, what is often just as disastrous, a romanticised view of peoples. I should also say that I am not a militant on questions of freedom, though, God knows, there is justification for violence at times. I was brought up in the tradition of Tennyson who talked about where "Freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent".

So I am not going to talk about the Trail of Broken Treaties, or similar injustices to other minorities, since you have on your program speakers who are far well versed on this subject. Mr. Deloria has documented it well in his book "Of Utmost Good Faith". I am not going to document the poverty, degradation, or the alcoholism, or the urban discontent of the people. I am not going to criticise what has been done in the past, though, God knows also, there is much to be said there. I am not going to evaluate the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Tribal Councils, or dwell long on the past and present errors of the schools or of higher education.

I am instead going to look toward the future. The past is too unhappy, too unfortunate, too lacking in promise when one considers the ways in which the people have lost their heritage. This can never be changed. Can a new heritage drawing on the past be gained?

I wish to make one apology. It is an apology for my ignorance. If I say something that shows this ignorance I hope that it is that my understanding is too little, and not that my intentions are too shallow.

Education is a power. It isn't a Supreme Power, but it has a great deal of power for good. I wouldn't be in it, and you shouldn't be in it if you don't feel this way. The whole foundation of the Teacher Corps Program is based on the concept that education

power can show a way, a new way - a new way for Indians, yes, for Spanish Americans, yes, for Negroes, yes, but also for middle class Americans, who did, or did not, come over on the Mayflower..

It is this "new way" I wish to talk about, and I want to stress again what I have just said, that it is a new way for all.

Education power to the new way must first of all realize that everyone, in the words of one of the Carnegie publications has "a chance to learn" and that this chance to learn should not be the same for each individual but related to individual needs and capacities.

As I was preparing this talk, one book appealed to me very much. It is entitled, "Land Of The Four Directions" and deals with the Passamaquoddies and the Maliseet of Maine and the Micmacs of Canada. Its introduction says:

" White Men say the Indian has a problem; they call it the 'Indian problem'. I believe the Indian's biggest problem is the White Man. For too long the United States and Canadian governments have treated the Indian as children. They have insisted that to grow up the Indian must become a White Man, live as a White Man, think as a White Man. The fact is that we are not White; we are Indian. " 1

The future in this regard could be very good. We could realize that an Indian is an Indian. We could apply what we know about individualization to the Indians and to the Negroes and to the Chicanos and to all minorities. Funny, isn't it, those who get the most individual treatment are those that have the most sense of identity to start with. They are the people with the most income. A family with an income over \$15,000 and with one or more college age children is five times as likely to include a full time college student as a similar family with an income under \$3,000. He is much more

1 Frederick John Protson, Land of the Four Directions, The Chatham Press, Inc., Old Greenwich, Connecticut 1970, p. 9

likely to have this sense of identity if he isn't Black, Indian, Mexican American, or Puerto Rican. He is much more likely to have this sense of identity if he is from a County where they have a college. He is much more likely to have this sense of identity if he goes to college at the so-called 'regular age' that one goes to college though, thank God that is changing and we are beginning to pay more than lip service to the idea that education is lifelong and oh - does he have that sense of identity if he has had a good early schooling - how important that is! He is much more likely to have this identity if his father has identity and status in the community. He is much more likely to have this identity if he is a "he".

Yes, education power can lead us to the new way. The Carnegie Commission in its goals for 2000 recommends "That all remaining barriers to equality of educational opportunity which are subject to public policy be removed so that ability, motivation, and individual choice are the only determinants of college attendance. By the year 2000, ethnic origin, geographic location, age, and quality of prior schooling should no longer stand in the way of access to higher education and success within it".² That would be a new way, wouldn't it?

Another way in which higher education can play an important role in individualization, not only with students at the college but also with the younger elementary and secondary students, is by developing camps for educationally disadvantaged children. School can be a failure situation for so many of our students, and it is difficult to develop individuality when one is constantly being told that he is a failure. Camps can be more flexible. Camps can provide an opportunity for everyone to excel.

² Carnegie Commission, A Chance to Learn.

Camps can recognize some of the other aspects of learning that we too often give lip service to, namely the emotional and social and the physical, as well as the intellectual. Camps can provide a sense of beauty, a sense of exploration, a sense of accomplishment in which individuality shines. Now the schools should be able to do these things too. I hope the Teacher Corps in the public schools is making some impact on these kinds of things. But there is a little more flexibility in an outdoor situation that should be used, and one doesn't have to sit for as long as some teachers feel young people should sit.

I am sorry to have to tell you this but I'm not a young kid anymore, and I find it very difficult to sit for too long, and wish I could jump around right in the middle of a long morning of speeches. Fortunately, I am early in the program, but in spite of that if you feel like stretching you might be exercising your individuality rather than your conformity and that might be very good.

I wonder if you have looked at the Carnegie "Equal Opportunity Check List". Some of the questions are pretty important to individuality. Let me just read four of them to you.

"Are considerable numbers of students, faculty, and administrators willing to re-examine and restructure traditional institutional and individual procedures and priorities?"

"Are recruiters encouraged to present a realistic appraisal of the campus situation, including the scope and nature of the institution's objectives and resources? Are minority students used as recruiters?"

"Have the requirements for additional, educational, financial and psychological support for a portion of the educationally disadvantaged student been discussed and met?"

"Has the institution examined its employment to identify and eliminate those which are defacto, discriminatory against minority persons within or outside of the campus?" ³

It's pretty hard to promote individuality on a campus if you haven't faced those questions. It's pretty hard to use education as a power to promote individuality if you haven't used those questions.

Second, education power provides options. These options are between institutions and within institutions. We have done a poor job in relating students to institutions, and that's no reason why we should continue to do so. "Community Colleges should be available, within commuting distance, to all persons throughout their lives, except in sparsely populated areas which should be served by residential colleges." ⁴ and those community colleges should be free or almost free of cost. Some Indian students should go to four year colleges and there should be low cost public senior education available. There should be easy transfer between these two types of institutions. Some Indian students should go directly into professional programs of engineering and other fields.

Minorities do not like analogies to under-developed countries overseas and I don't blame them. I think it could be very well changed around and those of us who are non-Indians are the foreign students. I wonder what would happen if some of our colleges introduced a compulsory program for non-Indians before you could take the regular courses entitled, "The Teaching of Crow as a Foreign Language".

³ Ibid p. 21-23

⁴ Carnegie Commission, 1970, The Open Door Colleges

However, there is an area in which education as used in the developing countries became power, or not power. It is worth looking at, for any lessons we might get from it. If you compare the readiness of the Indians from India to take over their own country with those of the old Belgian Congo, now called Zaine, one sees what I am talking about. In the Congo at independence there wasn't one Congolese doctor, one commissioned officer in the Army, one engineer, or any Congolese experienced in any type of professional or leadership position. It is no wonder that before the Belgians had withdrawn and immediately after independence, the whole country broke apart.

I can get concerned over too much emphasis on job skills and on employment planning, but education as a power comes out in people who can do things. And I am not snobbish in terms of what constitutes importance in the hierarchy. I don't care whether an individual farms, teaches, drives a truck, as long as they are able to do it well. Recently we had the three astronauts on our campus, Capt. Eugene Cernan, Capt. Ronald Evans, and Dr. Harrison Schmitt, and Capt Evans used the old saw about if the thing is worth doing it is worth doing well, but he went on to say, "and if it is worth doing well it is worth enjoying" and that is something education as a power can do about job skills. It can teach you to do things and it can also teach you to hate them or enjoy them. I hope Teacher Corps is doing something in its work, not only to instruct individuals and to give them skills and values and understandings, but also to give them an attitude toward life that they enjoy those skills and those values and those understandings.

In connection with marketability of skills Lowell Dunlop, Director of our Teacher Corps Program, tells me:

"The Eastern Montana College Teacher Corps Program will be adding approximately twenty-four (24) certified Native American elementary teachers to the job market. At the present time there are only two or three certified Native American teachers on the Northern Cheyenne and Crow Reservations. This will be a several hundred percent increase in Native American teachers for these two Reservations. Most of these interns are local people who will likely stay and teach in these locales."

Education can also have power to give meaning to life. Perhaps this is where we most have to look ahead to a new way, because when we look back to the conflict of the cultures it was the destruction of this meaning for life that has made so many native Americans unable to have souls in their own society or in the alien society. Could alcoholism have anything to do with this? I certainly think it could, and I hope that Teacher Corps is working with the young people to give them meaning. Meaning in their own traditions, meaning as they relate to both ways of life, as I am afraid they must do. Then education power won't have to be used for remedial work to put alcoholics back in the mainstream of society. Education won't have created these alcoholics.

Education power next develops the ability to see value in other individuals. It has something to say, and I don't care if this is from a religious, spiritual, or humanistic point of view, that all men are brothers. The power to destroy each other is not the power of education. It is the power of mis-education, and education that only develops the power to overcome others is faulty. I am as equally interested in non Indian children respecting the fine deeds of Indians and other minorities as I

am of Indians and other minorities respecting the fine deeds of non Indians in this country or in any other country.

I recently wrote an article entitled "Other Big Skys". As you know, Montana is our Big Sky Country. I have had the pleasure on two occasions to visit the country of West Pakistan. This coming summer our college has a project to educate social studies teachers at the University of Karachi. As one travels in that high plateau country, one can look up to see a sky every bit as blue as the Big Sky of Montana, and I am sure those people love their country as much as ours do. Their children are brought up to respect their flag and their President, and it is only when we use education to indicate that there are no alternatives that this intense nationalism becomes destructive, rather than constructive. I hope that Teacher Corps is doing something to promote a realization that all men are brothers.

Then, education power can give balance to life in so many areas. Balance in the use of leisure time, balance in the handling of family responsibilities, balance in the use of money, balance in the sharing of resources whether environmental, human, or individual. I hope Teacher Corps is doing something in its work to promote this type of balance.

Next, education power is the power to reform and we certainly need reform. We need it beyond education. When Congress is not aware of the actions of certain agencies of our government and when sometimes these agencies operate in direct opposition to what are the considered policies of our government, there is need to reform. When we have Watergate, there is need to reform. When education itself

does not serve the objectives of the broader society, there is need to reform. In its book "Reform on Campus" the Carnegie Commission stated:

"We propose academic reforms in higher education which will enhance the the opportunity of each student, given his natural strengths, to find a learning environment that will best help him to create for himself a fuller and more satisfying life."

"We propose reforms which will provide many more academically acceptable alternatives than now exist from among which each student may choose as he searches for that combination of external conditions and influences that will most enhance his acquisition of desired skills and of wisdom."

"We propose reforms which will make it more possible for each student to find an instructional situation which is, for him, as close to the ideal as as humanly possible."

I hope Teacher Corps is helping education power to reform.

Let's look at a few of the kinds of reforms that the Carnegie Commission recommends and see if they have something to say to Teacher Corps or whether Teacher Corps has something to say to them in terms of realization. It recommends diversity among institutions and within them; admissions policies that promote diversity; coherent options that provide broad learning experiences, a relevant curriculum; more emphasis on effective teaching; students involved in the evaluation of teaching; more emphasis on advising; more opportunities for students to gain community service and work experience.

In developing a more relevant curriculum I am pleased to be able to report that the curriculum is actually changing as the Teacher Corps works in the schools. In our situation, the Interns with their own more relevant background have more and more introduced the Crow and Cheyenne Culture into the content of classes and into

the development of the curricula.

I recall that when I visited schools in the Khyber Pass some years ago, but seventeen years after independence, they were still learning about going back home (to England) to play cricket. Ethnocentric views of the settling of the West can hardly be called anymore relevant.

We need alternatives to traditional higher education. Teacher Corps while field centered, and significant because of this, does not pretend to be an open university concept. There are many potential learners who do not want to be part of an organized program, or if they do, they do not want to leave their homes. The work going on at the State University of Nebraska -- the S-U-N Project has potential for accomplishing the latest revolution in post-secondary education, namely the carrying of education to the learner in place of bringing the learner to the education. Television, audio and visual cassettes, learning resource centers, WATS lines, can all play a part in this restructuring.

The new way must put at the disposal of post-secondary education all of the technology, the knowledge and resources available to the military, to business and to government, so that learning becomes the most important industry of this nation. We need a new definition of productivity that transcends the unit that is visible in a package of soap, or the manufacture of a motor car. This is a rich country beyond its technological prowess and we need to take the time and the effort and the money to do the educational job that we already know how to do better than we are doing.

We need to spend less money for the re-election of the President or for election of a President or any elected officials and more money to solve our domestic problems. We need to restore confidence in the integrity of government so that we can once again believe it serves all the people.

We cannot be content in the new way only to be concerned with the formal education of those growing up but must also be concerned with the enrichment of the adult population. The new way must provide alternatives to hours of inconsequential TV viewing, the reliance on alcohol, tranquilizers, spectator entertainment, boredom and a feeling of uselessness.

The new way must provide a satisfying alternative to the work ethic, and this must be part of the reform movement. How sad it is to see unhappy retired people who have not been prepared for this transition. In our modern society reform should provide a couple of years off for everyone in mid-career to try something else, to pursue a hobby, and not concentrate all of their retirement at the end of their life. Retirement systems should be designed not to put people out to pasture, but to give them added opportunity to bring their education to bear on their own individual and society's problems. We are giving attention to man's economic wants and that is essential, but we are too little concerned about taking care of his spiritual wants.

We are still too concerned about laying down the law of the lesson and having the citizen or the student memorize the answers. The new way sees education as something that can only be done by the individual who wants to learn, and it provides him with the resources by which he can learn. There is not a single way, but many ways, and all the ways may lead to truth. This does not mean that one shuns examples of excellence. It means that there are many examples of excellence so that the mark

of the educated man in our diverse society can no longer be single faceted. It does not mean that one neglects to consider the philosophy of what it means to be an educated man in the last quarter of the 20th Century. Both past and present have a role to play in this philosophy. John Woodenlegs, former Tribal Chairman of the Northern Cheyenne said:

"We feel our children need education that gives the best of both cultures. We feel that many of the values of our past Cheyenne society can still serve us well in this modern world. We feel we need this to give us understanding and pride in our past, just as other Americans learn their history for the same reason." 5

In my concluding remarks I wish to discuss the observations of a distinguished British educator who is also a member of the Carnegie Commission, Sir Eric Ashby. Sir Eric in his Volume, Any Person, Any Study, makes some observations about American Higher Education that involve considerations that are concerns of yours as you seek to improve Teacher Corps. He says:

"For a British observer of American higher education the dominant impression is the range of standard and quality. This is at the same time a strength and a weakness. It is a strength because in the face of irresistible popular demand for higher education and pressure for egalitarianism, the very existence of mediocre institutions protects the standards of the good ones. (In a society where everyone must have a car, Cadillacs could not maintain their quality if there were no Chevrolets). And it is a weakness because it permits in some places an expenditure of human effort (on the part of both students and teachers) and of money, on a higher education of low quality and dubious value.

.
A second dominant impression is the very high drop-out rate in American higher education

A third fact which impresses itself upon the observer from Britain is one which an American observer would notice also in Britain, namely that neither country has succeeded in eliminating the effects of social class upon access to higher education"

5 Communication to "The National Study of American Indian Education".

Sir Eric Ashby's observations underline for me more than ever my own personal feeling that higher education for minorities is fundamental to the future of this nation and that its success or failure is clearly related to the success or failure of all American higher education. Teacher Corps is the right program at the right time and in the right place. It is the type of program that needs special support, not just for a year or a few years, but until the job is done. I favor federal aid to higher education, but it must not be of the "on-again, off-again" variety. Programs that have been evaluated as helpful must be continued and, where necessary, additional resources supplied.

The National Endowment for the Humanities recently printed two descriptions of Charles Dickens' writings as reflected in Oliver Twist.

The Quarterly Review of June 1839 contained this:

"OLIVER TWIST is directed against the poor-law and workhouse system, and in our opinion with much unfairness. The abuses which he ridicules are not only exaggerated, but in nineteen cases out of twenty do not at all exist. . . . We object in toto to the staple of OLIVER TWIST - a series of representations which must familiarize the rising generation with the haunts, deeds, language, and characters of the very dregs of the community . . ."

Edmund Wilson wrote in 1961:

"In his novels from beginning to end, Dickens is making the same point always: that to the English governing classes the people they govern are not real. It is one of the great purposes of Dickens to show you these human actualities who figure for Parliament as strategical counters and for Political Economy as statistics What does a workhouse under the Poor Laws look like? What does it feel like, taste like, smell like? How does the holder of a post in the government look? How does he talk? What does he talk about? How will he treat you? What is the aspect of the British middle class at each of the various stages of its progress? What are the good ones like and what are the bad ones like? How do they affect you, not merely to meet at dinner, but to travel with, to work under, to live with? All these things Dickens can tell us."⁶

⁶ Edmund Wilson, THE WOUND AND THE BOW, Chapter I, "Dickens: The Two Scrooges" (London, 1961), pp. 23-24.

Unfortunately there are still some in our American Society who don't think that Native Americans are "real", and writing and thinking like Quarterly Review Higher Education has to be the Charles Dickens of our day.

In the past, we have failed to develop a truly multi-racial society, but we have another chance. Let's not muff it. It is sad but true that education has actually contributed to the prescrvation of a single racial society. It wasn't until 1941 that a major institution of higher learning employed a Negro when Allison Davis was employed at the University of Chicago. Allen Ballard observed that up to that time

" . . . almost no white institution . . . believed that any black man was intelligent enough to be a professor at a white university" ⁷

This must not continue. Education power must contribute to a new way and a new day for all America.

We need a multi-racial society to preserve our self respect, our faith in higher education, our faith in America, and to promote those unique contributions that come from rich heritages. Only then will we feel that higher education is better, our nation better and our world better.

You must feel very proud to be a part of such a significant program.

⁷ Allen Ballard "Academia Record of Benign Neglect", Change, March 1973, p. 27

Native American Teacher Corps Conference
Cosmopolitan Hotel - Denver, Colorado
April 26-29, 1973

"The Educational Challenge Ahead for American Indians" by Mrs. Helen Scheirbeck,
Director, Office of American Indian Affairs, Office of Education, Washington, DC

I've been trying to figure out how I could get out of giving this speech, but Dr. White did not talk long enough, and Tom did not tell any Indian jokes, and I relied very heavily on you to do that, Tom.

Each time I have to give a speech, I always say to myself, I wish I would go to a Toastmasters Club and learn how to speak so that I could really entertain the audience. Unfortunately, I have not done that, and I always tend to give serious speeches. So, you're just going to have to bear with me a little bit. I would like for you to stand up and take a stretch for a minute, and then I'll get started.

The next thing I have to do is exercise a little bit of Lumbee pride. I am an East coast Indian, and one of the things that has always happened in my ten to thirteen years of work in Indian affairs - when I first came into the field, none of the western Indians knew that there were any Indians that lived on the east coast. I was constantly taking Siouxs to the Iroquois powwows just to prove to them that there were still Indians on the east coast. I happen to know we have several east coast Indians here tonight, and I want them to stand up. And I want to give them a hand, because it always tickles me to have some of my own people in the audience. And that includes you, Billy, so you have to stand up with the east coast Indians. Would you just do that for a minute, please. Thank you very much.

I appreciate the opportunity this evening to share with you some of the thoughts on where we are today in America in educating Indian people and where we seem to be going. And then lastly and most importantly, I want to explore things that you and I can do together that will make the educational process relevant, realistic and truly an instrument which works for the benefit of Indian children and ultimately for Indian communities, tribes and tribal cultures.

I think that I can say today that we are just beginning to move in a new and exciting era in which we take up the responsibilities for educating our own people. It is not enough anymore to point accusing fingers at the non-Indians who have controlled and still control our schools or who have hoarded federal monies to themselves and still do in the name of Indian education. We must take that responsibility upon ourselves as Indians. Let us establish a first principle or thesis, if you will, which like a thread should run and be found in all of our future involvements in the tasks of providing meaningful education for Indian children. The thesis is Indian education, but as such this does not exist. Educational institutions exist in which Indian students are subjected to an educational process. Until the educational institution and the educational process become Indian educational institutions and Indian educational process, there will be no such thing as Indian education. But worse than that, children will continue to

suffer from the poverty of an alien non-Indian culture. The survival of Indian people is based upon the possession and control of their own educational institutions. Put into a practical principle, we would say all legislation, policies, procedures, guidelines, regulations and programs must be designed to develop and maintain Indian-controlled educational institutions, that is, educational institutions which are Indian and educational processes which are Indian. If they are truly Indian, they will be ordered, they will reach from the parents to the teacher to the child to the school administration and most important to the community of Indian people. This is a very exciting task which you have and which I have, and that is the task to make us all whole again - To make us whole by once again establishing the process in which our children come to understand who they are, where they came from, where they are going and what their relationship is to all men and to all things, and in this process they will then come to acknowledge or to acquire the knowledge and the skills which will bring them to maturity.

Now where are we today in this process of educating Indians? In 1973, almost 200 years since the founding of this country, we find the following kinds of things: approximately 275,000 Indian school age children, three-fourths (3/4) of these attending public schools either on or off the reservation, and the remaining one-fourth (1/4) attending federal day or boarding schools under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs or private mission schools. Then there are 4,406 students in twenty schools operated partially or totally by Indian community groups. In other words, the overwhelming majority of Indian elementary and secondary students are being educated in non-Indian institutions under the primary direction and control of non-Indian people. There are approximately 16,000 Indians in higher education today, undergraduates and graduates. And I want you to know that there are seven emerging Indian institutions of higher education, and these are being developed either on the reservation or close to the Indian community, and they are serving now approximately 3000 students. So, if you add the number of elementary students and the number of college students you have only about 7000 Indians attending institutions that are Indian-based. If we look at the university and college faculty in the United States today, we find a grand total of thirty-two Indians who are tenured members of the faculty, and we find eighty-five non-tenured positions held by Indians. And just recently the Chief of Personnel of the Bureau of Indian Affairs indicated that in the BIA we have 304 teachers who are Indians out of the total number of 2,285. This figure represents 13.3 percent of the entire teaching staff.

It seems to me that these statistics demonstrate that American Indian educators and their friends must do some careful analysis to determine what are the trained Indian educational manpower needs in this country. We must determine where those needs exist and finally, we must organize the process of carefully contracting training programs which will produce enough Indian people to meet the educational needs of our communities.

For a few moments I would like for us to consider the federal government and its approaches and attitudes toward American Indians. There are about five landmark pieces of legislation which relate to Indians. I'm sure most of you know them, but I will go through them for a minute just very quickly.

The first one was the Early Civilization Fund which was given to the Indian agencies for the purpose of having missionaries civilize and Christianize Indians. The second one was the Snyder Act of 1921 which basically authorized

program services to Indian people by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This is still the present basic piece of legislation for the financial resources to the Bureau of Indian Affairs school system.

The third landmark piece is the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934. This authorized the Secretary of the Interior to make contracts with any state and other non-profit agency for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance and welfare of Indians. It seems to me that we can say that this particular piece of legislation has been what I would call one of the primary carrots by the federal government for getting states to take an interest in educating Indians.

And the fourth piece of legislation is Public Law 874 - Impact Aid and 815 - Public School Construction. These grants provide general operating resources to public school districts enrolling children whose parents either live or work on federal property. Then by amendments to these two pieces of legislation, many eligible districts are those that enroll Indian children living on federal reservations.

I've only cited four pieces of legislation, and I feel that the fifth one is the recently passed Indian Education Act, and I will talk about that a little bit later. These four major laws through the fifties, I think, can systematically be characterized as having policies and programs with the intent of assimilating Indians as rapidly as possible in educational institutions away from their home and culture and in public or boarding school situations in which all the surroundings, from the facilities to the staff, were alien.

The attitude of educators towards Indian children and their heritage, except for the brief span of years under Commissioner John Collier, was one of ignorance or hostility in their relationship to the small, unorganized minority. Now, remember I have just talked about the period of time through the 1950s.

Beginning, however, in the sixties, there was a general education crisis in the country. And this called for and caused a reexamination of educational policy in the United States. Many new program initiatives were stimulated, like the teacher training programs, particularly Teacher Corps and the other ones under the Education Professions Development Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, particularly Title I, Compensatory Education, and Title VII, Bilingual Education. It seems to me both the Indian children in the BIA system and the public schools benefited from these acts. Title I and Title VII, I feel, have had a tremendously important impact on the Indian community, and that is because they were used in many instances, and I don't believe the educators realized what they were doing, but they were used in many instances as a way to bring Indian adults into the classroom situation to work with Indian children and thereby unconsciously Indian philosophy, values and curriculum became a part of the teaching methods. In addition, cultural and linguistic materials were legitimized in the school system. This is a very important fact. All the attempts of the federal government until this time had been to snuff out Indian culture. The other thing to remember here is that these programs were not started by the Bureau of Indian Affairs but they were started by the U. S. Office of Education.

It seems to me the other most important occurrence during the decade of the sixties was the Teacher Corps Program, and Dr. White has very ably explained to you the kinds of things they are doing, so I will not go into that again. But I feel that Teacher Corps is such an exciting concept, because it is willing to examine the educational system and then redesign that system, working in

accordance with the desires of the community. It has also offered to Indian young people an opportunity to take advantage of both graduate and undergraduate educational programs. And it has certainly helped close the manpower gap of Indian teachers for the Indian community.

The last item I would like to mention as an outgrowth of the 60s is the development of alternative school systems. These systems have taken on many forms and shapes, and they are basically a rebellion against the traditional education systems. And they're an attempt to find a meaningful way to get students interested in learning again. In Indian affairs these systems have become our Indian community-controlled schools. They are an effort to localize education of Indian children, to develop a curriculum based on Indian life style, culture and environment, with the operation of the schools being directed by concerned community parents and people. I feel that these schools offer the most promising alternative for Indian students.

Now I want to divert a little bit and talk about other institutions, beside the executive branch, that have been looking at Indian education. The U. S. Congress also has been taking a serious look at the education of Indian children. The passage of the Higher Education Amendments of 1972, Public Law 92-318, we like to say Title IV of the Indian Education Act, was of historic importance, because for the first time the U. S. Office of Education has been directed to pay specific attention to the special educational needs of all, and I repeat that word all, Indian students in the public schools with ten or more Indian students. In addition, this act says that priority funding must be given to Indian tribes and Indian organizations in the use of the Act's discretionary program money. Now this grant and contract authority with tribes and organizations is a most important precedent to have established in the Office of Education. If I had time I would really go into that, and if you want to in the question and answer period, we can. But you see, we do not have, or have not had until the passage of this law, legislation which permitted the Office of Education to contract directly with the Indian communities and the Indian tribes. This particular law also established a national Indian Advisory Council of fifty American Indians and Alaska Natives with broad authority for them to oversee the provisions of the law, set program priorities, and assess Indian education throughout the federal establishment. Another thing that this public law did was amend Title III of the Higher Education Act, and that particular title is called Developing Institutions. This amendment indicated that for the first time our Bureau of Higher Education could work with colleges and universities on or near the reservation, and they waived the five year age requirement for colleges. What this really has done is permit the U. S. Office of Education for the first time to actively begin working with colleges and universities right in the Indian community, like the Navajo Community College, the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Sioux community colleges.

Another part of the law is a set-aside for the training of teachers of Indian children. This law amended the Education Professions Development Act and took out of their appropriation five percent of their money to be used for training teachers of Indian children with preference given to training Indians. Another thing it did in this particular section on teacher training was say that we could contract with public agencies and non-profit corporations. And we were able to get the legal staff at the Office of Education to say that these public bodies were tribes and organizations. Now the importance of that, it seems to me, is that for the first time Indian groups can receive teacher training

money and in turn negotiate with colleges and universities to tailor the kinds of training programs they want in their communities.

Now that is what the Congress did last year. What is happening in this current session of the Congress? They have under consideration another Indian Education bill. This one has been introduced by Senator Henry Jackson from the state of Washington, and its purpose is to reform the Bureau of Indian Affairs and their school system and their method for working with public schools. That particular bill, S1017, is called the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Reform Act of 1973 - a very fancy title. It authorizes badly needed school construction monies. Again it pinpoints monies for the training of school personnel in the Bureau of Indian Affairs system, and it amends the present Johnson-O'Malley Act. A number of other items are also included in the bill, but I will not mention them here. Also before the present Congress is President Nixon's Better School Act of 1973. This is known as the Education Revenue Sharing Act. Now what it attempts to do again is localize public school monies to the state and the way this act has treated Indians is to organize a four percent set-aside only for reservation Indians through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. So, it appears that the subject of educating American Indians will be an active topic also in this session of the Congress, and we can look for further clarification, I think, regarding BIA's role and HEW's role.

Now, I never enjoy being the speaker that comes out from Washington, because I'm always expected to have some inside scoop. I'm sorry to say, friends, that there is no inside scoop this year, except to say that everything is either being decentralized or placed in a state of hold. So, it's very hard to say that we have a big plan for this or we have a big plan for that because everything is really in a state of hold. But because of this, that permits me to talk about what I really want to talk about tonight.

All the efforts that I've talked about in the last several minutes are pieces of legislation that are wrought with many problems for persons working in Indian education. Yet, it seems to me that they are very important beginnings. These efforts have to be taken now by you and me, and over the next several years we have to do certain things to make them grow, flourish and meet Indian needs. I began by talking of building Indian institutions, and I thought about that a lot before I chose this subject for the audience, because I'm sure a lot of people will say this is a very racist kind of conversation. But it is meant to be a challenge to you - a challenge which would say, let's put our minds and our hearts together to design and develop a system for educating American Indians throughout their life times, because I do not have to tell this audience the dreadful dropout statistic rate.

The system, it seems to me, has to reflect an understanding of local cultures and traditions which Indian people themselves have conceptualized and adapted to meet present life. It must reflect an understanding of the past and a recognition of the basic skills for survival in the present society. It must identify, assess and teach the values and concepts of Indian life which our communities and people want. This will mean that we do not just teach compassion, but we teach competition as well. We must begin this development as you have done at this conference by bringing together Indians and non-Indians and getting their minds and our minds to weigh critical issues and develop a knowledge space for action and how to relate to those issues. We must make it, it seems to me, an individual concern to develop information linkages about what is being done in our communities, and we must also set up an intelligence network to inform

each other and to articulate and organize our concerns so that they can be heard from the local communities to the highest levels of government in this land.

In fiscal year 1972 federal funding education activity for Indians was nearly \$327 million. That was spent for the education of approximately 835,000 Indian people. It is our job in the next several years to begin analyzing where this money goes, what it is spent for, and begin insisting locally and nationally that the resources be targeted so that they can be used and their importance felt in the Indian community. We must also begin by insisting on a standard of excellence in our schools, in our curriculum and with our teachers. Indian people and their institutions must set these standards, and we must take the time to develop tests and redesign the standards and the institutions. They must not be a parrot of the system that we are all complaining about, and I feel this can be done by utilizing and strengthening the Indian organizations committed to working for education, organizations like the Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards (CICSB) and the National Indian Education Association.

I want to illustrate for a moment what individual determination can do. And as I talk about this, I want you to keep in mind that in this country it is the Congress, the executive branch or the administration, the judicial branch or the courts, that are the institutions which control program policy and money and any disputes arising about them. I would like to use the Indian Education Act and the case studies of individual determination. When President Nixon signed the Higher Education Amendments on June 23rd, 1972, it was with Title IV of the Indian Education Act as a part of that law. This act had been the subject of great debate in the country and the Congress. And it had also been the subject of a jurisdictional fight - I think for the first time in history we had two congressional committees fighting over who was supposed to look after educating Indians. And so Title IV was the compromise after much horse trading in the House of Representatives.

Almost immediately after the President signed this bill, two Indian organizations, namely the National Indian Education Association and the Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards, began calling and meeting with all the other Indian organizations and obtaining the necessary endorsements from their Board of Directors to call upon the White House and the Congress to request appropriations for the Indian Education Act. Virtually all Indian national and regional organizations worked for the appropriation, and in September 1972 Indian groups testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee and called on appropriations members of the House. By late October the Indian Education Act had received an \$18 million appropriation. All people watching this process had said in the Congress and in many areas of the Indian community that it could not be done.

So it appears that there may be a victory in sight for the advocates of the Indian Education Act. Simultaneously with the court case Indian groups called for a meeting with Secretary Weinberger on March 30th of this year. This meeting was held and all the national Indian organizations were present and well prepared to discuss the Education Act and the need for federal educational policy.

In my years in Indian affairs I believe that aside from the issue of termination in 1958-59 this is the first time that all Indian groups have been together on a single issue in a single room on the same day. And I'm very happy that issue is education. I feel that this is a good case in point of determination and the use of the educational process by Indian groups to begin highlighting Indian achievement, unity and accomplishment.

Whether the appropriation is released or not, and when I accepted this invitation I thought I would have some good news, Tom, I personally believe, of course, that the appropriation will be released, I think that we will win

as Indians this battle. But whether it is or not, I think that Indians have used all the instruments of the democracy to begin challenging and turning the system around when it comes to the field of Indian education.

I would like to just end by remarks by calling on each of you, Indian and non-Indian, to examine your own personal commitment to the educational efforts you are involved in, whether they are Teacher Corps efforts or other endeavors. It seems to me, and this is always a dangerous statement, Dr. White, that no other group of people in this country has been as systematically denied their cultural integrity and identity as has the American Indian. And I don't say this to make anybody feel guilty or ashamed. I do say it to challenge each of you to let's make it right by committing ourselves in the smallest and the largest way as persons to assisting Indian people in thinking through, articulating, designing and implementing a solid base and many types of educational systems which will be the means for Indians to pursue education throughout their lifetimes and in a manner which is theirs and which will reflect a new educational style for this country.

Native American Teacher Corps Conference
Cosmopolitan Hotel
April 26-29, 1973

Remarks -- Dr. Louise White, Director, Teacher Corps
Washington, D. C.

I would like to thank you and confess to you that I am extremely exhausted. I am very happy to be here with you this evening. At one point, I wasn't sure I would be able to attend the conference at all. Somebody some place didn't coordinate my calendar very well. If they coordinated it, they didn't give me that option which they coordinated and consequently, I was down in Florida while you were getting together up here. I was trying to decide sort of at the last minute. Caroline, Dr. Gillin, came in and told me, "You can't be in Florida because you have to be in Denver," and I said, "Well, I can't be both places, that's for sure; so maybe you'll have to be me." She apprised me this afternoon after I arrived here that she was me on the day that I was supposed to be here. I want to publicly thank her and thank you for accepting her and having her bring greetings in my stead.

I wish I could take the credit for really being in the forefront or having been in the forefront with Teacher Corps as Teacher Corps started to work with Indian programs and concern itself about the training of Indian people to work with Indian children in an educational setting, but the truth is, most of you know, that I am a relatively newcomer to the Office of Education and the Teacher Corps. I have not been there a year yet -- just 10 months, seems like 10 years, but it is really just 10 months.

I have been very much concerned, and I remain concerned about getting more and more involved; and therefore, this opportunity to be here with you today has very special meaning to me. I have looked over the program, and I have seen that you have been presenting the papers on those issues which concern you. I think that is most important. I was just sharing with Mrs. Schierbeck the fact that as I look over this audience I was immediately reminded of the fact that it may appear to some of you that, as I will personally now speak for Blacks, the Blacks have moved far ahead in terms of organization in terms of going wherever it is that we are going. But the truth of the matter is that we really have not. I brought to her attention the fact that it was just two years ago or less that we had our first educational conference, and that conference was called by the Black caucus within the country and so things are not always what they seem. We may appear to be somewhere ahead but again I reassured her that I am confident that our similarities are much stronger than our differences. That strong similarity is that we both work from a background or from a base which has no power and I am thrilled to be a part of what you are doing because I know what it means -- I understand, and I am working with it everyday -- this is an extension of what

I firmly believe in. This is just a continuation of what I hope next year will be demonstrated through twice the commitment by your having expanded your concerns and your having synthesized some of the concerns that I have seen in the conference brochure to the degree that we will have come together on some strategy for change. I am veering from my remarks, I have to be rather honest; I learned when I was conducting a television show that one of the most important things that you must be with an audience is honest. My staff prepared the comments for me and that's not what I feel like saying to you. So I am going to get back to what they say, but I hope you will permit me to say what I would like to say. We at Teacher Corps are deeply involved in the whole question of competency-based, the issue of competency-based teacher certification. I was sharing again with Mrs. Schierbeck my concern is that while we are all sitting around discussing these issues that we are not going to get lost in the shuffle and not have anything to say about the kinds of competencies that will ultimately determine who will be in the classroom. So, it is beautiful to discuss the issues, but the most urgent issue that I see before all groups and particularly before minority groups will be that issue of pulling together or having some kind of input into the kind of competencies that state departments will be using to certify teachers, because who occupies that classroom becomes a very integral and important part of what you are all about and what you are discussing here. So again, just let me reassure you that it is a pleasure for me to be here.

We all recognize that this is a time of radical change in education, and I am sure that you have looked into this as closely as I have to what the President has said. But if I interpret much of what he said correctly, then I would interpret that to say that this is a special time for Indian education. And then for that I would have to applaud you, for what you have accomplished through a Teacher Corps Conference Steering Committee. There is only one requirement that I ask people on my staff who were working with the Planning Committee, and that was that, that whatever kind of program this would shape up to be that it would not reflect what people in Washington thought it ought to be, but it ought to reflect what the people who are concerned thought and what Indian people thought it ought to be and what other people who are concerned and working daily with the Indian program thought it ought to be because I believe there is no one who can describe my problems better than I can. So, because I believe that, I also accord other people that same privilege.

Teacher Corps, as you were reminded some time ago, was the first program in the Office of Education to concern itself with the training of Indians as teachers of their people (also in bilingual areas). We are not only concerned about areas where you know that there are heavy or dense populations of Indian people. I discovered during a period of increase in the Los Angeles area that there are

more than 60,000 Indians in the metropolitan area. No one has seen fit in the Los Angeles area to prepare a program first of all to locate that population and begin to work with it and prepare a program, and I mean in universities. I have brought that to the attention of the universities in the city of Los Angeles, and I hope that if there are those of you in this audience who are from southern California, that you will begin to prevail upon the consciences of the matters at the universities in order that they may too get the message and not think that I am just trying to get them to look into an area that I feel needs some attention. I hope that when we return again next year (I am assuming that this will be an ongoing dialogue.) that we will see this kind of interest reflected and manifested.

You hear me keep clearing my throat. Let me just share with you what happened to me the past four days. I went to Florida, and I didn't do anything about an itinerary, but I let someone else prepare the itinerary. How many of you have heard of that gater juice or gater-aid? Having been in Florida for the past four days, I understand why, if there is any truth to the adds about gater-aid, I understand why it originated in Florida. Because the hectic pace I had to keep certainly didn't leave me very much energy, I think I am catching a cold so I keep clearing my throat because I feel a cold coming on. I have already made Mrs. Schierbeck a doctor and she's going to give me some of her medicine.

But just let me reassure you that, as I look over the issues that you've discussed, I am so happy that you have done probably what I like to sum up in a story. Those of you who have heard me before have heard the story before. All the issues you have discussed simply suggest to me that you realize that you do not have the luxury of time and that reminds me of a story of the lady who had the clock which was broken. She kept nagging her husband about fixing that clock, and he somehow never got around to fixing it, but her son just became irritated after hearing her talk about getting that clock fixed so much and so often that he decided to fix it. One night she was asleep and she heard the clock going off and it chimed -- one, two, and it went to twelve and it kept on to 13, 14, 15 and then it chimed 16, and she jumped up and pushed her husband and said, "Wake up, John, let's get busy, it's later than it's ever been!" That's just what you're saying -- you're saying it's later than it's ever been.

I'm happy to hear you say that. I extend to you the resources of Teacher Corps to continue in your endeavors and thank you for giving me the time and according me the privilege of being a part of your program.

ONE INDIAN'S EDUCATION

**Position Paper
Native American Teacher Corps Conference
Denver, Colorado
April 26-29, 1973**

**Reuben Snake, Jr.
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ONE INDIAN'S EDUCATION

Prologue

Alexander Henry, a young white American fur trader who lived among several Indian tribes in the 1760s, (like many others before and since) had these words to say about his experiences with Redmen.

Yet, while there were whites who preferred to live like Indians, there were few, if any, Indians who regarded a completely civilized form of living as superior to their own way of life. This is true even of Indian children^{EDUCATED IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE WHITE COLONIST:} who were later permitted to return to their own people. With the opportunity of choosing between the two ways of life, they rarely cast their lot with civilization. This was because the Indian was convinced that the Whitemans style of life, with its lack of freedom; innumerable laws and taxes; extremes of wealth and poverty; snobbish class divisions; hypocritical customs; private ownership of land; pentup communities; uncomfortable clothing; many diseases; slavery to money and other false standards, could not possibly bring as much real happiness as their own way of doing things - - - -.

Using the method of a fictional story-telling I have attempted to point out the types of life experiences that many Indian people have lived through in recent generations. These kinds of experiences are what make Indian people what we are today, the most oppressed and suppressed ethnic group in this nation, in the land given to us by our Great Spirit Father.

A whitemans myth has been created in the minds of too many of our people. We are constantly being coaxed, coerced and intimidated into "educating" ourselves and our children in the Whitemans way, in his schools, using his version of history, being taught by him, having our minds shaped, formed and molded by the information and knowledge he wishes us to learn.

If we are to retain our identity as Redmen we must change such an educational

process. Too many of our forefathers have prayed sincerely that all ~~the~~ generations of Redman will never lay down and walk over the age old teachings of our race.

The Great Spirit made us Red. He taught us how to live as Redmen, His desire was that Redman, should live in dignity, joy and happiness.

If we continue to shun the ancient values and philosophies of our people as being unworkable and unrealistic in this day and age then we will have failed to fulfill our role in the history of mankind.

In this age of science, technology and "progress" literally millions of people are seeking the real purposes of life. We who have the gift of understanding and knowledge of how men must live with each other and with all other creations of Our Great Spirit Father can teach our fellow men this ancient knowledge.

The present day tragedies of existence for Indian people are not their failures to assimilate the concepts and values of their white conquerors. The sadness of contemporary Indian life is not based in the Indians inability to gain "an adequate education."

The real tragedy is that we have been brainwashed into giving up the customs, habits, traditions and philosophies created for us by numberless generations of our forefathers. For me, "Indian Education" means we must re-create and regenerate all of these things that we have been "conned" into laying down for the sake of "progress."

March, 1935

The old man held open the screen door as the slender, middle-aged woman advanced up the steps of the porch. "Huh-Ho, my little sister, come in, come in. It has been some time since you have been here last. Has the snow kept you from visiting your relatives?" the old man said in his tribal tongue.

The woman wore the white-mans' rubber overshoes over her moccasins, ^{AND ALSO WORE} and the traditional flower printed long skirt and long sleeved blouse of her tribe. Her black hair, just now beginning to show streaks of grey, was covered with the black silk scarf commonly worn by the adult women of her people. Her shoulders were covered with a heavy woolen blanket under which she held a small cardboard box which contained the gift she intended to give the old man.

"Oh, my brother, I have been caring for my grandchildren these past months and have not had much opportunity to go about to visit my family." She answered in her native tongue.

As the old man led the way through the parlor into the kitchen he spoke up rather loudly "Woman, stop whatever you are doing and come set the table. My little sister has come to visit and we must eat with her to show her how happy we are for her presence in our humble home." From a backroom a woman, also dressed in the traditional way, came bustling out with a sunny smile on her brown-skinned, round face. As was the custom and the manner of their people she jokingly said "This brother of yours must always show off to his family that he has an obedient and dutiful wife by ordering me about in a loud voice. Sit down, my sister-in-law, and we will eat in a short time. It is so good to see you again." She began to busy herself at the old wood burning range.

The slender visitor sat at the round, oaken dining table and unobtrusively placed the small box next to her chair. Soon the delicious odors of beef and corn soup, fry bread and fresh coffee filled the room. The two women and the old man exchanged light-hearted banter about recent news-worthy activities of their friends

and relatives.

In a short time they all were enjoying their food and the conversation flowed back and forth with much laughter and good humor. As the woman of the house began to clear the table the old man spoke "Little sister, I perceive that you have come to visit for a purpose. Whatever your brother can do for you, you know you have only to ask. Tell me what is on your mind." The woman reached down and lifted up the small box. Placing it on the table, she began to untie the string which held it closed.

"My brother, you know I have always respected you as a sister should. I have always tried to help you in any small way I could, as you have tried to give our people the spiritual help they need. These past weeks I have worked many long hours on a gift I want to present to you. It is only a small thing but, one which might be of use to you in some way." As she finished speaking, she removed from the small box a beautiful eagle feather fan, adorned with shiny, glistening beadwork and neatly-woven white fringes of buckskin. Even at a glance the old man knew that it must have taken her days to fashion it in such a beautiful manner.

As she reached across the table to place it in his hand she said "Brother, you are a man in whom I have much pride and for whom I have great love. Since my own beloved father has passed on to the spirit world I have always regarded you as the one man to whom I could bring all my troubles and cares. You have never failed to help me when I needed anything. This is only a small gift but, one which I give you with all the love and respect any sister has ever had for a brother."

The old man, very obviously in the throes of deep emotional feelings, stood up and walked over to the curtained window. Pulling the curtain aside he stood looking out the window, all the while fanning himself with the beautiful eagle feathers. Except for the crackling flames of the stove there was total silence in the room.

Clearing his throat with difficulty, the old man finally spoke "Little sister, over the years you have shown me great respect and love. Always you work long and hard at making things for me to use in the spiritual ways of our people. All the wonderful things you have made for me over the years I have tried to use in a good way because I know that is your wish. My wife often remarks to me how much you have given me and how much I owe you for being such a respectful sister. I can only agree with her. Whatever I have done for you has only been in return for the many good things you have done for me."

As he returned to his chair his wife came to refill his cup with hot, black coffee. The visitor spoke again "Brother, it is my wish that my newest grandchild be given a name. When the new grass begins to grow and Mother Earth begins to give re-birth to all living things I would like to give a feast of thanksgiving to the Great Father for allowing us to see the season of growing things once again.

At that time I would consider it a great honor if you would give my little grandson one of the revered names of his clan. I have prayed that our Spirit Fathers would bless my new grandson with all good things and I feel that your great spiritual strength could help him to live a good life."

The old man sat in quiet reflection for some time. Finally he spoke, "It is good. What you feel in your heart for your new grandson was put there by our Great Father. What you have asked of me I will do because I know our Grandfathers will bless me for doing it. When you are ready come and see me and we will do what must be done."

As she rose from her chair, pulling on her blanket, she said "Thank you, my brother. I knew your good heart would not fail me. I will come again when all is ready."

The old man stood up and said to his wife "Woman, get my coat. I will hitch up our team and we will give my little sister a ride back to my nephews house.

While we ride we will talk more of this good thing that is going to take place. Sit down, sister, until I call for you women that your wagon awaits you."

June, 1939

The woman, her hair considerably more grey now, stood in the warm summer sunlight. Her four grandchildren, scrubbed and clean in their faded jeans and shirts, stood quietly in front of her. The three boys, trying to sustain their manliness, held back their tears. The girl, second to the youngest, sniffed quietly as big tear drops rolled down her brown little cheeks.

A man, in his mid-thirties, and a woman in her late twenties, were busy tying boxes to the roof of the black Model A Ford. Occasionally, the young woman looked at the older woman and her children with great sadness in her dark brown eyes.

The older woman spoke to the children "My grandchildren, you are going away from me and from the home you have known all your lives. Your mother and your father could not make a good life together. Your father has left because he drinks to much of the whitemans' evil drink. Your mother has a new husband and says you all must go away from here to make a better life."

"I do not know if your life will be better in the city but, I will pray every day that you will be happy there. In your new home try to remember all the things you have learned in this home. Try to remember the things I have tried to make you understand about life and how to live as good people."

I, too, am going away from this place. I am going to live with my daughter and her family. It is a long, long way from here and from the city where you go to live. I don't know when we will all be together again but, I will pray for that day. You, too, must remember to pray every day in the way of our people." Holding each of them tight to her strong, slender body she kissed them lightly on the forehead. As she embraced the youngest, a small boy of four years, she said "My child, you bear the name of one of the greatest leaders of your clan. Your grandfather

my brother, called on our Spirit Grandfathers to bless you with the wisdom, strength and courage you will need to carry that name with honor. I will pray that you do."

She turned quickly and walked back into the almost empty house, so the children would not see her tears and be upset. Their mother called to them to get into the now sputtering vehicle. As the car rattled off the steep dirt road leading away from the little frame house, the little boy looked out the oval back window and said to himself "I'll try to remember everything, Grandma."

August, 1942

The sounds of the city drifted into the bare-walled third floor apartment through the windows opened wide to catch some small cooling breeze which might be lost in the hot summer night. Trolley cars clanged, car horns honked, people talked loudly on the sidewalks and on the stoops of the apartment houses. The steady hum of car, truck and bus tires rolling over hot asphalt was almost lost in the din of urban life sounds.

The 60 watt bulb glared down in naked light on the four children and the tired looking woman who sat around a small table, having just finished a very light meal of soup and crackers. The children all felt the half empty churnings of unappeased appetites yet, they all insisted they were satisfied when questioned by their mother. She knew that their insistence was only stated to ease her worries over their unmet nutritional needs. A feeling of bitter pride in her childrens' stoic acceptance of unabated hunger filled her heart. She felt like crying but, knew she must be strong as her children were being strong. The thought came to her that her former mother-in-law had taught them well. How proud of them she would be for their implementation of her teachings in this new environment. She said a brief silent prayer, asking the Great Spirit Father to strengthen her for what she had determined she must do. Gathering her thoughts she spoke as calmly as she could to her children, "I've got something to tell you children tonight which is very important so I want you to pay attention to me.?" As she said these

words she saw an immediate intent response come into the eyes of all four, although their facial expressions gave no indication of their inner emotions. Again, the thought passed through her mind that their grandmother's lessons were well remembered. Even the youngest, who was now seven years old, sat in calm alertness, waiting for her to continue betraying no sign of anxiety or inner tension.

"Since your step father was drafted it's been harder and harder for me to take care of you all the way I want to. My job only pays me fifteen dollars a week (She was a cook's helper in one of the local hospitals) and that can't begin to pay for all the food you need, the clothes you have to have, the rent for this apartment and everything else. Because your stepfather and I aren't legally married I can't get any help from the Army. He sends me forty dollars a month out of his pay but, that just takes care of some of our bills. I know you've all gone bare footed all summer long because I couldn't buy you shoes and your clothes have all been mended and patched many times because we can't afford any new ones. I feel sad because you don't ever get enough to eat and the only place to play is in the streets and alleys."

"I'm never here during the day when you need me because I have to work and I'm always too tired in the evening for us all to do things together. I just can't go on doing these things to you."

"What I'm trying to say is that I've written some letters to the Reverend at the Indian Mission School in Wisconsin and he wrote and told me that he will be happy to take you all into his school. I've borrowed enough money to send you all on the train the end of this month. When you get there they will give you each a bunch of clothes and new shoes, you'll all have your own beds and have all you can eat at mealtimes and some one will always be with you to take care of you."

"You older boys will have to watch out and take care of your sister and little brother and make them mind the teachers and matrons. I'll come to see you as often as I can and we'll all be together in the summer again. I want you to be good kids

while you're there and try to learn all you can. There will be a lot of new friends. I think even some of your relatives will be there so it won't be too bad for you. Also your grandmother lives not too far from there and I've written to her so she will come to see you quite often. Now go out and play for awhile but, don't go too far down the street because this is payday night and there are a lot of drunks in the bars tonight."

When the children had all gone out she stopped fighting back the tears. As she cried softly, all alone, she asked the Great Spirit Father to watch over and protect her children while they were away from her.

That night, the little boy feigned sleep in the bed he shared with his mother. She could not sleep and wept quietly trying not to disturb the young child who lay so still next to her. He wondered silently about this new event which would be taking him from his mother's side.

He thought about his beloved grandmother and pondered the question of how such a grand woman could pray so hard for all good things for her family and not have such fervent prayers answered. So it seemed to him. "She prays for me, I know" he thought. But still I have to leave my mother. "Why? Why? Why?" Finally he dozed off into troubled sleep.

December 1945

The moonlight on the new fallen snow made the night almost as bright as day. As the young boy, almost 11 years old now, sat on the wide window ledge his impatience for the coming of the new day was almost uncontrollable. This was the day his mother would be there to take them away from this place forever. Even the coming of Christmas, less than a week away now, had lost all significance to him with the arrival of his mother's letter two days before.

Many of the children had left the day before on Christmas vacation and as he looked about the large dormitory room he saw numerous vacant bunks. In a way, he felt sad about going away from this place. He had made friendships he would never

forget. He had shared many hours of happiness, joy, loneliness, sadness and punishment with other Indian boys that somehow created strong bonds that time and distance would not dissolve.

His reverie carried him back to his first days here. The apparently friendly reverend had tried to allay his anxieties by telling him how wonderful a time he would have while he was here. After a fatherly pat on the head the reverend had turned him over to the matron who would be his overseer and guardian. A big, homely woman with a loud voice she immediately instilled a sense of fear in him about what his life would really be like in this place. She immediately subjected him to a thorough physical scrutiny for any obvious signs of health and ~~for~~ hygiene problems. He was greatly embarrassed standing stark naked before this strange white-skinned woman who examined him with sharply discerning eyes. Then he had to endure the agony of a close haircut and the standard de-lousing procedure although he had never had head lice in his life and had never known that such things existed.

She then showed him his assigned locker where all his meager possessions were to be stored. Following this she gave him bed sheets and a pillow, pillow case, towel, wash cloth and a scratchy woolen blanket. After showing him the shower stalls and watching him while he scrubbed himself clean with a laundry brush and a large brown cake of laundry soap she taught him how he must make up his bed every morning from now on. She then went into great detail about all the do's and don'ts he must remember. She also explained the harsh penalties for any infractions of her rules. Following all of this she placed her large hand on him and squeezed his shoulder as a sign of affection saying "We'll get along just fine as long as you remember everthing I've told you. As long as you're a good boy you'll never be unhappy here and we'll be good friends."

He soon learned what her definition of a good boy was as he fought for his niche in the pecking order of the schools population. He was caught engaging in a fist fight with another boy. His punishment was a sound beating with a razor

strap. He was caught dancing Indian during a pow-wow play-acting session with his peers and again beaten with the razor strap. Also, this time, being sent to bed without supper. He was caught playing "cowboys and Indians" in the rocky cliffs over looking the small creek that ran close to the mission school. (Being one of the smaller boys he was forced to be one of the "bad Indians" while the older boys were the "good calvary and U.S. Marshalls.") Because the chosen site for the activity was "off-limits" he and the others received the stinging, painful bite of the razor strap and again went without their evening meal.

It was during these early days in this institution that he began to learn that there were differences between the way he thought and the way his white-skinned overseers thought. Many times he was thrown into a state of mental confusion because of their overt negative reactions to his actions. For a time he became acutely depressed and withdrew from full interaction with his peers. He would sit in lonely solitude reflecting on his present environment and wishing he were back with his mother or even with his grandmother.

He began to understand that there was a distinct contradiction of terms between what his grandmother had taught him and the things he was being taught by his white overseers. He had no difficulty in his efforts to learn to read and write in doing arithmetic and the other activities carried on in his classroom. His mother had always spoken English to him and he had little difficulty in understanding the directions and rules laid out for him by the young white woman who was his teacher.

He was aware that many of his peers had trouble learning to read and write and had problems learning what was expected of them. It hadn't taken him long to understand that it was because they spoke, almost exclusively, their tribal tongue. Those whose comprehension of the English language was much less than his seemed to have many more problems with the teachers, matrons and other personnel of the school, than he did.

Most of his difficulties were based in his inability to determine why his teachers and all the other white people were always angered by the childrens' habits of talking in their own language, singing and dancing the way they had been taught to do by their parents and relatives and carrying out all of the actions they had learned in their homes. For some inexplicable reason the mere fact that he was an Indian seemed to be a problem here in this place.

As time went by he began to learn how to function in this place to stay out of trouble and yet still practice, in the childrens' secret places, the things his grandmother had taught him. It was always perplexing to him why they had to resort to clandestine meetings when they wanted to perform in the way that their parents and grandparents had taught them.

In his classroom, he began to learn, thru a somewhat confusing, conflicting maze of ideas that being an Indian was somehow not quite appropriate. Somebody named Christopher Columbus had "discovered" America but, when he got here there were already Indians here. How come the Indians hadn't discovered America? He learned that a man named George Washington was the father of "our country." Somehow he couldn't quite incorporate this into what his grandmother had told him about the Great Spirit being the father and creator of all things and that the earth was the mother of all men. Somehow he had felt that everybody knew that The Great Spirit was the Father of all things and that He was the guardian and protector of the Earth Mother. The picture of the white-haired, big nosed, white skinned man hanging in his classroom seemed somehow, to him, to be a blasphemy of some kind. How could George Washington be the Father of our country when all of the children knew only the Great Spirit could be truly recognized as the Father (creator) of the land and all living things.

A part of the routine of life in this place was a time set aside every evening for what was called "vespers" and a twice daily session on Sunday of sitting in the dining hall listening to the reverend tell the children about God Almighty, the baby Jesus, the Holy Ghost and reading from "the Holy Bible." A regular part of the "vespers" and Sunday meetings was the hymn singing wherin the children sang a song which said "Praise God from whom all blessings flow, Praise ^{HIM} all creatures here below."

When he came to understand the words of this whitemans' song he was again perplexed by the fact that the white people here kept him from doing just what their song asked him to do in the way he had been taught to do it by his grandmother.

As time passed and he learned more and more how to play out the role that was expected of him he became better adjusted to the fact that he could not be with his mother or grandmother.

His grandmother came that first Thanksgiving and his joy knew no bounds. She arrived early in the morning, having caught a ride with some other people. His entire day was filled with golden sunshine and the songs of birds. All too soon it came to an end. She left and his loneliness was even greater than he could re-

member it was being when he first came here. She had promised to come and get him and his siblings at Christmas. This was the one thing which carried him thru his depression.

Thus, was the pattern of his life established. He assumed an attitude of indifference toward his institutionalized life style and conformed to the general rules and regulations laid down for him. On holidays he wrung every second of happiness he could from his grandmother's visits. During summer vacations he lived with his grandmother and aunt and cousins enjoying his Indian way of life. At times his mother, through her strenuous savings efforts, accumulated enough money to come and visit. It was these times that he treasured most.

The institutional mission school life was a burden he had to bear and he faced the annual prospect of returning to the school with stoic resolution. Even though he had made many friends there, the conflict of life styles and the suppression of his inner feelings as an Indian caused him to feel that it was a place where he ^{WAS FORCED TO BE AND NOT WHERE} he wanted to be. If only his white-skinned overseers would allow him to be the Indian he was he might have been happy here. But that was not the case and he knew it would never be.

His mother's imminent arrival to take him and his brothers and sister from here was the one thing he had prayed for all these long years. His anxious, impatient waiting would soon end and he would once again be truly happy.

May 1950

As he sat gazing out the classroom window, day-dreaming about what he would be doing during the summer vacation which would soon be here, his reverie carried him back to his arrival here.

His mother and stepfather, honorably discharged from the service, had come and taken him from that Indian Mission school and brought him to this big, big city where they were working and had finally been able to find an apartment big enough for all of the family.

He recalled now with some discomfort the first days in this place. His brothers had enrolled at another school, something called a Jr. - Sr. high. His sister and he were the only Indians in the elementary school which was located about a mile from their home.

He recalled the staring eyes all focused on him when the principal first brought him to his classroom. He had never seen so many white faces in one room before in

his life. He immediately felt anger and perhaps even fear, when his teacher pronounced his name and said that he was a real live Indian. The tittering giggling and half-suppressed war-whoops of his new classmates made him want to turn and leave the room.

Impassively, he took the seat assigned to him and tried to become as unnoticeable as possible under the circumstances. That first day in the classroom was total agony for him as he was subjected to numerous questions and comments that he regarded as truly stupid.

After school he got into the first of many fist fights to come as he retaliated against a group of boys and girls who ridiculed him by dancing around him, slapping their hands over their mouths, imitating what they believed to be an Indian's war-whoops. He might have been hurt had not his sister come along and broke up the fight that he was carrying on with two of the boys in the group harassing him. He told his sister that he hated this school, the stupid white kids in it and that he wished he could go back to the Mission School where all the children were Indians. She agreed with him but said that their place was with their mother and that they would just have to show these dumb white kids that they were as good or better than any of them.

The months rolled by and he slowly gained the respect and admiration of many of his school mates. He had many fist fights with the boys in his school and had proven himself capable of meting out a lot of punishment for anyone who chose to taunt him because of his Indian identity. The school principal had called his mother in on several occasions to reprimand and threaten her for allowing her children to use physical force against other students.

She had cried, at home, and admonished her children to try to get along with everyone. They stated to her that they never instituted any overt action against anyone and only resorted to fighting when the harassment became too great. Her answer was that they must learn to live with such things because that was the way their whole life would be. Try to be like them so they will like you and not tease you so much was her further advice.

As the months went by he began to make a few close friendships and life in school became more tolerable. He began to assume the habits and customs of his new friends and was slowly being accepted as one of them. His friends came to his home and he went to theirs. He noticed their discomfort in his home among his family and he

felt totally out of place in their homes. Eventually this feeling began to disappear as his home began to look more and more like the homes of his friends.

At times he wondered how his grandmother and cousins were and wished that he could be with them. It was becoming more and more difficult for him to remember all the things his grandmother told him to never forget. Somehow his present life seemed in no way connected to the life he knew before coming to this big city.

Now school was almost over and he would be graduating from the eighth grade. He knew or rather felt that this was the last of his childhood years. He was fifteen years old now and soon to be in high school. He had, as always, applied himself to his school work and felt an inner pride that he had mastered all the things that had been put before him to learn. He had even come to like some of his teachers over the years although he recalled a number of them, who by their words and actions had no real liking for him because of his Indian identity. Some how he knew that he had gained the ability to discern peoples attitudes towards him as an Indian and how to react to them and this fact puzzled him somewhat.

Suddenly he recalled his grandmother's words "Don't judge people by their worldly goods, how well they dress, how big a house they live in, or by the things they show off to you. Look into their eyes when they speak, listen to the sincerity of their speech, watch how they treat other people and learn if they believe in a spirit world, then you will know if they are good people worth knowing." Perhaps he had unconsciously been utilizing his grandmother's teachings these past years and learned in this way how to determine peoples attitudes towards him.

Thinking that he might yet be utilizing his Indian teachings bothered him somewhat as he felt that he was so much like his white friends now that only the color of his skin set him apart. He began to reflect on how many other things he thought of and did as being the ingrained, unconscious use of his grandmothers early lessons.

He had heard, over the past years, many white people say "The color of a persons skin means nothing to me, it's what's inside his skin that matters. "Maybe they truly meant what they said but, in many instances he knew that their actions belied their words and he suddenly felt that his skin color would always make a difference no matter how hard he tried to be like his white friends. Still, he had found a certain amount of happiness among his white peers and he felt that perhaps as time passed he would find even greater happiness being apart of their world.

November 1953

He stood on the edge of the highway as cars, trucks and other vehicles whizzed by him through the wet, blowing snow. His slender frame shivered inside his thin Levi jacket. He covered his near frozen ears with his cotton-gloved hands. "Goddam I'm going to freeze my ass off before I catch a ride" he said out loud. His words were carried away into the descending darkness by the approaching blizzard winds. On the ground beside him his small hand bag was beginning to be covered with wet snow.

"If I had even one damned dime, I'd walk back to that truck stop for a cup of coffee" he thought to himself. "Maybe I should have hung around Lawrence for a few days and tried to earn some bus fare" he pondered to himself.

"That damned bastard should never have pissed me off to the point where I had to punch his fat mouth for him" He thought as he tried to get his mind off the bone-chilling wind cutting through him. The day before he had fled the BIA school where he had been for over three years. A prolonged conflict of personalities with the white man who was the Boy's Advisor in his dormitory had finally culminated in his attack on him and his subsequent flight to avoid being arrested by the local city police.

He had travelled by bus over five hundred miles more than three years ago to gain the knowledge of a trade which would provide with the means of earning a living. He recalled the discussion he had with his mother that day in the late summer of 1950. He had wanted to stay at home and go to school but she was adamant about wanting ^{HIM} to enroll in this particular government boarding school where he could not only earn a high school diploma but, also learn a trade.

He remembered telling her that maybe ~~she~~ didn't want to just learn a trade, maybe he wanted to be a pilot or a doctor or something else. She had very calmly tried to explain that she could never earn enough money to send him to college to learn such things. Learning a trade was the answer which she felt was right for him. Maybe he could earn for himself the money he needed to go to college after he learned a trade was her suggestion. The discussion had been long and bitter but, finally he acceded to her wishes. Though he felt somehow cheated out of his dreams he knew that in many ways she was right and he didn't want to hurt her by rebelling against her wishes for him.

Besides his whole life had been a struggle for survival. Since his earliest days he could remember that his mother had always impressed upon him that he must work, work, work for the better things in life.

He recalled his early days on the reservation, hauling water a mile or more in his little Karo syrup pail for his parents as they cut oak fence posts to sell to white farmers. He thought of the daily ritual of peeling vegetables every evening for the next days meals at the Indian Mission school. He must have peeled and sliced a million potatoes, rutabagas, turnips, carrots and other vegetables in his years at that school. The thought of eating boiled rutabagas still turned his stomach. He thought of the long, long days in the hot summer sun working at migrant labor in the truck farm fields of Minnesota and the cherry and apple orchards of Wisconsin. He thought of the thousands of papers he must have delivered in the city where he lived and the hundred of miles he must have pedaled on his bicycle delivering telegrams for Western Union for thirty bucks a week after school hours.

All these things were supportive of his mother's statements that a person had to work for the best things of life. So he decided that learning a trade would be the way for him to realize his dreams of being a pilot or doctor or something equally impressive to him.

So he went to the BIA school hundreds of miles from home. Again he was faced with survival in a new environment. Literally hundreds of Indian young people from all corners of the nation struck him as the greatest gathering of Indians he had ever known. Tribal names he had never heard of, reservations he never knew existed, states he never realized as having Indian residents were all represented here.

The system of operation in this institution soon became familiar to him as the same kind of operation he had experienced in the Mission school. The regimented life style did not greatly offend his sense of individuality as he knew how to cope with it now.

He soon perceived that the government personnel who had authority over him were much like the mission school personnel. He easily adapted to his role as a good boy trying to get along with everyone. He applied himself energetically to learning what he needed to know to become a tradesman.

As time passed he became involved in many extracurricular activities. He was good enough to make various varsity athletic squads altho he never was a star athlete. He joined a number of campus clubs. He became interested in girls and participated in the somewhat restricted practice of campus dating.

Some of his teachers came to like him and he even got to be the favorite of one or

two who invited him to their homes for dinner occasionally. Those who were inclined to such activities were recognized as "Indian-lovers" by their colleagues. He soon came to ^{THE} realization that the schools faculty and staff were somewhat divided as to how they should relate to their charges. Once again he was confronted with the knowledge that some people liked Indians and others didn't. He had tried for sometime to suppress this knowledge, while he lived in the city. Now that he was a part of the Indian world again he once again was confronted with the cold hard realities of an Indian life. At times he felt depressed that there seemed to be no escape from such things.

In his more than three years at this school he once again was brought face to face with his inner conflict over his true identity. Many of his schoolmates had no knowledge of their Indian customs and seemed not the least interested in knowing such things. Others spoke their tribal tongues fluently and the Pow-Wow Club they participated in seemed to be the most active organization on the campus.

Like many of his peers he sometimes enjoyed going to watch the Pow-Wow Club performances. Whenever he did he came away thinking of all the things his grandmother had related to him so long ago. He began to think of how very little he thought of his grandmother and those long ago times anymore. He was so engrossed in his learning and trying to enjoy his freetime in sports, dating and other activities that he just didn't have time to think of such things.

In his second year he roomed with a newly arrived Navajo. This young man spoke broken English and seemed very backward. For a time he considered asking to be moved to another room but, finally decided if the guy didn't bother him for help too much he wouldn't have any trouble rooming with him.

Over a period of time, through lengthy, awkward attempts at casual conversation he began to develop a liking for his room mate. On several occasions he was embarrassed by his roomates questions regarding his tribal customs and traditions. His ignorance of such things made him feel rather foolish.

One Friday evening he came back to his room to find his roommate preparing a packet of food and a bedroll. "Hey, where you going?" He asked. "Down to the river. I'm going to camp out tonight. Sometimes I get tired of this place. "His roommate answered. The idea of leaving this place for a night appealed to him. "Can I go with you." He asked. His friend looked at him for a brief moment with a question in his eyes, then shrugging his shoulders he said "Yeah, sure make a bedroll. I've got some food and we can always snare a rabbit or get some fish." Excitedly he made

up a bedroll from his bed clothing, grabbing his coat from the closet he was ready to go.

It turned out to be a week end long camp out. They must have tramped at least fifty miles over the Kansas prairie lands. His friend showed him how to set a snare along a rabbit trail, to fashion a fish spear from a willow branch and a lot of things he never knew before. The beauty of the star-filled skies at night were awe-inspiring and as they lay wrapped in their blankets the Navajo boy told him of the legends of his people concerning the moon and stars.

When they came back late Sunday afternoon they found themselves in deep trouble. They had been counted as AWOL and the sheriff's office, local city police and highway patrol had been searching for them. This was his first run-in with the Boy's Advisor. They were put on a 60 day campus restriction, losing their privilege to go to town on weekends and were told any future violations would result in their expulsion.

After that incident he tried to stay out of trouble and was almost successful. At the very end of the school year his roommate came into the room late one night, his face a bloody mess and his clothes nearly ripped off him. He helped him to the bathroom and while he watched him wash the blood from his face, he asked him what had happened. His friend told him of going to town to see a movie and being attacked by a group of white boys who thought he was trying to pick up a white girl who was walking in front of him.

Knowing his friend to be very shy and bashful around girls he became very angry that his friend has been beaten up for something he wouldn't even attempt to do with one of his own race.

The following day he brought a number of his friends together and told them of what had happened the night before. That evening about a dozen of them hiked down town and roamed about until they came across a group of white kids at a teen age hang out.

They challenged the white boys there to a fight and beat the hell out of them, then all split up in pairs and ran all the way back to the school. The following day the city police came to the school to seek out the ones who had participated in the act of vengeance

He and several others were pointed out as the ones responsible. They were taken to the local jail and held for several days. One of the "Indian Lovers" of the staff went to speak to the judge and got the boys placed in his custody. After a full

investigation of the incident he and the others were threatened with a stretch in the state reformatory if ever they committed such an act again and then placed on probation for a year. Because some of the participants were honor students the entire group was allowed one more chance at the school.

The third year, although he had several close scrapes, centered on his occasional bouts of drinking, he managed to stay in the school, but, he now had the reputation of a problem student. Without any real friendships with any adult on the campus he had no one to turn to with his problems.

He began to become more cynical about his life and what he wanted to do with it. If it had not been for one or two close friends among his schoolmates who shared his frustrations and worries he would have given up and quit school that year. As long as he could share his anxieties with someone he hung on to his dream of some day attaining his goal of learning a profession which would give him prestige and provide him with an escape from his lowly Indian identity.

Through the summer of his eighteenth year he drank, fought and went to jail frequently for short periods of time. Finally the school year was beginning so he returned to Kansas to try to finish what he had set out to do.

From the beginning of the year he began to have trouble over minor things with the Boys' Advisor. Checking in late on week-end nights, failure to pass room inspection, a fight over a girl all added up to trouble for him. Finally, after two months of such problems, he went to town to get drunk. When he came back, he tried to sneak quietly up the back stairs to his room. The Boys' Advisor was waiting for him.

As he reached the top of the stairs and turned to walk down the hall way to his room the Boys' Advisor grabbed him from behind and spun him around. "You goddamn drunken punk, I've been waiting to nail your ass to the wall and now I've got you good" he said viciously. He ~~was~~ jerked away from the man and started backing up slowly. "Look man, I haven't done anything to you or any body else. I just went to town and had a few beers. I'm going to bed without bothering anybody" he said. Like hell you are, we're going to see the Superintendent right now. I want to let him see what kind of bum you really are!" the man said, his lips quivering in anger.

"Leave me alone, man, hell I ain't done a damn thing to you" he said calmly. "You

damned kids come here thinking you can do what you please. Well, you're gonna learn different!" He said loudly. By now doors were open and heads were appearing in doorways to see what was happening. The Boys' Advisor shouted "You guys get back in your rooms and shut your damned doors." Some doors slammed shut but, others stayed open.

His face filling with rage the man advanced on the teen-age boy "C'mon, you drunken blanket-ass you're coming with me!" He reached for the young Indian. The boy doubled his fists and backed away. "Don't get tough or I'll kick you ass!" The man threatened. The boy set himself quickly and swung with both fists. All the pent up rage exploded within him and he began to scream in white hot anger "You goddamn white sonofabitch, I'll kill you!" They fought viciously, hitting each other with all the hate they both felt. The boy was almost full-grown and had been training for sports for some time. The man nearly forty years old and in poor physical condition couldn't sustain himself in the terrible battle and went down. The boy began to kick him viciously and then threw himself on the man and began beating his head against the floor. Several of the boys ran out of their rooms and dragged him off the beaten man.

His roommate came to him and slowly through a red haze and a roaring in his ears he could hear his friend talking to him. "Man, you got to get the hell out of here. Somebody ran to call the cops already. You're gonna go to jail if you don't get out of here." His friend said.

Rational thought began to come back to him. "Yeah, you're right. I better run and run fast!" Saying this he charged down the hall to his room. Snatching up his small bag he began to stuff some of his meager possessions into it. His friend handed him two dollar bills, "This is all I got, man. Take it and get the hell out of here.!" He said.

He grabbed up his bag and with a quick hand shake and a "I'll see you around some time" he ran down the hallway, down the steps and into the dark, lonely night. Now he stood out here in the middle of a blizzard still two hundred miles from home and not

knowing if he would ever get there or if he did whether or not the police would be waiting for him. "Goddamit, only six months to go to graduate and I lost it all!" He thought as he began to walk down the highway to find a barn to hole up in for the night.

April 1965

The strong male voices singing their songs of praise and worship to the Great Spirit Father moved him deeply. The deep, staccato beat of the water drum sounded like distant rumbling rolling, rhythmic thunder, the gourd rattles, in time and rhythm with the drum beat sounded to him like the dancing, jingling movements of a thousand warriors mounted on fleet ponies.

While his ears listened to the beautiful music, the strong voices, the throbbing drum beat, the jingling gourds, his mind's eye formed a vision of hundreds of Red men, adorned in beautiful regalia, mounted on beautiful spotted horses, charging after a great herd of thundering buffalo. Yelling in high abandon and riding like the wind he could see the look of pure joy and intense excitement on the faces of the bold and brave apparitions of his mind. Deep within him he felt a strange mixture of happiness and loneliness. "How free and happy ~~was~~^{our} forefathers must have been" He thought. "How I wished I could have lived in that time or some earlier time instead of this time."

The song ended all too soon. The exquisite silence slowly brought him back to the present. He opened his eyes and looked about the interior of the white canvas covered tepee in which he sat. The embers of the Holy Fireplace glowed in pulsating, flickering warmth. It was cozily warm in the tepee. Looking up through the smoke hole he could see a clear blue sky. Looking out through the now opened flap of the entrance way he could see the rim of the sun, symbol of the Great Fathers power, breaking over the distant edge of the world.

He felt like crying he was so filled with inner peace and happiness. The great Father had given them a beautiful day for the christening of their small son.

As the sacred instruments were passed to the next man who would lead the singing he began to think of the events that had brought him to his place. He thought of that cold, blizzardy day twelve years before and how he had finally decided not to go home where he might be picked up and brought back to Kansas for a trial. Instead he decided to go all the way to Wisconsin to be with his grandmother. It had taken him three days of hitch-hiking to get there.

He remembered eating like a ravenous wolf after his aunt and grandmother had welcomed him with a tremendously prepared meal. He had not eaten in four days and the bitter cold had sapped all of the strength from his young body. He was thankful that he had suffered only minor frost bite in his ears, hands and feet.

His grandmother prepared herbs and other medications for him to restore his health. In a few days he had regained his strength and vitality. He wrote to his mother telling her he was going to stay with his grandmother. She answered saying it was best because the school authorities had charged him with various crimes and the police had come to their home looking for him.

Living with his grandmother again re-opened his mind to all of her previous teachings which he had nearly forgotten. Also he began to learn new things about his people and their life style. He began to become involved in things he knew nothing about. Hand games, moccasin games, round dances were all social activities of his people that were only vague memories in his mind.

Wakes, weddings, war dances for returning veterans and other spiritual ceremonies carried out in the traditions of his forefathers were also things he learned of through accompanying his grandmother to these events. After attending such events he had all kinds of questions to ask her when they got home. Sometimes she became exasperated with him and chided him for being such a dumb Indian but, more often she patiently answered all his questions and explained in great detail the significance of all the rituals they had seen taking place.

His days were spent cutting firewood in the deep pine forests, hauling water in cream cans from the fresh water spring a quarter mile away, pounding ash logs for all the women in the village who did the traditional basket work of his people. He worked for local pulp wood contractors, farmers and the state forestry service whenever he could find such a paying job.

He made friends with most of the young people of his age in the village. Quite often he felt out of place as he was not fluent in his native tongue and his peers always used their tribal tongue to converse.

He was there for two years and life seemed very pleasant for him. Among other things he became romantically involved with one of the very traditional young women of his tribe and had even planned on marrying her. His hope was somehow to work and save money until he felt he could care for her properly. Somehow, this dream of his never reached fulfillment. They began to argue and quarrel over when, and if, they would ever get married. She was willing to marry him even though he had no steady income yet his pride would not allow it. Eventually, she became tired of the waiting and dropped him in favor of an older man whom she married in a short time.

Heart sick, he searched for a way out of his present environment and found it by enlisting in the service. For three years he applied himself to being a good soldier to forget his heartbreak. In the process he acquired more education in the whitemans ways. His technical knowledge gained in the BIA school was greatly enhanced through attendance of a lengthy training program in the same field in the service.

He even had his general knowledge of people expanded by an overseas assignment in Europe. He was surprised to learn that Europeans seemed to have a genuine appreciation of American Indians and seemed to be more appreciative of an Indians life style than their American cousins.

After his three years in the service he was honorably discharged near his mothers home. He went home and renewed his acquaintance with her and his step-father. He

went in search of his childhood friends and found most of them married and either just finishing college or working in various fields.

Altho, all were greatly surprised and genuinely pleased to see him, some how he felt that he was an intruder in another world. Even though he felt he knew their way of life very well he just could not fit himself into it. After spending a few weeks trying to adjust to this life style he finally decided it wasn't for him.

Using some contacts made in the service he finally found a couple of sources for scholarships and enrolled in a small college arbitrarily picked by him as a place which might not be too bad a place for a person like him. Having secured a G.E.D. certificate in the service and having taken a number of college credit courses through the Armed Forces Institute he had no difficulty in gaining admission and passing his entrance exams.

Again he adjusted fairly well to a new kind of experience. Small town college life wasn't all that bad and the fact that he was the only Indian in a student body of nearly 2,000 didn't bother him a great deal. He knew how to function in that kind of situation pretty good by now. He was one of about two dozen service veterans on campus and found it more comfortable to move with these men than to associate with the younger, more immature fellows.

He tried out for and gained a slot on the football team and this took up most of his free time. Like those early days in the city he became the object of some comments from his teammates but, he now had a better realization that punching out a bigot generally didn't cure him of his bigotry. There was some good-natured and light-hearted banter, similar to some of his service experiences, which sometimes got under his skin but, he made no big issue out of it. Nicknames like "Chief, Savage, Redskin, Pocahontas, Crazy Horse" and similar things were tagged on him generally in response to something they all had viewed on TV or at the local movie theater or had read in their literature.

Only when he dated a few of the more daring girls on campus did he feel the now well understood under-currents of racism in the small community. No overt actions were taken against him but, from his close friends he learned that such things were not well received in this small, rural community. It seemed to him that his skin color just would never let him forget who and what he was.

His courses of study were no great problem as much of what he chose to study was an extension of what he had learned at the BIA school and in the service. He was taking courses which would lead to an engineering degree and felt capable of attaining his goals.

There were a few other "odd balls" on the campus. A couple of foreign exchange students from the Far East, some displaced immigrants from Iron Curtain countries and a handful of blacks. It always seemed to him that some "white American do-gooder" on the campus or in the community was always busily trying to bring these "misfits" together for some type of common effort to "Americanize" them to their satisfaction. He really had no dislike for them but, also felt no real compulsion to associate with them in the way that was being tactlessly forced upon him. It seemed rather nonsensical to him for other people to think that they all had common problems because they weren't like everyone else in this community.

After that first year he decided he would much prefer spending his summer living as an Indian rather than trying to cope with life in the city and so he went back to his home reservation to live with his grandmother.

She was glad to have him back and he was glad to be with her once again. By now she was completely grey-haired and the signs of age were definitely etched into her brown face and hands. Yet she still was full of energy and constantly busied herself attending to his needs.

He got a job working for a construction company and so spent his money helping his grandmother maintain her simple home and buying himself the things he needed.

Occasionally he picked up some young people near his age and they went on an evening night drunk but, this wasn't too frequent.

It was during this summer that he again met a girl who he became greatly interested in. Like the other girl back in Wisconsin she seemed very traditional yet, he soon learned that she knew how to move freely in the Whitemans world.

At the end of the summer they were serious enough to discuss their future. He said she must wait until he had his degree. Altho she didn't think much of the idea she agreed to it, finally. He went back to school on cloud nine looking forward to the first chance to get back to her.

Throughout his second year of study he found it more and more difficult to remain non-committal and to maintain an attitude of indifference about his Indian identity. The national scene was becoming tense over the actions of black people and the campus and community hummed with the news of possible black uprising. The black students on campus were beginning to speak out and declaring their right to be proud.

People began to watch him to see what effect these new social events would have on him. He made a great show of not caring what the hell was going on as he only wanted an education and didn't want to take up the banner of any cause.

In the early spring of that year, while driving back to the campus after seeing a movie, he happened on two car loads of local men attacking three or four of the black students who had a couple of white girls with them. Foolishly he stopped and tried to reason with the white men. Calling him a "red nigger" they began to beat on him, too.

The local police finally arrived and broke up the brawl. He and the black students were taken back to the school. The college pastor, a rather decent man, tried to

soothe their anger and placated them with words from "the good book." The black students told him to can it and walked out. After listening to the man for a few more minutes he got up and excused himself also.

This incident jolted him back to his childhood days in the city where he had to fight many times before winning the stolid acceptance of his White peers. He felt he didn't want to go thru that again and felt it would be futile in this place anyway. Packing all of his belongings, he piled them all in his car and left without a single farewell to anyone. "If this is what I have to live with to get an education then it isn't worth it," He thought as he drove away from the school.

So he had come back again to his grandmothers. She was disappointed in his quitting school but, she knew the reasons why and didn't admonish him for it.

He went back to work for the construction company and began finalizing his plans to marry. His girl was happy she no longer had to wait and set about the business of preparing for her wedding.

His idea was to have a quiet civil ceremony performed by a local justice of the peace but that was not to be. His grandmother and the girls family began to go about the arrangements of a traditional tribal ceremony. He felt as out of place as a third eye in the middle of a forehead, as the girl, her parents and his grandmother took complete control.

When it was all over with he wondered how great a fool his tribal people must think him to be because of his total ignorance of such things. He remembered observing other traditional tribal wedding ceremonies but, never realized that as one of the principals he would be called on to perform a number of things which a new husband and son-in-law is required to do. Even now that it was done, he still felt a flush of embarrassment in his face because he had to be coached and directed in his part. "What a really dumb Indian I am!" he thought.

After the glow of the honeymoon had worn off he and his wife began to work diligently at being married and establishing a home. He went to work every day and she busied herself around their small but, comfortable old house. After several months had passed she coyly whispered in his ear one night that he was to be a father. His life seemed almost complete now. The only shadow in his life was that he couldn't determine if he really wanted to spend his entire life on the reservation or whether he should leave to seek a better economic position in the world of the Whiteman.

He talked to his grandmother often about his inner feelings. Telling her his difficulty in trying to decide seemed to create a feeling of sadness in her.

"My son, I have watched you growing up. Your whole life has been confused because you could never really decide whether you wanted to live in the ways of our people or to take up the Whitemans ways. If you go away from here without knowing all that you must know about your peoples ways then you will continue to be confused. You will never find any happiness trying to live as Whitemen live because no matter how hard you try your skin will never turn white and he, the Whiteman will never let you forget it is red," She told him.

"When you can understand, truly understand, what your people are all about and recognize the beauty of our life, our thoughts and our visions, then you can go among the Whiteman as a proud man who has a red skin. These things you can only learn here among your people. Your young wife is one of the ^{Few} young people left among ^{us} who understands these things that is why I am so happy that you chose her. A long time ago, I had one of your grandfathers pray for you and ask the Great Spirit Father to bless you and you were given a cherished name of your clan. It is time that you try to learn why I went to such great lengths to do such a thing. Never have I asked any thing of you because you are a man and I am a female relative who respects your manhood. Now, for this old lady's benefit, think of what I have said and then perhaps you can decide which road you will walk. That is all I will say"

She finished her speech by standing and leaving the room.

What she had said touched the very core of his being. He realized the truth of her words and felt a fool for having lived so long in constant confusion over what he wanted to be.

Knowing she did not expect or need an answer immediately he decided to discuss it with his wife and seek some form of spiritual guidance. Although he had never forsaken his belief in the Great Spirit Father it had been a long time since he had sought his wisdom through prayer. Maybe that was another reason for his present confusion.

So it was that he finally determined that he would learn and re-learn what it was to be a Redman in this world. He went about this task with every ounce of energy and every bit of intelligence he had. He determined he would not quit as he had quit so many times in the Whitemans world.

He talked at great length and in minute detail with his wife about a plan of action to have him learn what he must. He became a little exasperated that his desire to use some structured, organized process he was familiar with was rejected as impossible for his purposes by his wife.

She was adamant that no amount of recorded interviews, clinical notes, objective observations or other such methods he had used to gain what education he had in the Whitemans world would help him learn to be an Indian in the way he felt he needed to know.

So he was persuaded to try her way. He committed himself to foregoing all the pursuits he was engaged in during his leisure time. He gave up his occasional drinking and hanging around with those who passed their time in this way. He gave up his poker games, bowling nights and pool playing.

In their place he began to accompany his wife to Indian social gatherings and activities. He quietly let his elder relatives know that he would be available for

any duties that they felt he could do in carrying out their traditional obligations in the community. He asked his older male relatives to allow him to become a part of their traditional singing and dancing group. In every way he could he immersed himself totally in the tribal traditional ways of his people.

At first, he was the object of light-hearted teasing from the traditional members of his tribe. Also, his former close associates became somewhat piqued that he no longer sought their companionship. From time to time he felt discouragement because it seemed that no matter how much he tried he just couldn't seem to fathom the real meaning of all he was being exposed to. Yet he was determined to persevere.

His grandmother was cognizant of his real dedication and quietly set about finding every means available to her to help her grandson attain his quest for knowledge of his real identity. His wife was a constant source of encouragement and enlightenment for him. She worked diligently at correctly interpreting the information he needed clarification on when he had trouble understanding what he was learning.

He didn't know exactly how it came about yet there came a time when he began to perceive that there was a change in him. It wasn't as if he was struck by intellectual lightning, rather it was a slow awakening of his mind that told him he no longer held the same values and concepts in his mind. As he began to perceive this fact he was somewhat awed that such a thing could happen to him.

He had spent nearly a quarter of a century striving to mold his life into a pattern which he now knew he could never have fit. It had taken him less than two years to find what he had been seeking for in the wrong way for nearly all his life.

Now he sat on the lap of his Mother, the Earth warmed, by embers of a sacred fireplace, listening to his elder relatives tell the life history of his people in preparation for the christening of his new-born son. The power symbol of the Great Spirit, the Sun sent it's life giving rays, like golden arrows, into the center of the holy circle of the tepee. In the newly greening trees outside the tepee the songs of

birds could be heard heralding the coming of the new day. Next to him, her body draped in a beautiful striped blanket, sat his wife, holding their new-born son who rested peacefully on his cradle board. This had been a gift from his elder uncle who had fashioned it from the best white ash wood he could find. His grandmother had adorned the soft doeskin with beautiful beadwork and tiny ornaments to entertain her infant great grandson. He was an Indian and his heart was filled with joy and pride that he was.

July 1972

For seven years he had continued to apply himself to learning the vast world of knowledge he must acquire to truly be an Indian. In the process he began to understand that many others of his race were in the same condition he had been for so long. As he worked at being of some worth to his people he began to become more and more involved in tribal matters.

As one thing led to another he learned that not only his tribe but, every tribe of Redmen across the nation were caught up in a great struggle to retain their identities and maintain their way of life.

There seemed to be so many inter-woven problems confronting the Indian nations as a whole and individually that it seemed to be totally confusing to him and most everyone else. The retention of remaining tribal lands, treaty rights, water rights mineral rights, hunting and fishing rights, and numerous other concerns seemed like a monumental maze through which Indian people must struggle to survive.

As the years went by he struggled to find answers to questions constantly being raised as to why his people existed in such despair and poverty. Slowly, as he began to learn more and more of the historical sequence of events that had transpired to bring his people to their present state he saw what he thought was the root and cause of it all.

Basing his conclusions in his life's experience he felt that too many of the recognized leadership of the Indian race had been caught up in the same process of so-called education that he had been. As he went about the country he saw so many very important leaders of his race pursuing the same false goals that he had followed so long. He saw in their actions and heard in their words the same confusion and false illusions that had deluded him for so long.

So many of them seemed to have given up the most significant values of their forebears. As they conscientiously went about trying to improve the material status of their tribesmen they lost all sight of the truly important teachings of their people.

"Somehow, tribal leadership must be re-educated or somehow tribal leadership must change if we are to survive as Redmen!" He thought, from time to time. "There must be the re-creation and re-implementation of the ways our forefathers selected their leaders. Our leaders direct and determine on which road we will walk. If we keep on walking the road we are now on we soon will leave the road of our ancestors."

Maybe, for those who have a real understanding of what is happening to the Redman, we have to forego our efforts to re-shape present Indian leadership. Too many of them have walked too far down the Whiteman's road. If it is important to us to retain our way of thinking and living then we must commit ourselves to educating our children first in the revered traditions and ways of our people. Then we can expose them to the "technology and science" of the Whiteman which they will need to build a new nation of Redman.

If only more people would recognize the value of the education offered to them by their traditional elders as being as important as anything they can learn in the Whiteman's world, the problems confronting the Redman today would be resolved within the near future.

"What is education? Is it giving up a thousand generations of sacrifice and countless appeals to the Great Spirit for the perpetuation of our tribes for

the chance to gain material comfort and social status for oneself? Is it laying aside a value system and a moral philosophy which have held tribes together for thousands of years. Is it accepting the concepts and principles of other men as being greater than those of our ancestors? Is it the instrument which we can use to further ourselves at the expense of relatives? No, it can never be any of these things!" Thought the young man who had finally found out that he could and would commit himself to fulfilling his grandmothers wish to live his life for his people and strive to add to the honor of his revered clan name.

Epilogue

Black Elk, Oglala Medicine Man, stood atop the highest mountain in the sacred Black Hills in the late summer of 1912. Offering the Sacred Pipe of his people, he prayed to Wakontonka The Great Mystery. The last words of his prayer were these;

Again, and maybe the last time on earth I recall the great vision you sent me. It may be that some little root of the sacred tree still lives. Nourish it, then, that it may leaf and bloom and fill with singing birds. Hear me, not for myself, but for my people; I am old. Hear me, that they may once more go back into the sacred hoop and find the good road and the shielding tree.

These are the kinds of prayers our revered forefathers have uttered throughout the ages in our behalf. These kinds of appeals have been made for our benefit. These are the kinds of soul-filled cries that our ancestors have sent up to our Great Spirit Father. It has been and always should be this way.

When we speak of "Indian Education" this is where we must begin. "Indian Education" means we must turn ourselves and our children on to learning 'first' the things that are important to us as Redmen. First, to know who we are and how we must live as Redmen. Then we can learn what must be learned to exist with all of the technology created by the Whiteman.

In order to accomplish this we must carry out an "educational effort" with parents, with pre-school children and with children of all ages that the 'first priority' is to know ourselves as Indians.

We must gain financial control of educational funds, political control of our schools, intellectual control of our childrens minds, we must strive for complete control of every "educational institution" presently shaping the thoughts and minds of our people. Only in this way can we possibly hope to "go back into the sacred hoop and find the good road and the shielding tree!"

HOW DOES A NATIVE AMERICAN
DEAL WITH SOCIETY ?

A Paper Written for the
Teacher Corps

April 25, 1973

Vine Deloria, Jr.

HOW DOES A NATIVE AMERICAN DEAL WITH SOCIETY ?

One of the assumptions of the American educational system is that it prepares individuals to live in society. The theory of education appears to be that if every individual receives an adequate preparation in the basic facts of western man's existence he or she can thereafter function as a useful and law-abiding citizen of the nation. The belief in education as the basis for a democracy has been a favorite thesis throughout the centuries of American existence and the free public school has been a tangible demonstration of this belief.

As one looks around American society today, however, the old belief in the saving virtue of education is badly shaken. The smartest and best educated men are busy stealing from each other. The federal government is for sale to the highest bidder. And the corporate mind with its carrot stick of profit swincing gayly before it wanders down the road of social and ecological destruction watching its television commercials convince it that all is well. The informed citizenry, the beneficiaries of the free public education, remain locked in a profound ignorance and could care less. Even the language has become so corrupted as to be meaningless. No public official tells lies anymore, he simply as a credibility gap. People are not murdered, they are wasted, or in the case of the CIA, terminated under extreme circumstances.

In such a society it goes without saying that the best learned lessons are not those of the classroom but those of the political caucus. Unless one can find salvation in the political machinations of his group he can hardly find salvation at all. As a result we have not only the manipulations of corporations and political parties but the recent power movements in the minority groups would indicate that

every facet of American social existence is now determined by power which is exercised with contempt toward anyone who questions its use.

Such a state of affairs should not be unexpected. The very basis of American educational theory lacks moral and ethical content. It does not speak of the relationships between people and between groups of people. It merely provides sufficient tools for individuals to use to climb the ladder of social, economic, academic, military, and intellectual pyramids without regard to the means used to achieve the ends desired by the individual. Little can be said about the way things ought to be. Social sciences can simply describe the manner in which they appear to operate given the conditions under which they arise.

In this whirlpool of disorder Indian education is supposed to orient Indian children to the mysteries of the world of the white man. It is supposed to teach him respect for law and order while he watches the law being blatantly violated before his eyes. He is taught to revere knowledge while he watches incompetents achieve the most startling success. He is taught to expect an equal opportunity while he knows that he will be denied that opportunity because of his race. And the major task of Indian education, if we listen to the multitude of people now engaged in its mysteries, is to reduce the drop-out rate which translates, keep them in school longer and feed them more lies.

Indian education has been built upon the premise that the Indian had a great deal to learn from the white man and that the white man represented the highest level of achievement that mankind had reached in the evolutionary process. The white man's religion was the best, his economics were superior to any that had been discovered, his sense of justice was the keenest, his knowledge of history the greatest. The Indian's task was to consume the little bits and pieces of the white man's world in the expectation that some day he would become

as smart as the white man. The totality of the white man's knowledge was supposed to be the unfolding of the wisdom of the ages that had been painfully accumulated by the series of brilliant men that preceded him.

In the old treaty-signing days many Indians came to feel that perhaps this superior knowledge gave the white man his right to do what he did. Bows and arrows were useless against guns. Ponies could not outrun trains. Iron kettles were superior to earthen pots and hides. So the education provisions were written into the treaties and from tribe to tribe the people began to slowly change their ways to conform to the white man's way of doing things. The expectation that one day the fuzzy picture would clear and the Indian would stand as equal to the white man grew over the generations. Today when we are asked what our problems are, we continue to reflect this ancient belief. "Give us more education," we cry, "and we can become self-sufficient".

But there is a real question that we have failed to examine when we talk about education as one of the answers to our problems. What is education? What is it that we must learn if we are to adjust to the type of society in which we find ourselves? To answer this question we must probe back into the beginnings of the western mind and discover, if possible, the basis for advocating the free public education. I believe that we can find at least part of our answer in the influence of the Christian religion on the western mind. That religion has taught the westerners how to think about society, the world, and the individual person and it has given the western societies the confidence in themselves so that they either refuse to examine their premises or they see no need to go into what they would consider fundamental truths of the nature of the world.

The western mind is dependent upon two types of thought, Greek and Hebrew, which have intertwined together to form the Christian scheme of things as it has been brought to this country. Greek philosophy traditionally emphasized the pursuit of knowledge by the individual who received a divine call to seek knowledge. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle all made efforts to elaborate a basic theory of the world in which the concentration of the individual was on revealing the true nature of the world - the search for ultimate reality. Western science has inherited the Greek tendency to classify and categorize the facts of existence into systematic fields of knowledge. Behind this tendency is the idea that by knowing all of the facts of existence an individual can achieve the wisdom necessary to understand himself and his society. When the Platonic philosophy was put into effect in Syracuse it turned out to be a disaster.

The other aspect of western thought is the Christian emphasis on individual salvation. The message of the early Christian church and the message of many right wing Christians today is that the individual can be saved from the evils of the world by uncritical acceptance of the facts of the Christian religion. By affirming belief in the data compiled about Jesus of Nazareth a Christian is "saved" from whatever demons inherit and inhabit the earth. Not only in this philosophy completely divorced from the realities of the world, it does not take into account the inter-workings of groups of men as they form the small communities in which they live. Inherent in the Christian religion is the idea that if every individual behaves according to the best of his ability the conglomerate of individuals who form a society at any one time will act morally and ethically towards one another and towards the other societies with which they have contact.

A great deal of the thinking of present day educators still depends upon the Greek-Christian assumptions concerning the nature of man and the world he lives in. A great deal of the academic pursuit in American universities does not concern the problem of an individual acting in a society as it does simply measuring the events of that society. The assumption that an individual, given sufficient data concerning the world, and having a purity of heart towards the subject matter he is asked to consume, will become a useful member of society remains the basic thesis behind public education.

The western mind has never questioned the fact that human beings appear to act differently in groups than they do when acting as solitary individuals. Nor has it ever found that solitary individual who acts in the manner which western thinking projects. Man is also found in groups of people and to find a solitary individual one would have to travel to the far corners of the earth and discover a hermit, one who had given up all relationships with the outside world. Such a person would naturally have few ethical or moral dilemmas since such questions arise in conjunction with the normal contact with people.

When this attitude toward knowledge is made the chief factor in determining the nature of education we have a phenomenon in which the facts of the world are taught without regard to the relationships which they share one with another. Thus we learn about the nature of politics, the nature of economics, the nature of sociology, and the nature of anthropology, yet we are not told and are incapable of learning whether or not these fields have any relationship with each other. Western education does not concern itself with relationships, only with facts. It assumes, with no basis for doing so, that the relationships

will work themselves out in some kind of divine pre-established harmony. The present state of American society testifies to the fact that such a pre-established harmony does not and cannot exist whenever a significant number of individuals are involved.

The assumption that people become good and useful citizens or that they are capable of earning a living or making a contribution to the collection of knowledge by consuming a sufficient number of facts is not only ill-founded, it precludes any search for the real meaning of things. At best it produces a short term type of logic which we have seen in Catch-22, in the rhetoric of the Viet Nam war, and in the various assumptions that are made daily in society. We feel that President Nixon did not know about Watergate because we have been taught that Presidents do act that way. And that is the only basis for our belief - we have been taught certain propositions to be true and we have little critical apparatus to refute our beliefs.

The struggles of the sixties over new concepts of social justice have been largely waged on the basis of the old logics which were part and parcel of the western educational system. Integration, for example, meant that everyone had to be the same but the failure to define what that same was meant the eventual downfall of the theory of integration. And it was people within the black community who, upon the passage of the Civil Rights legislation to establish equality, awoke to find themselves still black, still bound to the ghettos, and still discriminated against. The assumption with the Civil Rights movement was that by forcing people to respect the Civil Rights laws equality could be achieved. It was a simple matter to simply by-pass those laws and establish new relationships of racism more sophisticated than before which returned many of the same behavioral patterns to the way that the white majority wished them to be.

American society has been based upon the strong and mystical belief in the salvation of the individual citizen. And while there were few people this belief had some validity. When the mid-western cities were small cities of less than 50,000 it was possible to grade the opportunities and efforts for self-government according to the peculiarities of the city. Now they are approaching a half million or more and they have inherited all those problems which were formerly considered to be mental diseases of the eastern establishment. The rugged individualism of the old America has been replaced with the large corporate conglomerate. The old family grocery store, gas station, farm, or business has fallen victim to the intrusions of the corporation. The distribution system of the nation has made it impossible for a single business or family to survive as a unit. The communications media has acted to homogenize us to certain beliefs and ways of thinking which create in us a "herd" instinct for survival far different than that in which we are taught to believe.

Perhaps the chief proof of the value of the old individualism was the ability of the system to point out the individuals which it had produced as an indication of its truth. As we have seen, those that the system has produced in recent years are hardly fit to be applauded if we have any sense of ethics or morals left. The old ability to point at successful individuals was based upon an awareness of the past and the perpetuation of a tradition of "what made America great". But people are having an increasingly difficult time finding American greatness today. Instead the cynicism and despair on every side, in the liberal community as well as the conservative community, would indicate that the ideal conception of American history as the unbeatable march of progress has been large debunked.

The justification for the displacement of the American Indian, as

developed in American history courses went right along with the old belief in progress and rugged individualism. Indians had to be replaced, the belief went, because it was necessary to create the great society of which we are the beneficiaries. But today with an increasing awareness of poverty, racism, ecological disaster, and political corruption, it is no longer possible to justify any actions taken by the American social or political system. And it is not possible to justify them to even those Americans who still believe the old myths.

History, for the American society, has vanished. It has been replaced with a timeless and mindless wandering. People are looking to the educational system to retrieve them from the sense of disaster which they feel and the educational system tightens its belt and starts to gather even more data on the state of society in effect increasing the sense of hopelessness and lost which people feel. Progress has reversed itself and even the advertisements tell us that the oil companies and auto manufacturers are trying to reverse their destructive impact on American life. By lessening the amount of destruction on our lives these corporations proclaim that they are making progress. We can thus measure progress by measuring how little damage we continue to do, not how many creative things are accomplished.

Within this general feeling of social confusion a number of ideas have been advanced which give hope to those keen enough to perceive them. The trend in recent court decisions has been to emphasize the interest of society over and against the interests of the private corporation or the state in developing its plans. Civil Rights cases are more frequently framed in terms of class actions rather than in seeking redress for individuals. Justice William O. Douglas' dissent in the case of Sierra Club. v. Morton even raises the question of whether a nature feature such as a canyon can have legal standing to

protect itself against exploitation from developers. These ideas are relatively new and the concern of the legal processes and the people who work in them to give groups of people and even natural landmarks a status in the eyes of the law would indicate that a whole new conception of the world is being forced into being whether the old beliefs wish it or not.

What we are seeing in the field of law with the development of public interest law firms, class actions, and ecological suits is the shift in emphasis on the absolute rights of the individual and his use of the property he owns to an emphasis on the values and concerns of groups of people. Perhaps no better example can be made than the recent case involving the education of the Amish children in Wisconsin. In the case Yoder v. State which was decided in the Supreme Court in 1971, the state of Wisconsin argued that it was the best custodian of the morals and values of society and that the Amish had to bow to the wishes, wisdom, and policies of the state board of education and allow their children to be educated in the public schools.

The Supreme Court pointed out, to the great embarrassment of the state of Wisconsin, that the traditions, customs, and beliefs of the Amish, when consistently followed produced a society in which broken marriages, juvenile delinquency, poverty and crime were virtually unknown. When the Amish record was balanced against that of Wisconsin it became apparent that the values of the Amish were far superior to those of the state of Wisconsin. This important case set the precedent that where a group has peculiar beliefs, traditions and customs and it can show beyond a doubt that its way of life is superior to that of the surrounding society, and that it consistently practices its customs with beneficial results, the state cannot use its powers over individuals to force members of that community to accept its institutions

The parallel here with the tribal communities is obvious. If we could show that our customs, traditions, and beliefs were a vital part of our community life and had the effect of reducing or eliminating the statistics of poverty and failure which presently characterize them we could remove ourselves from the effect of the society around us. Perhaps the chief difference between Indian communities and the Amish is that for a century we have been denied the right to practice our customs and traditions. We have not kept them alive and have not used them to hold our communities together. They do not have much place in our lives today and are too often regarded as relics of the past. Thus we are trapped into being the recipients of the American educational system because we have failed or been denied the right to live according to our own dictates.

Another development in the legal field of great importance is the emerging sense of justice which seeks to create the idea of compensation for crimes rather than retribution. The traditional sense of justice in the western tradition is the Old Testament idea of an "eye for an eye". This concept is just short of savagery yet it has been the favorite concept of Protestant America which has had a major influence in the interpretation of law and the development of penalties for criminal law. Perhaps as important and intimately related to the penalty nature of criminal law is the recent abolishment of the death penalty. We see the spectacle of the conservatives trying desperately to re-instate the death penalty in spite of the overwhelming testimony of experts that it does not deter murder. The conservatives are willing that a few innocent people be killed so long as they can kill those they are certain are guilty of murder. Such an attitude is even pre-Old Testament since even God was willing to spare Sodom and Gomorrah for the presence

of ten righteous men.

As capital punishment has fallen, even if only temporarily, so compensation for the victim of crimes is becoming an important aspect of criminal law. Criminal law had developed as a means of the state protecting the property of individual citizens. There was no attempt to force compensation to the victims of a crime by the state. A victim could sue in civil court if he had the means. But in general the tendency was to use the laws and institutions of the state to punish the perpetrator of the crime while leaving the victim uncompensated. Today the idea of compensation for the victim has been discussed in Congress and in several states and numerous proposals have been introduced to make compensation a chief part of the criminal law on both the state and federal levels.

These ideas are not, as we have seen, a part of the western tradition of law. The idea of spreading the loss of a crime over the members of a society is not a western idea where every man is responsible for his crimes and only for his crimes. Western nations had no idea of the corporate nature of society and hence to develop a criminal law in which the corporate nature of guilt and responsibility was recognized was far beyond the ability of western men to comprehend. These ideas are basically derived from the tribal conceptions of society. In a great many tribes retribution for murder was the last step in the process of settling the criminal nature of murder. More often than not the family of the murdered person would adopt the murderer and the murderer had to become a member of the family to replace the person he had killed. The idea behind this tradition was that society had suffered enough by the loss of one of its members. Killing in vengeance would only compound the crime against the society over and above the crime against the family or the victim.

Compensation for lesser crimes was a way of life in nearly every Indian tribe. It did not make sense to Indians to jail a person for infringement of one of the tribe's customs. It was sufficient punishment for the crime to be known and for the tribe, family, clan, or band to know about the crime. The duty under the laws of many tribes was for the relatives of the criminal to compensate the family of the victim or the victim for the rash act of the criminal. It would be even more accurate to speak of transgressor since the very conception of the criminal is foreign to the customs of most tribes.

At least in the field of law when we speak of the differences between Indian customs and the laws of the white man we are speaking of two different systems of thought and what we are seeing at the present time is the breakdown of all the concepts which the white man has and the gradual substitution of the old Indian concepts in their place. The old theory of punishment and individual rights is being replaced by the concern for and the acknowledgment of the whole social order. In this field the relationships between the parts of the society are becoming more important than the respective entities which serve to compose that society. We see a shift from factual law to relationship law and the emphasis is becoming more of a concern for the totality of society and not for its individual parts. The tribal customs which were debunked as primitive are going to be seen as more sophisticated than anyone imagined and the field of law will in the future be Indianized rather than civilized because the conception of civilization has become to primitive for modern society.

In the field of economics a major breakthrough is being discussed. It is the guaranteed annual income. The idea has had support from both conservatives and liberals although they differ in both ideology and

in the manner in which they intend to carry the program out. In the last election the intemperate remarks of Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern in the California primary sidetracked the idea of the guaranteed annual income when Humphrey began to make outrageous claims that the McGovern idea would bankrupt the nation. Yet the idea has substantial merit when one considers that at every level of existence there are subsidies made available to parts of the society by government programs. Corporations get tax breaks, small companies get special tax rates, individuals get a variety of subsidies from guaranteed banking under the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to the Federal Housing Authority which supports their thirty year mortgages. Postage is subsidized, food is subsidized, airlines are subsidized. Everyone is subsidized.

It remains but a step forward at some future date when the nature of subsidy is finally accepted by both liberals and conservatives and the guaranteed annual income is made a part of the general social program of the federal government. At that point we will have gotten far away from the old conservative and Christian idea that God looks out for those that help themselves. This theory incorporated itself into the western viewpoint during the days of the post-Reformation period when affluence was considered a divine sign that the individual was one of the elect. The argument went that God having chosen a certain number of people from before the beginning of the world to be saved, would naturally give those people during their time on earth the best possible conditions, meaning wealth, and that by following the Christians virtues of hard work, singleminded purpose in life, and piety, the elect would naturally prosper.

During the arguments over the theory of evolution the scientific establishment transformed that idea into the jungle law of the survival of the fittest. The presence of inherited wealth has never been conside

by the conservative as cheating the basic premise of both the salvation of the chosen and the survival of the fittest. Yet this dualistic theory of individualism saw itself justified only in those that survived. It never questioned what happened to those that did not "make it".

When the guaranteed annual income eventually become a reality it will probably take at least one form of intellectual argument. It will be said that a human being has the right not only to civil existence under the laws of the state but to the irreducible satisfaction of food and shelter. And it will be considered a major breakthrough for western man to have advanced to this degree of sophistication. The problem is that the idea is neither new nor is it derivative from the traditions and theories of western educational institutions. Paul Radin, noted anthropologist, and it is rare that one can depend upon the findings of an anthropologist, finds that the right to food and shelter was the basic fact of Indian tribal existence. It was the level beyond which a human being could not be reduced in any Indian tribe.

Rather than learning about the benefits of western capitalism in the educational process, one would do better to learn about the old Indian customs and traditions and spend time meditating on the means by which such ideas can be transformed into political and economic reality in contemporary America. Again when we reach the plateau of the guaranteed annual income we have reached the conception of society has having a few basic relationships which must be given to all members. We no longer have an individualism which blesses the fortunate or corrupt few while damning the majority of people. We have passed from the concentration on the facts of individual existence to the relationships between all members of a society. We have, in effect, recognized again the corporate or group nature of social existence.

Several years ago there was a terrible concern about the ecological disasters being visited upon the planet. The college students did their

usual insane type of protest and buried new cars with great symbolic ceremonies, donated a week end a year to picking up the beer bottles from the roads where they had deposited them the night before, and vowed never again to cut down a redwood tree. The oil companies trotted out over-aged and paunchy astronauts who solemnly testified to us on television that their oil company had spent a decade developing a new gas additive which prevented air pollution. The Interior Department fired Smoky the Bear whose only concern was preventing forest fires and got a new mascot, _____, who was the archetype ecologist with an image just short of St. Francis of Assisi.

The result of this outpouring of faith in the American future of ecological concern was the establishment, for a time, of several ecological journals and the prevention of the SST for a short time. Rumors are prevalent that President Nixon intends to get his SST yet even though Britain and France have nearly gone bankrupt with theirs. Yet as superficial as the ecological movement has been there have been some permanent gains made. The number of law suits presently being taken by the public interest ecological and conservation organizations has grown and the increasing problems have become more serious so that the problem, if not solved, can no longer be ignored.

The ecological movement has been the movement in contemporary America that has most blatantly copied the American Indian. A great deal of the sympathy for Indians derives from an acknowledgment by whites that Indians did not destroy the balance of nature and that the tribal values of living in harmony with the environment were much more advanced and meaningful than were the western ~~values of continual~~ values of continual rearrangement of natural features on behalf of man's industrial needs. We need not discuss the ecological movement other than to say that it also approaches but does not yet equal the tribal values of

maintaining a meaningful relationship between a society and a particular land. The current concern for ecology does not yet recognize the spirit of the place, the nature of the earth, or the relationship with the other life forms that was a standard belief of most tribes. It is still at the tourist stage of development. Yet there is hope even for the white men, that they will someday recognize that certain places are holy places, that a society must have a sacred ground where it sinks its roots, and that even the smallest animals and life forms have a right to exist for themselves, that even they can teach us things we do not know.

Another contemporary movement of note has been the Women's Liberation movement. The Christian religion is based upon a degradation of women beginning at the Garden of Eden story and continuing through the New Testament days and the doctrines of the early Christian church. The result of this religious belief was to make women second class citizens during the development of European political institutions. Women were regarded not only as inferior to men but as having no sense of understanding of political and economic forms of social existence. In many states women still cannot sign a valid contract, cannot own property without their husbands consent, and receive less pay for the same job performance.

Women's Liberation is a current effort to develop a place for women in American society. But it would appear from many of the spokeswomen for the movement that in many ways it seeks to pretend that no distinctions exist between men and women. The roles of both men and women are thus becoming increasingly confused and even the inadequate western traditions involving women are fast vanishing. Many of the tribes had special places for women in the society. In the past and today women played an important place in the political structure of the tribe. The Iroquois clan mothers chose the chiefs of the tribe

and exercised a great deal of influence over the decisions made by the chiefs. In most tribes the property of the home belonged to the woman and the children were regarded as her special responsibilities. Hardly a tribe can be found where the role of women was not revered and where a special place was not found for them. In the women's liberation movement of today we find a helpless American society trying vainly to find a place for women and attempting, as in the case of Civil Rights, to pretend that fundamental differences do not exist.

In spite of the pretense at civilization American society has been unable to reconcile itself with its children. The revolts of the sixties were a fundamental protest by the young people against the hypocrisy of their elders and juvenile delinquency has been a continuing problem that has grown in violence and complexity. One of the efforts to reduce juvenile delinquency has been the Big Brother Program. In this program an adult unrelated to the troubled boy has been appointed to talk and work with him. It is felt that children without fathers or with problems do better by relating to an adult who is not directly involved with daily family problems.

The Big Brother program has been one of the informal means, that is, the means used outside the formal institutions, to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency. It has generally meant that American society has had to go beyond the confines of the family to find a means of introducing young people into the customs and responsibilities of adult citizenship. This concept is, of course, old hat for the people from Indian tribes. Many tribes had a kinship system whereby the training and counseling of the young of both sexes was done by a more distant family member than the father or mother. Uncles on the father's side would train the boys and sisters on the mother's side

would work with the girls. At least part of the feeling behind the kinship relationships was the effort to keep the parents and the children away from a disciplinarian relationship which might injure the basic family unit.

As a means of maintaining a family and organizing the various relationships which a society must have to survive, the old tribal customs appear to be far advanced when compared with the institutions of contemporary America. The kinship system worked in such a way that no orphans existed and the need for institutional care or commitment of troubled young people did not exist because no relationships of an alienated nature were allowed to exist. The whole fabric of the tribe depended upon a complex series of relationships which bound everyone to a great many relatives who had reciprocal duties toward each other. As the social problems in American society continue to increase and intensify programs such as the Big Brothers will be expanded and perhaps eventually made a regular part of the social institutions.

There are a number of other developments today that portend a radical change in social thinking in America. Even the conservative desire to return the forms of government decision-making to the local communities appears to be a form of political fragmentation reminiscent of the old tribal band structures rather than an accelerated effort to make the political structures relevant to the mass of citizens. On the whole one can easily find an abandonment of the western and Christian ideology of society and a shifting of emphasis to social forms that are parallel and sometime nearly identical to the customs, traditions, and beliefs of many of the old tribal structures. At this point, then, we must examine the attitudes of those programs and people working in the field of Indian education to determine at what point in the process

Indian education actually relates to the world as we know it and as we are seeing it adapt to changing social realities.

At best Indian education is an ill-conceived version of the worst of the Protestant theological generalities which are cherished by the conservative elements in America. Nearly every program available has a basis of motivation as an element. People think that there must be some way to get an Indian child interested in education and substantial research funds are available to determine how you "motivate" a child. Sam Deloria has pointed out that motivation is trying to find a way to make someone do something you want him to do, not a process of getting someone interested in doing what he wants to do. But the end product of school work is too often mere recitation of learned facts which have been arranged in a manner pleasing to the teacher. Thus motivation is demonic at best and a catastrophe induced by professional ignorance at worst.

But the pattern of education thrust upon Indian children, the motivation-recitation syndrome, is good Protestant theology. One is frightened to death by tales of a burning hell and thus motivated. Then one is taught the basic facts of the salvation story and is asked to believe that they actually happened some time and some place long ago. Whether the facts of educational content can be attached to a motivation mechanism or not has probably not entered the mind of the teacher or the professional educator. He is chiefly concerned with running a smooth operation, not with the development of any significant complex of relationships which would orient the student toward the world he will face. If Indian education can be purged of this relic of the Reformation it would be one of the significant events of our generation. Motivation is at best high camp confidence games played on children and has no

part in a meaningful educational process.

Another facet of Indian education is the assumption which has been traditionally held by educators that it must be compensatory. The initial difficulty with the English which most Indian children experience is interpreted as indicating a fundamental mental defect which must be overcome with compensatory programs. Even the current fascination with bi-lingual programs does not do justice to the native languages. It is concerned primarily with finding a new way to teach English not a way to expand and develop either thought processes or native languages. Classifying Indian children as needing compensatory educational programs is a forfeit of the cultural values of the Indian people in favor of an ill-defined and unrelated Anglo cultural context which at best is breaking apart because of its interlaced inconsistencies.

The whole idea of compensatory programs must be shifted in emphasis. The programs must come full circle and be viewed as having an integrity in themselves as vehicles of Indian cultural expression and survival. The idea of compensation involves, at its deepest level, the racial connotation that only those of white heritage are capable of civilized behavior. It further indoctrinates children into ethno-centric beliefs in which English appears as the natural language with all other languages appearing as divergent and lesser tongues. It may come as a surprise to many Americans but a majority of the world does not speak English. And probably a majority of the educated people in the world do not even speak it. It represents at best a Protestant conceptualization of salvation, the idea that the lesser races of men cannot enter heaven or civilized existence until they speak the mother tongue and until they adapt themselves to the ways of God's people.

One of the less frequently articulated assumptions we find in

Indian education is that education will give the individual Indian the opportunity enjoyed by other Americans to compete in the economic realm. Education has been looked upon as a sure key to employment in the fields of lucrative endeavor. In a fundamental manner it presently is that key since the majority of good job opportunities which presently exist have qualifications which can only be satisfied by educational achievements as measured in degrees and certificates.

But the employment opportunities are gradually shrinking as the concern of society changes from social problems to economic ventures of very complex magnitude. Already some types of jobs are far beyond the possibility of the vast majority of Indian people for they involve not only education but informal political or family alliances which Indian people, simply because they are Indian people, lack. Jobs in the stock market, in the upper echelons of the energy industry, in the political parties, and in corporate firms with a strong family tradition are already beyond the reach of all but the most unusual Indian people.

Thus to advocate education as the key to opening employment opportunities is in a certain sense useless. By the same token some notice must be taken of the series of jobs that are specifically designed for Indians, jobs which cannot or should not be filled by non-Indians. Many of these are in government and many more are going to be opening up in tribal programs and developments on or near reservations. The interpretation of education must therefore be related not to a vocation in general terms but a vocation in specific tribal or Indian terms. We do not need accountants or doctors in a general sense but in a specific community or problematic sense.

The old Protestant economic theory worshipped the unique hard-working and pious individual who had the world at his feet and had only

to knock and all doors would be opened to him. Equality of opportunity in the economic field was an American truism which was rarely questioned. Today it is not only under question but in view of our present examples of public ethics and morality, it has become the latest of the big American lies to be exposed. Even the toughest of individuals apparently needs plenty of unmarked bills to ensure his success on the climb upwards.

Education for life employment has thus been taken from its basis as an individual endeavor and made into a community need with some new ^{been} community relationships. It has or is being Indianized. The only problem is that Indian educators have not advanced in their thinking about the goals of education and the generalized and obsolete picture is still being presented to Indian children. Education must now be interpreted in a total community sense and a sense of community responsibility must be developed in educational programs that is at least as strong as the technical skills which are given in specific job areas.

The final unchallenged assumption concerning Indian education is one quite frequently made by policy-makers at the state and federal level. It involves such a complete misunderstanding of culture as to display the lack of education and awareness on the part of those who hold it so appalling as to be ridiculous. Indians received citizenship in 1924 and for at least the majority of this century have been relatively quite in their protests. The majority of people in this country have come to believe that Indians are as natural a part of this nation as are the Pilgrims - and about as relevant. So the majority of people will tell you that Indians are just as good as everyone else and that we should have the same opportunities as everyone else. So far so good. The problem is that this sense of equality is allowed to cover over the vast gulf

that exists between the cultural values of the respective tribes and the rest of America. There is no cultural tradition which binds Indians to the rest of America outside of the John Wayne movies and the popular books on the wars of the Plains Indians. The religious traditions are greatly divergent. Cultural attitudes toward history, toward language, toward social forms of activity, and towards many other things are at almost polar opposites:

It is within the experience of every one of us here that there are so many ways in which Indian behaviors based upon cultural beliefs and practices differ from those of the rest of society. I will give but one example of this gulf allowing you to speculate on others of your experience. In many tribes when a person wishes to indicate disapproval one simply remains silent. It is not good manners to talk and disagree with the person proposing the course of action with which one disagrees. The boycott or disapproval by withdrawal is used quite frequently on the inter-tribal level to indicate disagreement. Anglo tradition dictates a far different kind of behavior. To indicate disapproval in white society the practice is to "speak now or forever after hold your peace". Disapproval is vocal and shattering.

Many tribal elections are held on important policies and proposals and they have a dual nature. Traditional Indians regard them as devices of the white man and refuse to participate in them. Their absence is not interpreted as an Indian form of protest. It is given an Anglo interpretation and when no dissenting voices are heard Anglos assume that the proposed course of action has the approval of the tribe. Often the exact opposite is true. To assume, therefore, in Indian education that the learned reactions of the teaching methods will indicate a constant attitude by the students of their involvement with the material is at

least foolhardy and sometimes prevents any activity from occurring at all.

One cannot rid education of the Protestant ideologies without also purging the content of material from all of the western overtones. In order to develop an adequate educational program for Indian children we must change not only the techniques of teaching but must also begin to develop a new concept of history in which the immediate community experiences of the respective tribes are related to world history as a whole and not to certain segments of American history. Even the best current tribal histories are derived from the recorded encounters of the tribe and the white man. Little credence is given to tribal myth and folklore and it is generally greeted as primitive poetry if it is recognized at all. A comparison of tribal folklore with the Garden of Eden story places the respective tribal stories at least on a par with the western mythologies.

Native American history should be the coming new field of intellectual pursuit in our communities. It should be practiced in the academic setting, in our organizational lives, and in the reservation and urban communities. For the past century we have been intellectually overwhelmed by the prospect of the absolute might of white society. We have not been able to conceive the world as it might be in the post-western historical period and the folklore and idealized history of the Pilgrim fathers and their hectic descendents has been made to appear as the inevitable result of the strivings of mankind.

Today we know better. American society is in one phase of collapse. It will probably not collapse altogether in the immediate future. But it will continue to make radical changes if only to survive and for the most part these changes are in the direction of a type of society that will be very compatible with the old tribal customs and traditions.

Instead of continuing to accept uncritically the contentions of the Anglo historian we should place a major emphasis on retrieving our own tribal histories; reclaim our immediate past and understand the changes that have taken place in our communities in this century, and find an interpretation of these experiences that can orient us today and enable us to project a firmer basis for community existence in the future.

It may appear singularly difficult for some of our communities to develop a tribal history that varies from the standard history we have been taught in school. The usual method of developing a historical explanation is to relate it to interpretations of events that are already known or popularized. Thus a tribal history may suffer the handicap of appearing to be simply an alternative version of the American history story. Just as we have never had an individual in perfect isolation so we have never had tribes in perfect isolation. Every one of our tribes has had contact with its neighbors on its borders and their story, the complex story of how all of the tribes have related to one another, can possibly form the basis for new tribal histories.

A good example of this can be made if one considers a history of the Sioux from the viewpoint of the relationships between the Sioux and Chippewa or the Sioux and Crow, or even the Sioux and Pawnee, rather than simply the Sioux and the invading white men. The white man of course comes into the story and dominates much of the discussion of the wars and land cessions. But the fact that the tribes have had continuing relationships with one another on the regional basis is a story that will buttress efforts to develop valid tribal histories.

A history is merely a selected collection of facts without the human dimension to give it flesh. Thus to develop a tribal history

making any effort to understand the changing values and customs is to fall into the trap of western historians who fail to recognize the changing attitudes of groups as determinative of the meaning of many events. They pretend that cultural attitudes remain constant while change takes on a good or bad connotation as technology and natural disasters force adaptation. We must devote considerable thought to the examination of where our tribes have been, how they have changed their patterns of social adjustment to conditions, and determine whether the values of the past can be translated into new patterns of action or whether they can remain in the forms in which we have tried to preserve them.

We have already seen the major movements in American society in which the premises of western social reality have been shifting away from their moorings toward a more tribalized understanding of life as a community with an identity of its own. The translation of customs and values must be deliberate and specific. We must advocate strict establishment of some practices which we find are beneficial and have the discipline to carry them out in our own lives and community actions. In order to make this type of re-ordering possible we must come to an acknowledgement of what our communities actually are, not what we wish they were or what we would like people to think they should be.

We are presently in danger of finding ourselves in great embarrassment. We tell our audiences at Indian Awareness weeks that Indians do not worship money while our tribal councils are leasing their sacred mountains for royalties, while our tribal politicians are seeking better and higher paying jobs, and while some of our reservation leaders are taking advantage of their people with favorable leases of tribal lands, appointments to special jobs and committees, and other favors.

Our activists chastize the white man for his destruction of nature and admonish people to respect the Sacred Earth Mother while they are throwing their empty beer cans along the road and many of our communities look like junk yards with their old cars and destroyed buildings. While we are poor there is no excuse for us being either destructive or dirty about the way we live.

A large gap has grown up between the reality of Indian life and the favorable pictures which the popular books on the Plains Indians invoke. People visiting reservations are justifiably puzzled at the apparent lack of concern they see in Indian communities for community life. We must find a way to institute more community activities so that the people do not find themselves victims of continued spiritual poverty, individualized like many white communities, and helpless before the massive movements of the modern world.

The whole education process must be recognized as being fundamentally different when one passes from white society to Indian society. If it is not presently recognized as distinct then we must make it so. Education in white society appears to be a creator of communities. It is oriented toward the production of income-producing skills and the housing, business, entertainment, and recreation sections of white communities reflect this fact. At present one could draw a graph of the income levels of the various white communities according to the housing and shopping patterns and when these patterns are overlaid with the forces of law and order and the processes of government they are thought to be communities.

But in the tribal setting communities are the producers of education. At least they were in the past and we can make them so today. When communities produce education then the groupings of the community reflect the charisma, wisdom, or activities of the various parts of

the community and the respective activities can be viewed in relation to their importance to the community. In that way the sacredness of the community can be protected and developed eventually becoming the majority feature of the community.

The best way that we can initiate this change is to begin to work on the content of education and not on the techniques and procedures of education. We must initiate the study of tribal customs on a grand scale and they must be taught at school on an equal basis with any other academic subject. But they must not be confined to the school or classroom. They must be under constant discussion within the community itself and be subject to continual and disciplined use by the people. Perhaps the first feature of revival would be to begin comprehensive studies of the old clan and kinship patterns and establish social rules for the re-institution of some of the old patterns of kinship responsibility. There is no good reason why we cannot expect every Indian to accept the old social responsibilities for his extended family and why we cannot enforce social responsibilities for relatives on a deliberate and measurable scale of behavior.

Some customs, of course, cannot be immediately instituted. The old days of the past are gone and we must recognize that fact of our existence. That does not prevent us from establishing new customs. The give-aways can be re-designed to assist in placing a better financial floor under some of our poorer people and other Indian customs of redistributing wealth can be modernized so that real economic progress is made by the community as a whole. There is no reason why the more affluent members of an Indian community could not create all kinds of programs from their own resources for the benefit of the poor and older people. All we need do is accept the responsibility for beginning new customs and have the intention and discipline for carrying them out.

We once lived in a world in which even the far horizons were insufficient to capture our spirits. The reservation experience has served to limit our vision to the boundaries which the government has marked out for us. We should reject such arbitrary limits and begin to visualize the reservation not as the limit of our horizon but as the center of our own universe. We must extend the network of our relationships from the reservations outwards and not continue the narrow vision of the past when our concern is only with the events and problems of the immediate community. By lifting our vision the petty quarrels of our daily existence will be overcome by the view of our future and our communities will begin to emerge as sacred places of our community life, not as depositories of the dregs of Indian society.

Our final task must be to transform the focus of our communities from mere political subdivisions of reservation or state structures to centers of activity of an ongoing cultural life. The recent developments of the community colleges on reservations are a significant and giant step forward in this process and one could almost project a better future on the basis of having tried to develop these colleges. We must support and expand their activities as quickly as possible. They support the basic thesis of this paper, that communities produce educational experiences, educational training does not produce communities. It is this fact of human existence which, I believe, distinguishes Indian communities and people from the non-Indians.

We need not, in Indian education, concern ourselves with much of the subject matter that we have previously considered to be important. Instead we must have basic courses of reading, writing and arithmetic, which serve as tools for the real educational experience of learning the traditions, customs and beliefs of the tribal community. We have no use for the knowledge of the names of the Presidents of the United

States and the sequence in which they held office is pretty abstract to us. But we must substitute for them a listing of the great chiefs, headmen and leaders of our communities. We must know about their lives as accurately and intimately as we know about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. And we must understand that we stand in that tradition and have a responsibility to carry it forward. If we can change our concept of education to include the specifically Indian things of life we have only to watch and wait and soon we shall be seeing that we are far ahead of the rest of society which has yet to claim the reality of life as a people who understand who they are and what they are about.

**THEORETICAL CONSTRUCT OF THE IDEAL
SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR AMERICAN INDIANS...
KINDERGARTEN THROUGH LIFE**

**Patricia Locke
Boulder, Colorado
April, 1973**

The writer (or dreamer) realizes that these ideal schools may never come to be. The writer apologizes for having insufficient knowledge of the beauty and richness of all the tribes so that imagination and perception are limited. My education has been poor.

I hope that other Indian people will criticize these ideas, improve on them, and in the words of a Yaqui brujo, help us to "thrust ourselves into inconceivable new worlds".

Ta Wacin Wasté Win

Ideally, schools are shaped by community structures and community people. The school is a social instrument. In the United States, education has been the agent in the progression of technological achievement and has created demands which serve to keep the technology going.

School teaches and reinforces what is "good" in the American value system. It teaches us individualism, that is, that one must achieve for himself, realize his own potential and reach the pinnacle by Horatio Algier tactics. American history gives us many role models...military leaders, presidents and captains of industry. It teaches us mercantilism. The individual must want to buy and sell the things that society deems as good and necessary with little consideration for diminishing natural resources or concern for the have-nots.

School teaches acquisitiveness. We learn that we must work until retirement at 65 in order to amass things. When things wear out we must acquire replacements. These things should be as good as, or better than our neighbors' things. We are taught to admire those that have accumulated many things that have acceptable brand names. These desirable things and services have brand names like Rolls Royce, Bel Aire property, Dior, Kenneth, Pucci, La Costa, the Four Seasons, etc. The more they cost the better. The individuals that have completely internalized the value of acquisitiveness usually have vast holdings of fenced real estate protected from those who have not learned the lesson well.

By-products of this learned value system are the death communities for old people such as Sun City, the inner city ghettos and barrios, the Trans-Alaska pipeline, the orphanages, strip mining, the air pollution in Los Angeles that is the equivalent of smoking two packs of cigarettes a day and...the list is endless. Such is the stuff of the "American Dream".

The hierarchy of the American school system that propounds these values has been an effective propellant for the American citizen in his progression up the social and economic ladder.

American Indian efforts to ignore or modify the formalized education experience are nearly futile.

With the exception of Asian Americans, the American Indian tribal people are the only people that seem not to have wholly internalized the Judeo-Christian value system. This paper will propose some hypothetical educational models for American Indians that would utilize education as a social instrument to reinforce tribal specific value systems.

It must be emphatically stated that these models are not to be misconstrued as "education for the disadvantaged and culturally deprived". These terms that are in common usage among American educators expose racist value judgements and are insulting.

We are forced to adapt to the educational systems of the immigrant culture only because they are so numerous, insistent and all-pervading. It would be really ideal if we Indian people could live, learn and die in the contexts of our cultures as they evolve or would have evolved, but we cannot.

We have been forced to compromise educationally, to seem to adapt to include certain of the dominant society's mores in our educational patterns because the educational hierarchy is so sure of its infallibility. It imposes laws and customs to make us conform.

We suffer nursery schools, Head Start programs, kindergartens, secular and religious boarding schools, public day schools with formal hours and foreign curricula, teachers and holidays, non-Indian foster parent programs, vocational schools and other foreign post secondary systems and finally, the

absurdity of "Golden Years" programs where our elders learn to plan for their retirement and funerals, all in the name of education.

A chart of simple causes and effects of this educational system would illustrate the damage being done to tribal people:

Non-Indian Educational
and Institutional Systems

Outcomes:

Nursery schools

Deprivation of nurturing and family; interruption of the organic learning process.

Head Start

Increased deprivation of extended family influence; mother is freed to enter work force causing marital dysfunction.

Secular boarding schools

Total deprivation of family nurturing process; alienation from tribal language and culture.

Religious boarding schools

Total deprivation of family nurturing process; alienation from tribal language and culture; child indoctrinated with alien myths and legends; becomes increasingly mutant as concepts of sin, hell and paganism are reinforced.

Non-Indian foster parents
boarding program

Child loses family and tribal contacts, parents bereaved, child assumes non-Indian identity and is lost as a contributing tribal member.

Vocational schools

Student accepts Christian work ethic; learns individualism, mercantilism, acquisitiveness.

Post Secondary systems

Continued alienation from tribal environment; imposition of useless curricula that impedes students' contribution to tribal support systems; probable assimilation into dominant society if student survives foreign counseling services; gradual assumption of other minorities' rhetoric and life styles.

"Golden Years" Programs

Acceptance of concept of "the generation gap"; loss of elders as teachers; apathy, senility, death.

Education for American Indian tribal people must relate to the tribes' cosmologies. It must be integrated into the past and future of the particular tribe. A traditional Indian person does not think of a career for self-fulfillment if he is truly traditional...he thinks of personal attainment only to serve tribal goals. Career satisfaction is often only a byproduct of the degree of effectiveness reached in serving short and long range tribal goals.

The child normally begins learning at birth in an organic way. It is important to emphasize this intrinsic and non-formal learning procedure because it is a lifelong process. The individual's uncles, aunts, grandparents and the respected elders of the tribe are not only the nurturers with the parents, but the teachers. The function of tribal members as the teachers, administrators, counselors, policy-makers and curriculum developers of the young Indian should be an integral part of the entire process of education.

It is artificial and arbitrary to segment the learning process into grades, the calendar, and age levels. For the sake of reader familiarity with imposed forms and because of the enforced conformity previously mentioned, this hypothetical construct of Indian educational programs will incorporate some segmented scholastic structures. These semantics will serve to sugar-coat an alternative educational mode that would otherwise arouse fears and threaten prejudices.

Pre-school, Headstart, Kindergarten

Eliminate from the ideal American Indian educational system. The alternative is to allow the child to learn at home in his early years in a natural and organic way from his immediate and extended family. The baby and child will learn through nonverbal communication skills and in his own tribal language without the

conflicting dualism in values and concepts caused by the usual imposition of English or other foreign languages. For instance, the Colville Indian baby is trained to perceive with all of the senses while he is learning to speak, so that he will become sensitive to, and in symbiosis with, the world around him. His grandfather will say the word "wighst" and slap his hand on a solid surface. The child, who had been playing on the ground with his toys would immediately stop his activity and become a sensory being. He would try to feel through his body and his feet the vibrations of the stream flowing over rocks, the impact on the earth made by two-leggeds and four-leggeds as they moved, and the force of a tree in its impact with the earth. He will simultaneously listen for all of nature's sounds for an insect's wing sounds, the meadowlark's cry, leaves rustled by winds. He will smell and distinguish all of the subtle and pungent aromas of man, animals and earth. He will permeate with his eyes all movement, color, and texture, noting activity and non-activity in his periferal vision. The command "wighst" will be given several times a day.

His grandfather will take him into the forest after he learns to walk. There the child will learn to sharpen and broaden his sensory perceptions. He will observe the rhythms and cycles of nature. He will become prepared for all of his life to relate to and be in balance with the four-leggeds, the winged creatures, the finned ones and the rooted ones. So the grandfather conditions and "educates" his grandson. Every gesture and word teaches the child that he has a place in the universe.

We will concede that this natural learning process is not available to all Indian children. We have suffered a high degree of family disruption and disintegration. It is a reality that many parents are separated and must work

to support their children. They must leave their children in day care and Head Start programs. But we are postulating an ideal Indian educational program that would make a person whole, would make him mentally healthy and would prepare him to be a contributing member of the tribe. Under optimum conditions, a mother could stay with her children until they had reached puberty. Under optimum conditions, husbands and fathers would be able to provide for their families at home on the reservation instead of being coerced into bringing them into the inner city ghettos and barrios. We will admit that day care, nursery school and Head Start programs are necessary in the cities for the one-half of our Indian population that must live there. The economic reality is that our reservations could not now support an additional one-half million people. Off-reservation pre-school programs for Indian children must be administered by Indian people. Experiences should simulate the tribal extended family organic teaching modes. Surrogate aunts, uncles and grandparents should be brought into the learning environment to inculcate tribal specific knowledge. Wearing beaded moccasins does little to transmit Indian values. Indian languages should be taught and reinforced whenever possible. Language reinforces the traditional and evolving cultures of our people. The words and meanings of those words are the key to survival for Indian people because they reflect the philosophy and world view of the particular tribe. Language is our window to the world. Of course, the off-reservation child will be learning English simultaneously with his tribal tongue. The dualism of values can be expected to cause conflict, but this conflict can be eased with the presence of surrogate family members as teachers.

We must say a few words here about Special Education, pre-school and elementary programs for physically and mentally handicapped children and pro-

grams for orphaned and abandoned children.

St. Michael's on the Navajo reservation near Window Rock might serve as a model of Special Education for other tribes to adapt. The school's policy is determined by parents and grandparents. The facility is located on the reservation in proximity to the children's homes so that the children can go home to their families on weekends. The learning environment simulates hogan life. For instance, there is no indoor plumbing in the learning rooms...the child learns to carry water. The program is tied in with the Career Opportunities Program at the University of Arizona which provides Navajo student teachers who learn to teach at St. Michael's. There is a female and a male hogan outside the main building where the children learn Dine' arts. The atmosphere is warm and loving yet one observes high expectations and a resultant independence exhibited by the children. Another interesting feature of the program is the cooperation of the staff at the Gallup Indian Center who assist St. Michael's staff in transporting children to and from their family homes over the weekends.

The Hope Ranch on the Fort Peck reservation is a positive model for tribes that do not want children without families to suffer the trauma and indignity of being taken away to non-Indian orphanages and foster homes. This Assiniboin Sioux tribe has initiated a living environment that provides a child with the security of a family and a reinforcement of Assiniboin life ways. The Indian surrogate parents, brothers and sisters are supportive of one another in a natural home setting. The child participates normally in all social and tribal life.

Another model that we might borrow from is the Russian one where elders without families and orphans live together. Any Indian person who understands

the value of family interdependency and mutual regard will appreciate this model in contrast to the orphanages and old folks homes of the dominant society.

The Ideal Primary and Elementary School

The child will enter school at about seven years. The school will be located in the heart of the tribal community and will be designed by Indian architects. These Indian architects will consult with the respected persons of the tribe to incorporate particular cosmological concepts into the structure. These concepts, such as maleness and femaleness of structures, sacred colors, direction of entrances and spacial preferences must be an integral part of the learning environment. Much of the instruction will take place out of doors and in the community.

All educational policy will be determined not only by parents but by other respected persons of the tribe. Long discussions, preceding consensus of who will decide policy, will take place. Sometimes non-Indians, college educated Indians and even young people will be invited to consult.

All external monies coming to support special programs such as JOM, Title VII, etc., either from the federal government or from foundations shall be conducted through the Tribal Council and its Department of Education or Education Committee. Good models for this procedure now exist as in the Minnesota Chippewa Tribes' Education Committee and that Navajo Nation's Department of Education. Over the years, the federal government has made efforts to terminate us and to dismantle federal Indian programs. Now we are being forced to deal with regionalization and state governments. Our response must be to reinforce the sovereignty of the tribal governments. We cannot afford to undermine this sovereignty, if we are to revitalize and maintain our tribal

way of life. District splinter groups that disagree with over-all tribal educational policy need to have equitable representation on the Tribal Council Education Committee or Department of Education. Organizations external to the tribal government, both Indian and non-Indian, that seek to disrupt tribal cohesiveness will be required to have visas to cross reservation borders. The Red Lake Chippewa and the Colville have initiated such protective measures against an overabundance of tourists, academicians, and Vista, religious and social workers.

Administration and Teaching Faculty

School administrators, supportive staff, teachers and teacher's aides will be tribal members. When this is not possible, personnel may be recruited from other tribes if there should be an overabundance on those reservations. Non-Indian persons will sometimes be recruited, especially from the Asian community where religion and life styles are closer to American Indian mores. For instance, it would be preferable to have English taught by an Asian teacher since semantic understandings and interpretations would not be so diametrically opposed to Indian cosmologies.

Dillon Platero, head of the Navajo Nation's Department of Education and director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, emphasized the disparity between Indian and non-Indian educational systems when he speculated that of both Indian and non-Indian graduates of the country's Schools of Education that attempt to become involved in Rough Rock's teacher training program, only 30% are retrainable! He further states that a minimum of 2½ years is required in the retraining and learning process.

Another controversial statement was made at a recent national education

meeting to the effect that no graduates of the country's colleges and universities should be allowed to teach Indian children and that they should be utilized only as consultants. The obvious alternative would be to establish Indian Education Programs for Indian Teachers of Indian Children. This idea will be discussed later under the model for post secondary education.

A vital and necessary part of the faculty would be the respected persons of the tribe. They would receive remuneration commensurate with other teachers. The status of these older persons has traditionally been eminent. They are the repositories of oral literature and knowledge. They would serve a double function as guidance counselors and would provide natural motivation by transmitting essential human knowledge for the continuance of tribal support systems.

The school board may wish to hire non-Indian custodians and janitors.

Curricula

Kevin Locke, an Anishnabe and Dakota, recently published a cartoon in the student newspaper at Black Hills State College in South Dakota as follows:

Lakota Primer (our answer to Dick and Jane)

See Dick. See Spot.

See Spot run.

See Dick chase Spot.

See Dick catch Spot.

See Spot in the Pot.

Poor Spot!

Harvey Wells, an Omaha, originated the idea in a discussion of Indian curriculum while attending UCLA's Indian Studies program.

There are too few curricula design projects underway in Indian country. Most of our children are being forced to learn from textbooks that reinforce non-Indian concepts and values. Under the auspices of the American Historical

Society, several Indian people reviewed California's required textbooks and found none suitable for Indian children. Indian educators and persons of knowledge need to annotate school texts and anthropologists' monographs so that our children are not mis-educated.

187 languages must be made to live through books, films and other media for the benefit of future generations of Indian children. A well designed and comprehensive effort could produce curriculum materials in forty languages in five years. The minds, capabilities and combined energies of college students and respected elders could develop a wealth of curriculum materials.

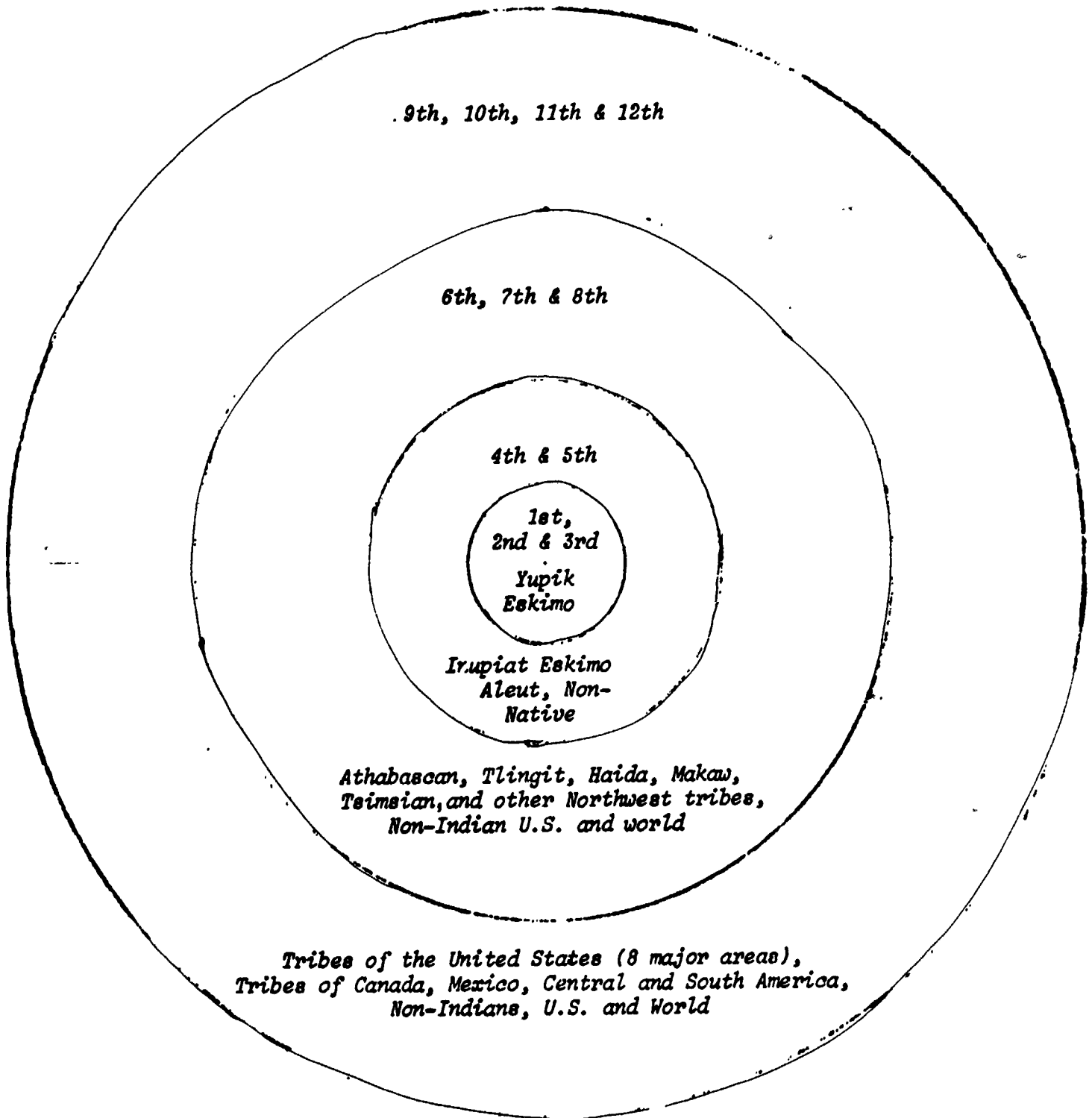
In recent years, a curriculum development project contracted by the BIA produced some interesting but uneven tribal specific materials for kindergarten through the 12th grade. These materials were developed at the direction of tribal education committees. The Cheyenne River Sioux wanted a modular unit in high school economics; the Standing Rock Sioux requested a modular unit in Communication Skills; the Eskimos in Nome, the Hopi, the Navajo, all had differing requests that would serve particular tribal needs. Indian people were hired to elicit information, tape recordings, train teachers and write curricula. Some of the aspects of the materials were transferable to other tribes.

Course content in the ideal Indian primary and elementary school will include tribal history, the arts, social studies, philosophy and religion of the tribe. Children will attend all tribal ceremonies and will be taught the songs, dances and ritual that are intrinsic to them. Elders will teach the classic unadulterated language so that sex education, ecology and geography need not be learned as separate subjects.

All content will be related to the tribal specific cultural base during the first three years of school. The curricula offered to 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th graders will be expanded to include other tribes and the other racial entities and

governmental units that the student must later cope with.

An example of the ever-widening sphere of knowledge can be illustrated as follows:



Thus the Indian student will learn multiculture curricula from the fourth grade on. An eighth grade Yupik Eskimo student's course of study might be as follows:

- Yupik Eskimo Religion and Philosophy
- Inupiat Village Government
- History of Protestantism
- History of Roman Catholicism
- History of Russian Orthodoxy
- Social Dynamics of Prosetylization
- Conversational Tlingit
- Conversational Athabascan
- Conversational English and Grammar
- Comparative United States History
- American Indian Art
- Mathematics

This course of study may appear to be difficult for a fourteen-year-old. The skilled teachers will present the materials in an informal atmosphere and at an appropriate level. Prior to teaching the essentials of the material, village elders and councilmen will discuss the rationale for survival that requires such study. At the beginning of the school year, a representative from the Alaska Federation of Natives and a representative from the Regional Corporation will address the whole student body on the implications of Native relations with the oil companies, the state of Alaska, and the United States government. This should provide sufficient motivation for a commitment to learning.

To transpose this process to the Piate, elementary school students would be addressed by a representative from the Walker River Piate, preferably the chairman, and a presentative from the Nevada Inter-Tribal Council. These representatives would explain current relations with the state of Nevada, the Army Corps of Engineers, the strip-mining companies and neighboring states

that wish to abrogate Piate water rights.

All lessons in the first three grades will be taught in the tribal specific language. Foreign languages will not be formally utilized until the fourth grade. Non-Indian teachers will be hired to teach English grammar and spelling and such relatively culture-free courses as mathematics.

It is important that the child learns dual and multicultures from the fourth grade on. He must learn well the behavior of people from other cultures if he is to help his people survive. He will learn the values and behavior expectations of other cultures as skills, not as values. He may be chosen early by his tribe to pursue a non-Indian college education or a technological education in order to help the tribe survive. If he is to become an attorney or a physician, he will have to learn the necessary academic skills. But great care should be taken so that the student does not walk a path that will cause him to fall over the brink into complete acculturation and assimilation.

Secondary School

High schools will be located on the reservations. Policy will be mandated by the Tribe's Education committee, by elected representatives from the districts or chapters, or by the tribe's Department of Education. All school personnel should be Indian except for individuals that teach foreign languages and white studies.

It is important that decisions be made about the individual students' direction of study for ensuing years. The Tribal Council will have determined short and long range goals with help from consultants of the American Indian Research Institute and will have made a human resource inventory. The tribe

will know which areas of skill they are deficient in and can pinpoint these needs to the secondary student so that he may prepare himself in these directions.

Two examples will illustrate this Indian idea of preparing oneself as a tribal member to achieve for the people, in contrast to the prevailing Caucasian concept of individual competition for pecuniary objectives and personal success.

In 1971, the second American Indian Ecumenical Conference was held in Morley, Alberta. Medicine men, singers, healers and respected elders from Canada, the United States and Mexico met to pray for us and to discuss issues that affect our survival as a people. When the subject of education was brought up, several of the wise ones made these statements: "We are going to have to plan to send some of our kids into the White World to get the White man's education so that our children can learn certain things that will help us later on. We should not send all of our children into that World because it will harm them. The people in that World hurt each other, they hurt themselves with alcohol and drugs. If we send all of our children to the White World they might learn these bad things and learn how to be selfish and greedy. Only certain tough and strong ones should go out there. We should plan ahead how to support these kids. When they come home we will give them special honor and feasts. We will give them names. Everyone has to be friendly to these kids even if they talk different when they come back home."

In 1972, the United Sioux Tribes made the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Tribal organizations are becoming increasingly involved in activities requiring specialized managerial skills; and
WHEREAS, Indian college students are often uncertain as to which major to pursue in order to be of future maximum service to their tribes;

THEREFORE, be it resolved that we, the elected Chairmen of the United Sioux Tribes recommend that increased numbers of Indian students enter the fields of Public Administration, Business Administration, Medicine, Law, and Economics so as to be better prepared to return to the service of the home tribes.

...Cheyenne River Sioux
Crow Creek Sioux
Flandreau Sioux
Lower Brule Sioux
Pine Ridge Sioux
Rosebud Sioux
Sisseton Sioux
Standing Rock Sioux
Yankton Sioux

Methodology

The school board will determine the school year calendar in keeping with tribal specific customs. Non-Indian holidays will not be observed.

Classes will be open. Students will not be grouped by age levels, but by student aptitude and interest. Teacher discussions with parents and the student will take the place of a formal grading system. School attendance will not be mandatory. Beginning at eleven or twelve years, the student will participate in the tribe's "school on wheels". Groups of ten to twelve students will travel to nearby reservations and to selected distant reservations and off-reservation Indian communities for "field work" in learning about other tribal people and for the purpose of exchanging cultural programs with their peers. College students that are members of the tribes to be visited will "conduct" these traveling classes. Not only will the student learn about and come to appreciate the richness and diversity of the tribes, but this understanding will help him to overcome some of the latent tribal antagonisms

that still persist. The groundwork will have been laid for improved trans-tribal communications and unity. Arrangements will be made so that the college student receives a stipend and course credit for the teaching experience.

Dual record systems will have to be maintained at the Tribal Council's Computer Center or one of the Regional Computer Centers so that the Indian student will not be penalized if he must leave the reservation and transfer to a non-Indian school. A report card with grades in such acceptable courses as American history, English, geography, spelling, social studies, home economics, reading and arithmetic will be maintained and made available for the transferring student.

Sample secondary curricula might be:

Indian Studies

Tribal Government Systems
IRA Tribes
Terminated Tribes
Non-Federally Recognized Tribes
Tribes of Mexico
Tribes of Central America
Tribes of South America
Tribes of Canada
Modern Indian Religions
Ancient Indian Religions
American Indian History
American Indian Pre-Law
American Indian Medicine
Minority and Ethnic-Minority Relations
Land Reform
Comparative Minority Rhetoric
Introduction to American Indian Business Administration

White Studies

State Governments
The U.S. Constitution
The Congress
Federal Agencies, Bureaus, and Departments, ie:
Dept. of the Interior (Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Indian Affairs)
Department of Labor
Army Corps of Engineers
Department of Commerce
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Comparative Religions
Christianity, Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism
English Literature
Spanish Conversation
Caucasian Sociology
Black Sociology
Caucasian Law and Order Systems
European History

Indian Studies (cont.)

American Indian Arts
American Indian Law and Order
Ecology
American Indian Literature and Poetry
Indian Communications Systems
Grantmanship
Regional Languages and Dialects

White Studies (cont.)

History of the Mexican Conquest
History of the U.S. Conquest
History of the Canadian Conquest
Caucasian Psychology
Caucasian Concepts of Real Estate
European Philosophy
Caucasian Art History
Caucasian Diseases
Caucasian Communications Systems
Computer Science
Mathematics
Economics
Caucasian Nutrition

The "traveling school" mechanism will also be integral to the secondary school system. Secondary school age youth will not be required to attend all White Studies courses unless it has been mutually determined that the individual will relate to external governments in later life for the benefit of the tribe.

Some American Indian Post Secondary Educational Models

Since American Indians perceive education as a continuing experience, post secondary, adult and continuing education is viewed as an interrelated process.

Under optimum conditions, elders and community leaders would help college students from their tribes to prepare for ultimate community service by defining tribal needs. College students would tutor and provide role models for secondary students. College and secondary students would provide tutorials and would assume teachers' aides roles in primary schools. Parents, family and other adults would be involved in support roles at the pre-school and

Head Start Programs and would be supportive in community college programs. As involvement increases, commitment increases.

Perhaps the most immediate, pressing problem in the area of Indian education today is how to correct and reverse the discouraging history of failure in Indian post secondary education. The attrition rate for Indian students during their first year of college stands at an astonishing 74%. This figure points to a complete lack of success on the part of the nation's colleges in their educational programs for American Indians. Perhaps these Indian student push-outs are the symbolic miner's canary of the nation's educational system. The lack of financial support, the inadequate counseling and guidance programs, and the irrelevant curricula is due in part to a long-standing policy of coercive acculturation. The goals of American higher education to a very large degree are out of tune and in conflict with the Indian's psychological and philosophical frame of reference.

There are nearly 260 Indian Studies programs in the country's colleges and universities. As few as ten students attend some programs. Our Indian teachers and counselors are scattered throughout these programs with too little contact and sharing of curricula and programs, except when they all meet at the yearly National Indian Education Conference.

There are now 14,000 plus Indian students receiving scholarship assistance from the BIA. The number of students now receiving assistance is almost 20 times the number receiving assistance ten years ago and about 5 times the number assisted four years ago. More than 100 students receiving assistance are in law school and approximately 100 more are in other post graduate programs. The total monies provided through the BIA for higher education is \$20,956,000 for the fiscal year 1973.

In October of 1972, the Planning Resources in Minority Education Program of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education in cooperation with the Education for American Indians Office of the U.S. Office of Education, convened the directors and Presidents of the Boards of Regents of Indian Community Colleges in order to form a consortium.

Two months later at the Phoenix Arizona office of the Navajo Community College, mutual agreements were made to form the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. Member institutions are: Turtle Mountain Community College on the Turtle Mountain reservation in North Dakota; Standing Rock Community College on the Standing Rock reservation that borders North and South Dakota; Lakota Higher Education Center on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota; Sinte Gleska College on the Rosebud reservation in South Dakota; Haskell Indian Junior College near Lawrence, Kansas; The Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico; The Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute in Albuquerque, New Mexico; The Navajo Community College on the Navajo reservation in Arizona that also borders three other states; and the Hehaka Sapa College at D.Q. University near Davis, California. Kuskokwim Community College at Bethel, Alaska is considering membership. This momentum may soon include the Bannock and Shoshone of the Fort Hall reservation in Idaho, the Arapaho and Shoshone of the Wind River reservation in Wyoming, the Sisseton-Wahpeton in South Dakota, the Northern Cheyenne in Montana, the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs reservation in Oregon, Flaming Rainbow, a center for the University Without Walls in Tahlequah, Oklahoma and the Omaha, Winnebago and Santee Sioux Tribes of Nebraska and the Mississippi Choctaw.

Most of the Consortium schools are governed by American Indian Boards of Regents. Administrators, faculty and students are predominantly American In-

dian. Their purposes are to serve tribal needs and to reinforce tribal value systems. They lack independence to the extent that regional accreditation systems enforce non-Indian prerequisites upon them. They must affiliate with and be accredited by non-Indian educational institutions.

The Consortium goals are: (1) an American Indian higher education accreditation agency, (2) a financial and institutional resources office, (3) a human resources development program, (4) an American Indian education data bank, and (5) an American Indian curriculum development program.

At the present time there is no agency or other group whose purpose it is to accredit and set guidelines for the accreditation of American Indian post secondary education institutions and public or private institutions having Indian Studies programs. Instead, recognized accreditation associations are oriented solely toward the dominant society's educational directions. Indian educators unanimously agree that it is not only unfair, but impossible of implementation, to expect a non-Indian accreditation agency to judge Indian education programs fairly and unbiasedly. Such agencies are incapable of understanding the goals and desires of Indian education and, as a result, Indian education programs are adjudged not to be adequate on a non-Indian scale.

The Consortium members believe that it is crucial that an American Indian higher education accrediting agency be established at the soonest practical time to work with non-Indian accrediting agencies and other interested parties to develop guidelines and criteria for the accreditation of institutions such as the members of the Consortium and public or private institutions having Indian studies programs.

The American Indian Nation's University

This University will be adjacent to a sacred place such as the Black Hills. The buildings will be designed by American Indian architects in consultation with the tribes. The Board of Regents will be composed of the most respected Indians of the Nations. The faculty will be composed of Indian educators that have proved their commitment. Leading Indian educators from Canada, Mexico and South America will be "in residence". Eminent persons or those Indian people with specialized skills, but without "academic" credentials, will be asked to teach seminars and will receive remuneration comparable to other faculty.

Tribal councils will each select two students that will attend the University. There are 478 federally recognized tribes, 17 state recognized tribes and 52 tribal entities not recognized by state or federal governments. Theoretically, 1094 students would be eligible to attend this university. The Board of Regents would set up guidelines for entrance that would be equitable to both small and large tribes.

The federal government, in its trust responsibility to the tribes, should provide and fully support at least six national Indian universities in Alaska, the West Coast, the Southwest, the Plains, in Oklahoma and on the East Coast.

This prototype near the Black Hills should be only the first of the six upper division and graduate education universities that would serve the burgeoning community colleges on the reservations and the 547 Indian tribes.

The strategy of the American Indian Nation's University will be directed toward developing students that can move into leadership roles to bring about social changes in the dominant society. The guests on this continent seem not to realize that their values and technology are leading us all to unbearable

pollution, depletion of natural resources, overcrowding on our island and extinction. Our American guests need to be helped out of their cultural disadvantage and their social and educational deprivation. They are capable of learning new ways to overcome their human alienation and lack of social experience. Their behavior can be modified!

The American Indian Nation's University would be comprised of the junior and senior year in addition to the graduate schools, institutes, centers and museums. The University will offer public lectures, theatre, films and art exhibits.

Centers:

The Water Resources Center. This center will coordinate water resources research. Through funds from the Office of Water Resources Research, U.S. Department of the Interior, projects will provide research assistantships for the training of graduate students.

Center for Latin American Studies will serve individual and cooperative research of faculty and graduate students in the social sciences, education, humanities, art, law and health sciences. The center will facilitate the exchange of personnel between the university and Latin America.

Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology will stimulate interest in such projects as the compilation of a dictionary of White American popular beliefs, legends and superstitions.

Center for American Minority Studies will research and interpret the Chicano, Asian American, Puerto Rican American and Afro-American experiences and their relation to and effect on the tribes.

Institutes

The American Indian Tribes Research Institute will relate to the following issues in American Indian survival: Federal and state legislation endangering tribal sovereignty; federal legislation endangering tribal resources including land and water rights; state, federal and foundation monies being misspent on non-Indian programs and research directed at Indians; Indian alternatives to non-Indian foster homes; American Indian bio-medical research; and treaty responsibilities of the United States government. The University recognizes the value of an interdisciplinary approach to the search for knowledge and will maintain organized research units outside the usual departmental structure. Such groups as Tribal Chairmen, Medicine Men, educators, linguists and ecologists will meet across disciplines to devise survival strategies. Computerized data will be available for scheduled and emergency seminars.

The Institute of Evolutionary and Environmental Biology will be devoted to the encouragement and support of research in those aspects of the biology of both living and fossil organisms which relate to their properties at organizational levels ranging from organ systems to ecosystems. A significant concern will be directed toward current problems in world environment.

The Western Management Science Institute will foster research and advanced education in the management sciences and operations research. It will conduct mathematical and computer-oriented studies including the construction of optimization models for production and inventory systems, conservation of natural resources, finance and marketing policies, immigration policies and resource allocation in organizations.

The Institute of Library Research will foster organized research for the satisfactory solution of library and information systems problems. It will integrate new methods with the University's Law and General Libraries.

Museums and Special Collections

The American Indian Nation's University Art Gallery

The Museum of Cultural History--American Indian

The Museum of Cultural History--Immigrant America

Graduate Schools

American Indian Law School

Graduate School of American Indian Education

School of Indigenous Medicine

School of Social Welfare

Graduate School of Management

Public Administration

Business Administration

School of Architecture

The undergraduate courses will be determined by the Board of Regents after deliberations with the tribes. It can be assumed that curricula will evolve in complexity from the courses described for the secondary schools. The tribal people that will set priorities for the American Indian Tribes Research Institute will assist in the development of undergraduate curricula. They may also help to set curricular directions for the primary and secondary schools.

The following is a list of recommendations that would affect immediate Indian post secondary educational needs. We must plan for the realistic future as well as for ideal projections.

General Recommendations

(1) There should be at least one national Indian University with appropriate graduate schools in conjunction with the Research Institute and Centers.

(2) Teacher training should take place at nine to-be-selected regional non-Indian universities and at Indian community colleges as determined by the diverse tribal needs.

(3) Vocational and educational needs should be met at the Indian reservation community colleges and the nine selected regional non-Indian universities:

(4) Financial aids needs of Indian students should be met by education appropriations from the Congress through the BIA, based on demographic projections. It must be established by the Indian Attorneys Association, who are Indian law and treaty specialists, that education is a basic right of Indians and not a privilege as it is now interpreted.

Indian Studies in Non-Indian Colleges and Universities

(1) The National Indian Advisory Board, in consultation with the National Tribal Chairmen's Association and the National Indian Education Association, must determine where federal dollars should go. These monies (for instance, Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education, Title III, Title IV-D, NIE, EPDA, N^oES, etc.) should be placed based on the following criteria:

(A) Institutional committment and capabilities;

- (B) Indian tribal involvement and support;
- (C) Curricula geared to tribal needs;
- (D) Indian faculty and guidance counselors;
- (E) Financial support (tuition waivers and scholarships); and
- (F) High Indian population impact.

Possibly nine areas should be selected as follows: (1) Great Lakes, (2) Central Plains, (3) Northeast, (4) Southeast, (5) Southern, (6) Southwest, (7) Rocky Mountain, (8) West Coast, and (9) Alaska.

(2) Proliferation of Indian programs should be controlled and/or curtailed. Proliferation results in the ineffective dispersal of the few Indian administrators, faculty and guidance counselors now available. Continued proliferation should begin at a now undetermined date when reservations' post-secondary needs have been met by graduating Indian personnel that would be serving either at the nine selected non-Indian colleges and universities or at the various reservation post secondary education centers.

Community Colleges on the Reservation

(1) Congress must appropriate equitable and comprehensive annual funding for all post secondary learning centers on the reservation for basic support, including operating costs, administration, faculty and building costs as determined by the specific tribes.

(2) Initial congressional appropriations must support existing post secondary education, learning centers, or community colleges such as: Kuskokwim Community College, Lakota Higher Education Center, Sinte Gleska, Turtle Mountain Community College, Standing Rock Community College and Navajo Community College.

(3) Succeeding appropriations would support other developing community

colleges on reservations that are projected at the rate of five per annum. Reservations now in developmental stages are: Bannock-Shoshone at Ft. Hall, Idaho; Arapaho-Shoshone at Twin River, Wyoming; Northern Cheyenne at Lane Deer, Montana; the Confederated Tribes at Warm Springs, Oregon; the Mississippi Choctaw; and the Winnebago, Santee and Omaha in Nebraska.

Rationale: Individual tribes have different post secondary educational goals. The alternative educational modes are required in order to increase enrollment, retention and attainments that will meet tribal short and long range goals. Congress has recognized the educational need to put community colleges on the reservations and has established precedent by appropriating five million dollars for the establishment of Navajo Community College.

The writer hopes that certain Indians will react to these dreams. Certain Indians are all those that have not surrendered to the non-Indian American Dream. I hope you certain Indians will make these dreams change for the better and build on them so that our people may live.

PAPER PRESENTED TO THE NATIONAL TEACHER CORPS CONFERENCE
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"DEVELOPING A NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM"

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Contrary to popular belief, education--the transmission and acquisition of knowledge and skills--did not come to the North American continent on the Nina, the Pinta and the Santa Maria, and neither did it come on the Mayflower. Education is as native to this continent as the native peoples. We, as the native peoples of this continent had our own means of educating our youth. We had the rich oral tradition, which was, and is yet today, a means of education for the Native American. Transmitted to us by the elders of the tribe, via the oral tradition, we, as Cheyenne, know that our world was created by Maheo, the Cheyenne All Spirit. We know that He made the water, the light, the sky air and the water peoples; we know that with the assistance of a water person, the coot, he made earth and from a rib bone taken from his right side and laid on the bosom of Mother Earth, Maheo made man. We have our Genesis; the non-Indian, too, has his Genesis. The only

difference, however, is that ours is not recorded in the Bible. We have our unique religious beliefs; we have our unique philosophical concepts; we account for the constellations in the universe; we have our own accounts of history. We, as the Native Americans have a culture--language, values and beliefs, foods, costuming, and social patterns--and we have a means of transmitting that culture from one generation to the next. We did not attain adulthood ignorant of the ways of life.

Today, a day in the twentieth century, education in the formal and academic context is different from the 20,000 to 40,000 year Native American educational experience prior to Anglo-European contact. Finally, after four hundred or so years of attempting to transform the red man into a white man, our unique ways of life and our cultural contributions to our native country are being recognized and Native American Studies is becoming a popular trend on many university and college campuses in this United States. It is the development of this particular area of study, NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES, to which I shall address myself in this paper.

Native American Studies and its development has come at an opportune time in the history of the Native American. Its appearance in the academic arena comes at a time when the survival mechanism of the Native American is self-determination. It has come at a time of Native American self-awareness. Native American Studies is self-awareness and an exercise in self-determination. Yet, this self-awareness and self-determination provides us a Native American educators with a challenge in that certain areas of concern have been built into the education of Native Americans and have been allowed to perpetuate themselves virtually unchecked.

An area of concern for Native American educators, to cite one example, are high attrition rates. Enrollment figures of Native American students entering American universities/colleges are much higher than the graduation figures for that same group. It remains that there is a high dropout or withdrawal rate of Native American students at the university/college level. There are many obvious reasons for withdrawal from college; however, the primary reason appears to be financial rather than academic or personal. From the prospects of limited financial assistance to be provided by the federal government in the near future, the figures stand to increase. In addition to the primary reason, there are secondary reasons for withdrawal from college. It is recognized that some students withdraw for academic, personal, or medical reasons. However, many potential Native American college graduates generally return home because of the lack of emotional, psychological, and intellectual preparation for university life.

In efforts to assist the newly arrived Native American students on campus adjust to university/college life, Native American Studies is given a mandate to design special programs to assist its students in making the necessary transition. Such specially designed programs could be--

- A. Native American Student Orientation Programs
- B. Mini-Workshops on
 - 1. Note-taking
 - 2. Use of the Library, and
 - 3. Research Paper Writing Techniques
- C. Counseling Services
 - 1. Academic
 - 2. Financial
 - 3. Personal
- D. Tutorial Programs, and

E. Social "Get Acquainted" Activities

1. Native American Studies Faculty and Staff
2. Native American Student Body/Club, and
3. University Faculty

In providing these services, Native American Studies is assisting its students in making a transition to university life, thereby increasing the possibility of retaining more of the students that do make it to the campus. If for no other reason, Native American students are provided with an academic setting consistent with their backgrounds in having Native American Studies on the university/college campus.

Another mandate of Native American Studies is the necessity of having a majority of faculty and staff of the same ethnic origin as the students. This offsets the traumatic shock of Indian students' suddenly encountering and having to associate with large numbers of non-Indian students and faculty.

Once a program begins to combat the matter of attrition rates and the retention and graduation figures increase, then comes a secondary problem, however, less serious than the previous. This is the fact that too few Native American college graduates return to their home environment or reservation, or even find their way into Indian oriented organizations wherever they may be located. The reason for this is a subtle and oftentimes covert feeling of alienation on the part of the less educated Native American to one, who in his estimation has acquired along with his education a non-Indian orientation. Conversely, the educated Native American often exhibits feelings of alienation because of a lack of contact with an Indian environment while in college. In this regard, one must acknowledge the fact that it has been the objective of the university/

college to prepare its student with the necessary knowledge and skills for employment in a non-Indian world. Unfortunately this practice has directed our students away from their origins as Native Americans.

The upbringing of the Native American student, particularly if that student comes from a traditional family or from a reservation setting or a heavily populated Indian community, is one in which respect for the elder is a part of that upbringing. Traditionally, the leaders of the tribe are the elder members. Not only are the elder, irrespective of their educational background, viewed as being more qualified to assume leadership roles, for example on the tribal council, likewise they oftentimes occupy positions within the tribal office or in the limited job opportunities available on the reservation. Perhaps admitting to human frailty, one does have to acknowledge that the educated Native American is sometimes, but not always, viewed as a threat to the leadership role of the elder and established leader.

This is a two pronged dilemma, for many times the educated Native American may misconstrue respect for alienation from his tribal members. This may well be true in the majority of instances as it appears to be the prevalent attitude of the elders to encourage education among the younger; too, there is growing pride among the Indian tribes in that we are beginning to graduate more Native Americans from college. Educationally, although sometimes lacking in experience, the younger educated Native American is equipped to assume leadership roles within the community. He has been certified in a profession with the necessary knowledge and skills of a

professional. Too, with the advent of Native American Studies on many university/college campuses throughout the nation, he generally has a background in Native American culture, history, and contemporary affairs. He has much to offer the Indian community; however, it is important that we not discount the fact that he, too, can learn much from his Indian community members about Native American life that has not been, as yet, incorporated into the textbooks of this nation.

The career of a Native American working with other Native Americans is sometimes difficult until he has proven himself, but it appears to be difficult only to that point. Although not true of all but typical of many, it is sometimes just as much of a shock for the educated Native American to return to the Indian community or organizations after four years of association with predominantly non-Indians on a college campus. Upon returning to his peoples, the educated Native American is expected to function as a role model to the younger generation. This is very necessary and it has a positive influence. Conversely, however, he is oftentimes expected to be superhuman rather than human and just another Native American, and this places additional pressures upon him in readjusting to Indian community life.

To additionally complicate the matter of returning to our own peoples, employment opportunities more readily available in the urban area oftentimes are filled based upon the educational skills and qualifications of the individual. Consequently, it is more natural for the educated Native American to find employment in an urban situation. Unfortunately, there are not enough Indian oriented programs to provide employment to every educated Native American, and there are too few employment opportunities on the

reservation to attract our students. Thus, the educated Native American in many instances is lost to us by going to work in private, state or federal agencies, industries or organizations. Too, with new federal legislation and the establishment and implementation of Affirmative Action Plans, qualified Native Americans, as well as other minority peoples, are actively recruited and culled off to work in such institutions.

Once aware of this situation, we as Native Americans can work toward the dissolution of possible alienation between the students we are educating and the Indian community or reservation. We must develop the means of maintaining constant student contact between the academic community and the Native American community. We will counter it in time; it is one of the challenges to Native American Studies. Bear in mind, however, that heretofore this situation has not been of our making.

Attitudes of this type have been perpetuated by the dominant educational system. Too often in the past, the educated Native American has been subjected solely to a middle-class, white-oriented education. He has had predominantly non-Indian teachers, unless he is among the fortunate one percent of our Native American population that has had an Indian teacher. Also, until recently, that college graduate has had no coursework in Native American Studies. Furthermore, the theory that the student learned in classwork was not equated with practice and it was inapplicable in the Indian community. In short, without Native American Studies, the general college curriculum failed and still fails to provide the Native American student with the necessary knowledge and skills to work with his peoples in the Indian community situation.

Thus, it must be agreed that only through Native American self-determination is this academic picture going to be positively changed. In Native American Studies lies the mechanism for effecting change in the Native American experience of the future. The question then confronting us is: "How can we effect change and what can we as Native Americans and educators do?" The answer is simple. It lies in the development and implementation of academically excellent and meaningful Native American Studies Programs. It lies in the concept of Native American self-determination. It lies in the self-awareness of us as Native Americans.

Native American Studies is a relatively new concept of formal education, which makes it important that those of us involved in these areas of studies, proceed with the utmost discretion. The courses themselves must be carefully decided then designed to be academically excellent insofar as course content, reading materials, and guest lecturers are concerned. By academically excellent, I do not mean to imply that one utilize only persons having the necessary academic credentials to lecture to a university/college class. What I mean to convey is that there be a selection of the most knowledgeable of Indian community members to balance the content of the course with their experiences, knowledge, unique perspectives and insights.

To illustrate my point, in one of my classes we philosophized over the matter of retaining the old ways and the almost certain impossibility of returning to the old way of life in the midst of a concrete and human jungle. A few days later, John Woodenlegs, a Northern Cheyenne elder, came to lecture to the class and he was asked this same question that we had debated for hours. Within seconds, he told us how we could retain the old ways in what might be termed

the "Indian Ten Commandments." He cataloged a way of life for us ranging from being close to the Great Spirit, to respecting others, and finally to being independent. This is how he felt that we as Native Americans could retain the old ways.

It is this type of resource person that abounds in the Native American community. It is this type of person that we in Native American Studies must make a habit of utilizing.

Admittedly, there is some reluctance on the part of some conservative and financially strapped university administrators to provide funds for employing this calibre person. Accompanying this is the same reluctance to make the necessary commitment to develop more than token programs in the study of the Native American. Unfortunately, some programs remain little more than token programs. On the other hand, there are those universities/colleges that have made a serious commitment to the development of Native American Studies Programs. Indeed, if one is in such an atmosphere, he should consider himself fortunate. Generally speaking, expansion of programs has been extremely slow; however, this slowness provides us with ample time for deliberation of direction and it should be considered advantageous so long as there is an apparently steady growth. The one thought that we should all bear in mind is that the matter of developing Native American Studies Programs need not be an overnight phenomenon. One must first break down the barriers to change. Once that is accomplished, we as Native Americans can again prove our seriousness of commitment, which as we all know is a facet of the Native American experience. Finally, one can proceed in the further development of a program.

One individual alone cannot concoct a panacea for ills in the academic arena; he can only prescribe possible remedies for avoiding ills in the development of Native American Studies. To begin, the formulation of objectives for any program is a serious consideration. The objectives of any program must of necessity be determined by the particular needs of a specific group of Indian students and by the needs of the Indian community. Accompanying this, of course, is the recognition that these needs vary from region to region; consequently, the objectives will vary from program to program.

The first consideration of Native American Studies is for the student; thus there should be objectives for meeting the needs of the Native American student. Too often, a Native American student reaches a university/college campus knowing absolutely no one. He is immediately thrust into a non-Indian atmosphere of unknowns. He is expected to register in courses--work out a class schedule--but too many times he does not know what to do, where to go, or who to see. This necessitates special orientation programs being sponsored by Native American Studies, or if available in conjunction with special counseling units. It is important that the new student becomes aware of and acquainted with other Native American students on campus. As Native Americans and as educators it is our responsibility to let the new student know that he is not alone and that there are some persons that do care. In short, it must be an objective of Native American Studies to provide strong Indian identity reinforcement at the university/college level.

Perhaps by working with the admissions office, financial aids offices, and counseling units one can secure information as to which Native American students have been accepted into college. Native

American Studies should then send out congratulatory letters to the student on acceptance into the university/college. These should be sent prior to the student's arrival on campus. At the same time, possibly accompanying the congratulatory letter, should be an information sheet informing the potential student as to what services, facilities, and courses are available to him, as well as the names of individuals who are available to assist the student in enrolling and answer any possible questions.

In addition, the Native American student needs to be aware of the kinds of activities--social and academic--available to him in the Indian Club if there is one on the university/college campus. In this regard, members of the Indian Club need to give some type of special attention to incoming freshman and new students. One of the activities of the Kyi-yo Indian Club officers at the University of Montana, which might be the practice of other Indian Clubs throughout the nation is that of making personal visits to all Indian students on campus. During these visits the officers welcome back old students, get acquainted with the new student, and also, apprise him of meeting times, club activities, and the like. Too, they inform the new student of the special lounge facilities in the Indian Studies Building, which is complete with study area, coffee pot, pop vending machine, and Native American togetherness. In short, the Indian Club makes the student aware that there is someplace available where he might expect to meet other Indian students, and he is made to feel welcome to the campus.

Not only is it important to the Native American to be aware of other Native Americans on campus, Indian Club activities, and special facilities/services, he needs to know of the opportunities

available to him in the study of his own culture. Again, if possible, the student should be made aware of the academic course offerings in Native American Studies prior to his arrival on campus. Thus, he can arrange his class schedule to take advantage of such courses.

Native American Studies courses should themselves have well defined and stated objectives, and included among them should be the matter of promoting positive Native American self-concepts. It is incumbent upon the instructors of Native American Studies courses to present material--whether it be history, a cultural survey course, a contemporaneous course or whatever--in a way to develop positive self-concepts of the Native American student. For once, we as educators have the opportunity as well as the responsibility to promote the development of positive self-concepts among our Native American students. Unfortunately, we know the situation, and in Native American Studies we are afforded the opportunity to completely depart from the negative self-image syndrome and from the attitude of failure and inferiority.

Another objective to strive for, if one does touch upon negativism in courses is to present the total picture. Let us take for example mental health problems such as suicide, drug abuse or alcoholism. It is mandatory then that the instructor look at the reasons behind high mental health statistics. However, he must not stop there, but he must, also, offer or solicit solutions to such situations. This problem-solving approach is a requisite in Native American Studies courses. We must never lose sight of the fact that our youth have vision--it has not been lost to them--encourage the use of vision and tincture it with practicality and application. Encourage and stimulate the intellectual activity of the Native

American student; you will never cease to be gratified that your old age is going to be in excellent hands and that you are molding the Native American warrior of tomorrow.

It is the responsibility of Native American Studies to provide its students with a strong background in Native American culture, history, and contemporaneous affairs. It is, indeed, a worthy objective of any program to strive to develop the total man, to be more specific, to develop the total RED man. This complete man must be thoroughly equipped by training in Native American Studies to assume the role upon graduation of the warrior-scholar-community activist.

Based upon our own Native American culture, it is, indeed, honorable to be a warrior. It is worthy to seek warrior status, to prepare for and to equip oneself with special strategic skills to assume the fight for our survival in a non-Indian dominated world. In addition to the warrior aspect of the total person, he should be a scholar in the true sense of the word. The educated Native American must truly be a learned person--a knowledgeable person with a critical intellect--trained in Native American Studies/a traditional discipline. Not only must he be a warrior and a scholar, he must also be a community activist. He should be able to go into an Indian community or organization to effect positive change for his peoples with energy and decision. This is a brief definition of each of the three aspects that make up the total RED man, who has combined the qualities of warrior, scholar, and community activist in becoming the Native American of tomorrow.

Obviously, this total person is the product of the entire university/college system; however, it is the specific responsibility

of Native American Studies to see that such students are the product of courses offered within the program. This brings us to the matter of curriculum, which because of our heterogeneity, makes curriculum development, indeed, a complex process. We all recognize the fact that Native American Studies is but a reflection of the Native American experience--one of a long standing duration and the other appearing only recently in the world of academia.

In our quest for relevant and meaningful education, then it is mandatory that Native American Studies reflect in its curriculum a microcosm of the total experiences of the native peoples of this continent. There is and must continue to be the recognition of tribal diversity concomitant with the recognition of unique life styles, distinct languages, differing world views, and unique experiences and histories. This alone can complicate the task of developing a comprehensive yet specialized curriculum for Native American Studies.

In view of the complexity of curriculum development, the cardinal rule is that of Indian involvement. This is a natural manifestation of the concept of self-determination, and if one looks closely at the situation, the development of Native American Studies is nothing more than an exercise in self-determination. It stands to reason that only us as Native American can translate our sensitivities and experiences to experiences as members of the academic community and as members of the greater non-Indian society. In this sense, perhaps a course entitled the Native American Experience could serve as the introductory survey course to the Program.

It is incumbent upon each of us as educators to incorporate regional relevance into our respective programs. This can best be

achieved through the utilization of Native American community members within reasonable proximity to the campus. If in California, there should be a history course on California Indians; if in the Southwest, then there could be a Southwest history course or because the largest Native American tribe is located there, a course on Navajo tribal history could be designed; if in Oklahoma, one would have to be selective as to which of the sixty-eight tribes were studied; however, there could be Southern Plains history of history of the Five Civilized Tribes; or if in Montana, as we do, offer a Reservation Indian course composed of studying the seven reservations in the state.

I cite history courses as but an example of the type of courses one can develop in a particular region; it could well be any other area of study. It could be literature, art, music, religious ceremonies, and the like. History as an example has a certain validity, in that in looking at Indian history and through study of the historical experiences of us as a peoples, insights can be developed as to where we have been and what has happened. This in turn provides us with perspectives with which to build a firmer foundation from which we can formulate objectives for the future. In short, through a knowledge of history one can arrive at sounder solutions for a better Native American tomorrow--socially, economically, politically, and educationally.

An innovation, which must be incorporated into the Native American Studies Curriculum and translated into an objective is that of designing community oriented courses. In this way, we in Native American Studies can counter the immediate area of concern of maintaining stronger and continual ties with the Native American environment

or community through course requirements. This can be accomplished through jointly sponsored projects with Native American organizations in the more heavily populated and tribally diverse urban areas. It can be accomplished with internship programs in the rural or reservation area. In addition to internship programs there can, also, be work related educational experiences, summer work programs, or independent study projects with Indian oriented programs such as tribal councils, Community Action Programs, Indian centers, or through tribal research agencies. Wherever we are, Native American Studies must accelerate contact and communication between academia and the Native American community.

Beginning to appear in Native American communities are tribally designed and operated research agencies. Through research courses working in conjunction with such organizations, we can provide our students with valuable and practical research experience. This serves a dual purpose for the student, for at the same time he is being of service to the Indian peoples. I make this comment based upon my observation of the tribal research association on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. This program is under the direction of Mr. Joseph Little Coyote and is incorporated as the Northern Cheyenne Research and Human Development Association, and in my estimation it serves as a model for any tribal research association. Through practical research with organizations such as this, not only is the student learning, but he is in turn helping to preserve the culture and history of a tribe.

Without lamenting the situation, we must recognize that we as Native American researchers are actually coming along as latecomers on the heels of predominantly non-Indian historians and anthropologists,

who have already subjected our peoples to feelings of exploitation and overexposure to study. Oftentimes we become the recipients of the hostility and skepticism promulgated by our predecessors. It makes it necessary then to work through the appropriate organization. If there is no such organization, then make certain that contacts are made with and approval is obtained from a tribal organization, the most logical being the tribal council.

In short, we must provide the Native American student with an orientation consistent with his own background, and we must, also, provide him with the opportunity of equating theory with practice by working with the Indian community or an Indian organization. He must be allowed to develop alternatives in seeking solutions to areas of concern that daily confront the Native American in his home environment. Thus, not only are we promoting Indian orientation by maintaining contacts between the Indian community and academia, but we are simultaneously combating the matter of feelings of alienation of the educated Native American from the Native American community.

In addition to practical research courses, community oriented courses and projects, general introductory courses on the Native American, and history courses, there should be included in the curriculum courses in such areas as literature, art, music, costumes, languages, philosophy, religion, social concerns, and the contemporary situation, just to cite a few. Whatever courses become a part of the total curriculum, I would offer only one word of advice: "They must all be academically sound." Not only must there be academic soundness to any course, but the curriculum must be responsive to and reflective of the needs of its particular students and community.

Naturally, if Native American Studies is truly meaningful, the direction, philosophy and the curriculum of the program will vary out of necessity. The emphasis will differ from region to region. We know that the needs of Native Americans in off-reservation areas will differ from the needs of those on reservations; too, we know that the needs of the certain tribal group will differ from those of another tribal group--i.e., the Blackfeet from the Salish or Kootenai; the Navajo from the Apache; the Hoopa from the Pomo; and Seneca from the Tuscarora, etc.

In developing Native American Studies, a question generally arising in the early stages of development is the matter of location within the academic structure of the university/college. My only suggestion is to consider where the Program can be located to provide the most benefit to its students and where it can function with the greatest degree of flexibility and latitude. Too, there are financial considerations that often dictate and define the boundaries within which a program can operate. If circumstances are such that one can be an autonomous unit offering its own major, this is the ideal situation in my estimation. However, this has sometimes been misconstrued by academic administrators as but the development of academic ghettos, which they believe provides little or no exchange between Native American Studies and the other traditional disciplines on a university/college campus. On the other hand, if staffing problems are such that one cannot have its own faculty necessary to fulfill requirements for a major, then it might be just as well to begin to encourage the employment of Native American educators in the traditional disciplines and provide joint appointments in Native American Studies and other departments. It

is, however my personal opinion that this is the least desirous route, but understanding the dictates of circumstances, particularly if there are no funds for expansion of faculty, then there is no alternative but to seek joint appointments of faculty.

In speaking to the latter situation, I believe it is less desirous because the criteria for employment in a university/college traditional discipline are usually demanding. This, too, leaves us as Native Americans with little or no authority to select the faculty member. If academic credentials become the primary basis for employment we, also, run the risk of having Indian Studies courses taught by a non-Indian from the usual non-Indian perspective. In short, there is the possibility, also, that someone might be selected to teach in a traditional department, who might not necessarily be qualified to teach in Native American Studies, or who might be considered as having a too non-Indian orientation.

It remains a fact that too little serious consideration is accorded the Native American, who possesses a wealth of knowledge on the Native American, but who, unfortunately, does not possess the kind of educational background and experience to warrant employment at the university/college level. This type of academic snobbery must not become the case in Native American Studies.

To illustrate this position, let us examine the matter of Native American languages. It is my firm believe that only the Native American is qualified to teach Native American languages even without a degree. If any Native American Studies Program is going to ever develop an outstanding native language program, I foresee the monumental problem of "selling" university administrations on the academic merit of employing Native Americans with expertise in mind

rather than with degree in hand. The idea of utilizing individuals with Native American expertise, who have spent their lifetime using the language is preferable to that of using those superficially trained in the study of native languages. This, too, is implementing the theory of self-determination in a pragmatic fashion, while at the same time providing our students with accuracy in the study of Native American languages, and thus assuring the preservation of languages for the generations of Native Americans yet to come.

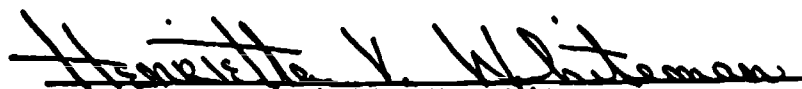
Native American Studies by exposing its students to the kind of individuals that will transmit their expertise is, also, establishing contacts for the student in the Indian community. This is necessary regarding future employment. Identifying career opportunities for the educated Native American then becomes a concern of the program, particularly if the program offers its own major. Too often one hears the question: "Now that you have graduated a student with a degree in Native American Studies, where is he going to find employment? In answer to this question, it is necessary for those involved in Native American Studies to identify employment opportunities for its graduates. This can be accomplished by utilizing the work related educational experiences, internship programs, summer work programs, and independent study projects alluded to earlier, and expand the placement of internees to include other than research agencies. Such sponsors could include Indian controlled schools, schools on reservations, schools with a high enrollment of Indian students, State Indian Education components, State Indian Commissions, tribal councils, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Public Health Service, to cite a few. Native American Studies then has a graduate with special skills, training, and knowledge for serious

consideration for employment in tribal, state, federal, and private agencies and institutions. With employment in such agencies, the educated Native American is now in a position to effect meaningful change in the programs that deal directly with the Native American.

From a student to a former student--it has been my position in this paper to discuss Native American Studies from the perspective of the Native American student, and how the program can be developed around his needs. We in Native American Studies must not allow the student to prematurely leave college to return home because of a lack of emotional, psychological, and intellectual preparation. When the Native American student does return home, he should return an educated Native American. He must return prepared to assume a vital function in a tribal, state, federal or private agency or institution by applying his education to effect meaningful change in the programs that exert influence over the Native American.

After 400 or so years of experience as the oppressed native peoples of our country, it is time we as Native Americans implement the concept of self-determination and assert control over our lives. By controlling the education of the Native American youth through Native American Studies, we are molding the Native American of tomorrow, who combines the attributes of warrior, scholar, and community activist. This total RED man, the finished product of Native American Studies, can only result through us as Native Americans and educators taking the initiative to incorporate time-tried perspectives into the new academic perspective of Native American Studies.

Respectfully submitted:



Henrietta V. Whiteman
Standing Twenty Woman, Southern Cheyenne

NEEDED: INDIAN HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

**Dr. George Blue Spruce
Director, Office of Health Manpower Opportunity
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare**

NEEDED: INDIAN HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

by: George Blue Spruce, Jr., D.D.S. M.P.H.

Dr. George Blue Spruce is the Director of the Office of Health Manpower Opportunity in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"The first Americans -- The American Indians -- are the most deprived and most isolated minority group in our nation. On virtually every scale of measurement; employment, income, education, and health, the conditions of the Indian people ranks at the bottom. . ." So said President Nixon in his message to Congress on July 8, 1970.

In this article, I will touch on two of these categories, education and health; more specifically, the need for American Indians in the health professions.

Some background information should be provided. There are over four million people engaged in providing health services. Two hundred different categories comprise the spectrum of Health Careers, the training periods for which vary from several weeks to as many as 12 to 14 years.

In the past ten to 15 years, there has been a change in the concept of health care and its delivery. No longer do people view health and its provision as a service available only to a select few, but rather as the right of every citizen. The increase in the demands for these rights has added to the ever-increasing health manpower shortage.

Recently, the federal government has increased its programs and expenditures in the area of health manpower training to alleviate the shortage. New health profession schools have been built and federal dollars have been given to institutions to help in their day to day operations, as well as encourage them to increase enrollment and shorten curriculum.

As an industry, health ranks second only to defense in terms of expenditures. Last year, the federal government spent 19 billion dollars for various health programs; the nation as a whole spent 70 billion dollars.

My concern is that relatively small amounts of these dollars go to American Indians for their much-needed health programs. Statistics show

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that the American Indian has a shorter life span than the non-Indian. This is attributed not only to adult deaths, but to an exorbitant infant mortality rate. Current statistics reveal that for every 1,000 Indian babies born, 32 die, whereas for every 1,000 non-Indian babies born, 22 die. Those Indian babies that survive the first month, but die within the next eleven months, have a mortality rate of 17 per 1,000, as compared to the non-Indian population of 9 per 1,000. Not only does the American Indian suffer from diseases specific to him as a member of an ethnic group, but he is a victim of diseases such as trachoma, otitis media, bronchitis, pneumonia, hepatitis, scarlet fever, and tuberculosis, to a much greater extent than are non-Indians. Dental problems, such as periodontal disease and missing teeth, are more severe among Indians, and Indian children exhibit a number of gum diseases that the texts describe as occurring only in adults. Without question, the suicide rate among young adults is the highest in the nation.

This is, indeed, a sad commentary, especially when we compare it to what was written about the health of the Indians by the early foreign explorers. In one of his first letters back to Spain, Columbus commented on the absence of deformity among the Indians. The French essayist, Michel de Montaigne declared: "It is rare to see a sick body amongst them." William Wood, referring to the New England Indian wrote: "most of them reach fifty before a wrinkled brow or grey hair betrays their age." A Dutch account related, "It is somewhat strange that among these people there are few or none that are blind, or crippled; all are well fashioned people, strong of mind and body, without a blemish. . . ."

It is pitiful to witness the change that has taken place. But, in all fairness, health conditions were much worse 16 years ago when the Indian Health Service (IHS), an agency of the United States Public Health Service (USPHS) was given the responsibility of providing preventive curative, and rehabilitative health services to the American Indian, specifically, those Indians located on the more than 200 federally-administered reservations. The IHS has had dedicated health professionals and its leadership has wanted to do more than it has been able to, yet the same story prevails -- the limited allocation of funds.

More personnel, facilities, and better methods for rendering health care to the Indians have been provided over the years. When I joined the Service in the late 1950's there were only 40 dentists to treat the entire Indian population; now there are more than 150. There were 130 physicians; today there are over 400. The IHS has 51 hospitals,

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72 health centers, and over 400 health stations providing services, primarily for reservation Indians. Provisions are being made to include urban Indians as well.

For some time, the Indian Health Service has recognized the need to involve the Indian in his own health needs. Because an Indian patient relates better to another Indian, and due to health personnel shortages, the Service has promoted and conducted health manpower training programs. Such programs have trained licensed practical nurses, dental assistants, health education aides, sanitary engineer aides, social worker aides, medical librarian aides, community health aides, and, more recently, physician assistants. It is important to note that these programs have emphasized "aide and"assistant-type" training programs.

When I visit the various Indian hospitals throughout the country, and ask to see the hospital administrator, I am introduced to a non-Indian. When I meet the medical officer in charge, I am introduced to a non-Indian. I ask, "How many people are employed in this hospital?" I am told, "Approximately 100." I ask, "How many are Indians?" I am told, "Between 70 and 75 percent." When I ask, "How many of these Indians are in management positions," I am told, "Perhaps three or four." It is clear that the management and professional positions, with few exceptions, are held by non-Indians.

Figures are deceiving. When one reads that over half of the 6,000 people employed by the IHS are of Indian descent, one is unaware that these 3,500 Indians are engaged in the lower categories of health careers.

Broadly defined, health manpower categories, or "Health Careers" are:

Those health careers whose training program takes from several weeks up to, but not including, an Associate Degree, are referred to as the Health Occupations category.

Those health careers that require an Associate, Bachelors, or Masters degree, are referred to as the Allied Health Professions category.

Those whose training requires a Doctorate are in the Health Professions category, namely, medicine, osteopathy, dentistry, veterinary medicine, optometry, podiatry, pharmacy, and advanced degree nursing.

Invariably, Indians working in health programs belong to the Health Occupation category.

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If we superimpose the Indian health manpower picture over these different Health Career categories, it begins to look like a triangle. Most Indians are in the Health Occupations, with few in the Allied Health Professions, and virtually none in the Health Professions. To illustrate this point, consider the following statistics.

There are approximately 700,000 registered nurses, 350,000 licensed practical nurses, and over 800,000 aides and orderlies in the country, totalling almost two million people who are considered part of the nursing profession. But only 400-450 have been identified as Indians. Only 38 Indians have been identified among the 320,000 physicians; two among the 25,000 veterinarians; two among the 18,000 optometrists; five among the 125,000 pharmacists. No Indians are to be found among either the 14,000 osteopaths or the 8,000 podiatrists. Of the 120,000 dentists, I am the only full-blooded Indian. To prove how little has been done to increase the number of Indians in the Health Professions, I have been the only identified Indian dentist for the past 16 years!

Not long ago I cited these statistics to people with influence and authority. They responded, "Dr. Blue Spruce, we want you to do something about these appalling figures."

On July 1, 1971, I was named Special Assistant to the Director of the Bureau of Health Manpower Education within the National Institutes of Health to direct a new Federal program that will tackle this challenge. The program has two objectives.

The immediate short range objective concerns those few Indian students presently enrolled in health profession schools. We must promote programs to insure that they complete their studies and graduate as Health Professionals. We must also reach the increasing number of under-graduate college Indians, motivate them, and attempt to direct them into health careers. Indians in the Allied Health Profession category should be given the opportunity to enroll in pre-professional courses so that they might one day attain an M.D., D.D.S., or D.V.M. degree. The many Indians in the Health Occupation category must also be reached. By their length of service and dedication, they are clearly an integral part of the health team. This group should have every opportunity to aspire to higher categories of health careers. And finally, early in their freshman year, Indian high school students should be made aware that a health career is attainable. We must design a program that will allow them to enter college and attain a health profession without having to face denial or damage to their self-esteem because they are not adequately prepared.

The long range objective of the program comes as the result of further findings made evident by travel to universities across the country.

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Health professional schools, willing to open their doors to Indians, are finding it difficult to tap into a pool of qualified and available Indian students.

What has caused this situation? The educational system to which the Indian has been subjected. In order to provide qualified Indian students for admission into universities and health profession schools, there must be an overhaul in the educational system provided for Indians.

It disturbs me to see Indian students treated as "special cases" because they are inadequately prepared in certain courses, especially the physical and life sciences, and mathematics. As a result, health profession schools have had to alter admission standards to allow the Indian to matriculate and then have provided special tutoring. They may even extend the length of time it takes for an Indian student to graduate. Students I talk to wish that their educational background had prepared them for science-oriented programs. If this problem is to be solved, a reorientation must take place early in the Indian students' education.

The long range goal of the program, therefore, is to reach the Indian child and examine the progression from adolescent, to student, to adult. Each environment that he or she will be exposed to must be evaluated.

The first environment is, of course, the family. An Indian mother or father may not value a "White man's" education. As a result, the child is not encouraged. The mother and father will have to be made aware that their son or daughter can attain a health profession and that one of the strongest influences they can provide is encouragement and moral support.

The second environment is the Indian reservation where relatives, friends, peers, and tribal leaders all exert great influence. Here again, encouragement is crucial. Instilling a sense of pride in pursuing and completing a professional education must become a responsibility of members of the reservation.

The next environment is primary education. Teachers, being the first to recognize a child's academic achievement and potential, must encourage the child to aspire to a health profession.

The same hold true in the secondary schools, but there are serious problems in this area -- the high school counselors. An Indian student who seeks advice from his counselor is usually directed through the side doors to vocational and technical training. Historically, counselors direct Indians into this type of occupation. Why can't they open the door and say, "You, as an Indian, can attain a health profession!"

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When I told my counselor I wanted to be a dentist, he said dentistry is a profession for the sons of rich White men. He went on to say that a dental education was too expensive, would take too long, and be too difficult. Perhaps because I am an Indian with a great deal of pride, I accepted this challenge. In talks with Indian students, I find many have had similar experiences. Tragedy often occurs because the high school counselor fails to open all doors. Dramatic changes are needed at this level.

The next environment is the university. Here we have the vice chancellors, administrators, financial aid officers, counselors, and admission committees. They should be exerting a concerted effort to afford Indian students every opportunity and support to attain a health profession.

Most Indian children have never seen an Indian physician, dentist, nurse supervisor, health administrator, or pharmacist. Consequently, in their minds, health professions do not exist. The number of Indians who today are health professionals is small, but these people will have to take it upon themselves to serve as role models for Indian students.

Although my role model was a non-Indian dentist, he showed me individual attention, kindness, and took the time to show me his office. Overnight I wanted to become like this man. When I finished my pre-dental work, I was approached by many people who attempted to direct me toward a career in medicine. But, my mind was made up; I had been motivated and my role model had left his impact.

The literature says that professionals who have attained a health professions career aspired to this goal between the ages of eight and ten. Motivation, early in a child's life, therefore, cannot be overemphasized. As the pool of Indian health professionals grows, hopefully their impact as role models will be felt by a broad spectrum of Indian children.

A new era dawns -- an era of higher and broader destinies for the Indian people. Hopefully this program will open those doors that have been closed for so many years. But, to succeed, we need the cooperation of all people to insure that in 10-20 years, there will be many more Indian physicians, dentists, and nurses serving in their own hospitals, treating their own people, and improving the appalling health statistics that exist today. It is ironic that many people in this country, proud of technical and scientific accomplishments, are totally unaware of the serious basic educational and health needs of the first Americans.

**VALUE CONFLICTS
AS A
CAUSE FOR DROP OUTS**

**Position Paper
Native American Teacher Corps Conference
Denver, Colorado
April 26-29, 1973**

**Arthur McDonald
Northern Cheyenne Project Directors
Training Program**

VALUE CONFLICTS
as a
CAUSE FOR DROP OUTS

During the Fall of 1971, Mr. Richard Martinez of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, put together a work-shop concerned with minority student participation in higher education. One of the areas of much concern regarding Indian students in particular, is the phenomenal rate of drop out. The estimates of drop out in the higher education system range from a low of 79% to a high of 93%. Regardless of the accuracy of the statements, it is perfectly clear that the drop out rate of Indian students in higher education is exceptionally high. Mr. Martinez asked me if I would be interested in presenting material on Indian drop outs to the proposed work-shop; I agreed to do so and proceeded to collect some data from the Indian people.

Immediately the problem of basic value systems became apparent. White institutions, such as universities, are not geared to understanding the complexity of the so-called "Indian Problem"; they continued to respond under the assumption that all Indians are the same. Programs involving counseling and curriculum planning do not seem capable of recognizing that it is a complex problem. One of the ways in which this research was hampered was the lack of consistency in objects, objectives and motives of the Indian students. This was most apparent when interviewing Indians with a reservation value system, as opposed to Indian students with a more traditional mainstream value system. For lack of better terminology, the data were collected in terms of reservation value systems -vs- urban value systems. Although it is not the purpose of this paper to stimulate emotional outbursts involved with the definition of reservation -vs- urban Indians, the point is that a careful analysis of an individual's values clearly indicates which general group he is in.

Again, the definitions used in this paper are over-generalized, but the conflicts in values were more closely related to rural -vs- urban values than were similar to the values expressed by either Cheyenne, or Sioux, or Blackfeet students. This paper then, fully recognizes and acknowledges the Tribal differences and in no way is attempting to lump the various cultures together, and call them all Indian; such as white institutions have been prone to do.

The basic causes of drop out will be listed and discussed as a matter of fact, and then each cause will be discussed in a little more detail representing my own personal interpretation, gathered from the interviews of the Indian students. The paper is not designed to speak for any particular Tribe, nor for the population of Indians.

In summarizing the material from the interviews the following list of stated causes of drop out is:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| I. EDUCATION | IV. ROLE MODELS |
| II. FINANCES | V. CULTURAL DIFFERENCES |
| III. RACISM | |
| a.) Institutional Racism | |
| b.) Personal Discrimination | |

Although each of these items will be discussed individually, it should be pointed out that it was the consensus of the group interviewed, that only item number I, Education, reflects any hierarchical value in this list. In other words, poor education was high on the list of all possible causes for high drop out. From there on the other items were not as consistently ranked, as many students felt that some causes were more important than others. Remembering that all of the students interviewed were in fact, in school at the time, and also that twenty-six of the people interviewed were drop outs that had attended college to some extent, this data must be viewed from the standpoint of the participants, not from the

excuse-making administrations.

As indicated above, item number I, Education, is a major stumbling block to successful higher education for many Indian students. As those reading this paper, having gone through reservation or near-reservation schools will understand, ^{INDIAN EDUCATION} has been and will continue to be in a very deplorable mess. Beginning in 1968, with what was then Senator Robert Kennedy's special sub-committee on Indian education, the nation has been made aware of the virtual lack of adequate educational training given to the Indians. There are exceptions of course, but speaking primarily for reservation situations, the history of educational preparation is very grim. The students and other interviewees from the reservation perspective were in almost unanimous agreement that they were not prepared to compete with other students at the university systems. It is interesting to note that the reservation students felt that the transition from high school to the university was extremely difficult in that, the total environment and attitude was alien; while on the other hand, white students from the larger communities complained bitterly that the university is nothing more than an extension of their high school experience.

Although it is not possible within the scope of this paper to discuss the inadequacies of education in general, I would like to make the point that education should have incorporated in its objectives, the objective of teaching students to learn how to survive in a particular environment. At the present time curricula are pretty much standardized to attempt to teach students to survive in a white, middle-class society. Unfortunately, that particular social class is not the only environment possible. I say unfortunately, not in terms of my preference for this class as the ultimate in American life-style, but unfortunately in the sense that it is totally inappropriate for all minority students, and it

is my personal belief that it is inappropriate for almost all other students.

I should point out that for those students wishing to travel that road, that road should be made available, and it is the responsibility of the educational system to prepare those students for their continued travels into the higher education system. At the same time it is the responsibility of educational institutions from the elementary systems on up, to educate children with the objective of survival in the particular environment that child may choose. If it is a reservation environment, then the responsible institutions have the obligation to gear those children's materials in a meaningful and relevant way, to what the child will probably spend the rest of their life doing. It is preposterous, arrogant and morally wrong to expose the child only to the values and objectives of the Judeo-Christian ethics. A specific example of how this kind of responsive education could take place on a particular reservation will be elaborated.

The Northern Cheyenne reservation, like other reservations, has a large cadre of old people that have a fantastic amount of knowledge concerning their Tribe, that anthropologists and historians will never be able to approach. This information can be tapped in meaningful ways for the education of the younger generation of Cheyennes. A research team could be trained to collect botanical specimens and preserve them for identification, utilizing the standard techniques of most university systems in botany, with much less training time than is necessary to become a botanist. The high school students could be utilized Spring and Fall, and certainly during the Summer, to collect these specimens. As they were preserved and presented for identification, the consulting botanist could provide the Latin name with some typical professional jargon, the people could give the common English name, if known, and the old people could give the Cheyenne name.

In addition, the old people could provide the identification and discussion of what the plant means in terms of the environment and the people. The educational institution, such as the bilingual programs and/or other artificial program classification could then incorporate this material into textbook form, to be used as the science text throughout the entire educational system. The spin-off for education and knowledge transmittal in terms of relevance and traditional teaching is phenomenal. The interaction between the young students and their environment, including the respect of the elders and their knowledge, would have little parallel in the white society. Other subject matters could be approached in a similar way, culminating in an education that was relevant to the students, involving diverse members of the community, meeting objectives of education and perhaps even educating some teachers.

Expanding this idea into areas such as political science, government, history, child development, inter-personal relationships, and on, and on; is extremely exciting but what is more important, is totally feasible. Although this diversion may not seem related to the problem of drop out in education, it is my opinion that making education interesting and relevant at the local level has an excellent chance of stimulating interest and motivation to learn at all levels. It is my further opinion, that the present irrelevant materials used in the education process, turn students off to the whole learning process, thus producing virtually no intrinsic motivation for learning new materials.

The second item on the list is that of Finances. Obviously, higher education is for the classes of people that have money. The cost of going to college is prohibitive even for the majority of white middle-class parents, however the Indian student finds it even more difficult to finance a college education. For example, the white off-reservation culture can go to various lending agencies,

such as banks, and borrow money on future credit to finance their children's educations. This alternative simply is not available to reservation Indians. In many cases such as with the Montana State University system, it is the law, both federal and state, that Indian students may attend college in the system, tuition free, however the rhetoric looks good but in actuality the program is close to being a deliberate, distorted lie. In the first place, Montana does not charge tuition as such, but rather a complex fee system is put upon the student. The student ends up paying as much in fees as the so-called fee waiver. Other rather insidious policies include such things as allowing a time delay in getting the student fee waivers approved so that the student ends up paying the maximum late registration fee. In addition, the business office puts together a so-called "package" for Indian students. Since many of the students qualify for Bureau of Indian Affairs scholarship funds and/or Tribal funds and other sources, financial aid offices put together this package, juggling funds from one source to another, to come up with an individualized package that reduces the student to the same minimal amount, regardless of the numerous qualifications. The final up-shot is that the Indian student does not have the kind of assistance that is necessary for survival in a college town. They end up with virtually no spending money, money for clothes and the other things that are essential for the development of high morale and peace of mind. They seldom have money for means of transportation, thus become discouraged very easily. This discouragement naturally generalizes to the total academic environment.

When the Indian student must live with others that are so obviously much better off, it is little wonder that the Indian student eventually leaves the academic institution. In discussing these kinds of programs and problems with financial aid personnel, they often point to the fact that most Indian students qualify

for work study programs, however again when we consider the kind of disadvantage produced by other factors such as the lack of adequate preparation in the educational structure, it becomes rather ridiculous to expect the Indian student to be able to take on a work study job, putting in fifteen to twenty hours in addition to his studies. This kind of insensitive solution to the financial aid problem of minority students in general, is typical of most bureaucratic problem-solving attempts.

There have been many efforts on the part of well-meaning people, to unlock the doors of higher education; unfortunately people become self satisfied with their own benevolent efforts and tend to forget that the students that are disadvantaged culturally, educationally and financially need to have more. The door cannot be simply unlocked, but rather it must be opened completely, or the disadvantaged do not have a glimpse of what is on the other side. Programs must be developed that will allow these students to go through the door and into the environment on the other side, if they choose to do so.

The third item is what can only be identified as racism, however the racist policies of institutions can be of several different kinds. The relatively more subtle, but still insidious institutional racism that seems to be inherent in most bureaucratic organizations will be discussed first.

Students all over the country have demonstrated their concern and displeasure over the unforgivable attitudes of faculty and administration towards the students as inferior beings. Their words are seldom listened to and virtually never heard. Unfortunately bureaucracies develop programs "for" the students, just as the various agencies develop programs "for" Indians. In the students case they have been much more demanding and violent in their opposition to this kind of patronism, but still have not been hurt. The problem of course, like all

problems, is not a simple one. The excuses have run the gambit from the general attitude that the teacher knows best what is good for a student in a particular discipline. Having served considerable time as a faculty member and as an administrator, I have a rather biased opinion as to the dynamics of institutional racism. Beginning with the particular department level in a discipline such as psychology, the professors spend a great deal of time each year or every other year, modifying the curriculum for that department. New courses are initiated, old ones are abandoned, particular courses are modified in terms of objectives and materials, credit hours are discussed, changed, deleted; laboratory courses are initiated and on, and on, and on, and on. The single characteristic however, is that almost never is a student or students, involved in this decision making process. The simple minded argument usually is presented, that students either don't care or are not capable of making rational meaningful decisions on these matters. However, when all of these high powered faculty brains are combined, the end result is highly predictable, and that is that the new curriculum is modified typically toward more stringent controls as to what the student will take and how they will go about getting their degree. The ultimate objective is designed for preparatory training to maximize the success of the student in graduate school, in that discipline. No account is taken of the fact that in most cases less than seven to eight percent of the students graduating in that curriculum, in fact, will go through graduate school. Virtually no account is taken, except some passing rhetorical comments, about the other ninety-some percent of the students. Nobody bothers to ask the students what they really have in mind in majoring in that particular discipline, and nobody really bothers to ask students what they have in mind in the overall objective of going to college. It is assumed that preparing students for entering graduate school is the highest value.

I think this assumption should be challenged because until it is, there is little hope that faculties will be responsive to general students needs and interests, or virtually no hope that they will be responsive to Indian student needs.

The racist attitudes do not apply just to faculty/student relationships, but permeate the entire institution. For example, there are many road blocks and hurdles through the process of instructor, lecturer, assistant professor, associate professor, full professor, department head, dean, vice presidents and so forth. The particular road leading to promotions in so-called advancements is fairly well known throughout the entire academic institution. It runs something like this; don't let anyone know that you think, don't let anyone see you interacting with students, if you feel you must speak at faculty gatherings make sure you impress the right people with your platitudinous mouthings, but most important; never criticize anyone except students. Another symptom of the institutionalized institution is the reliance on tradition and dogma that are negative from the Indian student's standpoint; that is the whole business of guidelines, standards, requirements, prerequisites, etc.. These particular kinds of stumbling blocks, initiated at the whim of faculty and administrators, are simply incomprehensible to the Indian student. One argument is that students should not be treated differentially as this is a form of reverse racism. The confusion is racism based upon race, and racism based upon institutional classifications. Using one set to argue against the other is not only poor logic, but it is also simple minded.

A final comment on Standards: Various schools, departments and staff have made arguments that they cannot find Indian students that are "qualified" because they do not come up to a normalized score or standard for admission into their particular program. This argument also is not valid because it stems from ignorance as to what standards mean. The standards of excellence for a particular

program must be measured in terms of the final end product or it makes no sense at all. In other words, standards must be evaluated and established in terms of the program's final objectives, not the admission objectives. If the material in the training program is worth teaching and is taught properly, then it should be teachable and testable in a way that makes sense. A student failing to learn material is more often an indictment of the testing, teaching and materials, but is usually treated as a failure on the part of the student.

Needless to say, Indian students with the variety of cultural differences coming from their reservation culture, which is a rural culture, are puzzled and confused by the kinds and extent of institutional racism they find in the academic system. It should be noted however, that this confusion has been responded to by all students, not just Indian students.

The other kind of racism that is a more straight forward, personal discrimination needs little discussion as the readers are well aware of this prejudice, however the loss in dignity and morale is certainly detrimental and contributes to a drop out problem. I wonder how many times an Indian is referred to as Chief or Tonto, or female equivalent, during his off reservation experience.

The next item, listed Role Models, should really be listed, Lack of Role Models. This problem is one that few white academicians can understand. Basically the problem is that there are few Indians in professional positions such as doctors, lawyers, dentists, scientists, administrators, college teachers, or any of the professions requiring academic credentials. To demonstrate and illustrate the effects of the lack of role models, I had two of the Trainees conduct a quick survey of students in the Bozeman elementary school system and the Lame Deer elementary system. Children in grades one through four were interviewed and questioned, concerning future goals and expectancies. One of the more striking sets

of differences involved answers to the very simple question, "What would you like to be when you grow up?". The white children from the Bozeman schools gave some very sophisticated answers, including one second graders answer, "I'm going to be a Paleontologist and study dinosaurs." The answers, where there were answers, by the Indian children were almost devoid of identification in the professional areas. For example, there were no doctors, lawyers, scientists or even Indian Chiefs. Only two of the thirty-seven children interviewed, indicate that they wanted to be a teacher, and in both of these cases an additional qualification was made; "Like Mrs. so-and-so.", who happens to be an Indian teachers-aide.

According to some recent efforts by the National Institutes of Health, to identify minority scientists in the biomedical fields, including biology, chemistry, physics, and psychology; there are less than ten Ph.D. scientists that are also enrolled Tribal members. There are numerous academicians with a "trace" back to some Cherokee princess, but considering the requirement of enrolled Tribal members, number is incredibly small. I think the last count of members of the American Indian Association of Physicians includes twenty-two M.D.'s. Dr. Blue Spruce can confirm the fact that he represents at least half of the entire population of Indian dentists. The end result again, is that the Indian child does not have the role models available, thus does not consider professional training as an occupation, or rather as white children do, does not have to question the possibilities that might be available to him, should he choose a professional area.

Although most of the preceding information has come from Indian drop outs, one interesting difference in students that did not drop out was centered around the counseling problem. For the most part Indian student comments tended to run like, "If I had known what was going on, I could have done things differently." In other words, most of the criticisms were that the counseling at all levels,

from high school throughout their entire academic career, had provided either misinformation or channeled them into the voch-tech or community college route, not because of their abilities but because they were Indian. For example, many of the students indicated that their educational counselors have discouraged seeking professions or training by saying "Oh, you don't want to go that route, why don't you go to the community college; or why don't you go into nursing or secretarial school, or vocational areas". As most people that have been through the academic process are well aware, it takes a great deal of goal setting to tolerate the educational process long enough to be credentialized. The lack of role models certainly contributes to the weaker motivation of the Indian student as a potential contributor to the drop out rate.

The last item to be discussed in this paper will be some differences in cultural values that are most germane to the problem of the Indian student drop out. Obviously from everything that has been said so far, Indian students are different from other students. One of these differences is the culture the particular student comes from; be it Cheyenne, Crow, Sioux or whatever. Since the students interviewed were from a rather diverse group, the specific cultural differences peculiar to individual Tribes will not be discussed, however there are some generalizable cultural values that produce conflicts and thus, contribute to the drop out problem.

In the non-Indian value system the concept of time is very important. Time is measured in a quantitative sense, using the yardstick of length. Jobs, meetings, parties, education, are all divided up into temporal units during the day and for the future. If a person makes an appointment with another, for one-thirty, it is crucial that he be there at one-thirty or the other feels that he has lost time. In other words, the person who is late has stolen something by not being there.

An example of the white cultural value pushed to it's extreme is the white school system's policy of sending a child's report card home with the number of times he was tardy, clearly marked on it. Do you suppose that if a child were three minutes late every day of the school year, that he would be flunked, that this would truly be an indication that the child had failed? On the other hand, the reservation culture treats time as being relative. A person's existence is prioritized according to the immediate task. Clock watching and compulsive punctuality does not exist. People come to meetings when they are through doing something else. Another way of putting it is that the important thing is the meeting, not in arriving at a precise time. Obviously, this difference in values produces a very definite conflict in the student attempting to matriculate at one of our traditional academic institutions. Unfortunately it is the sole responsibility of the student to change his values as the institution will not.

Another very complex set of values that produce conflict, centers around the concept of expanded time. For example, the non-Indian culture uses a rationalizing process to escape from the everyday world by dumping the responsibility for failure and thought onto the future. Lack of strong personal belief and lack of faith in personal values leads to this value system. Children are taught in the schools to prepare for the future, to get educated, to cord material strings, to "be good", so they may go to heaven when this life is over but even more important psychologically, is the concept of being punished or responsible for one's behavior after death. The Indian culture is much more pragmatic, with behavior geared primarily to be responsive to the day to day world. There is virtually no concept of saving for a rainy day, "a penny saved is a penny earned", milk and honey are punishment after death, or hardly any other futuristic goals and objectives. The philosophical sophistication and psychological soundness of the

Indian philosophy would put to shame most of the academic gabblers in these particular disciplines. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of Indian student drop out, it makes it very difficult to pressure the Indian student to come to class, work hard, get good grades for some futuristic goal that is really as unimportant and of questionable value.

Although it may sound simple minded to continue repeating the basic concept, the Indian values preclude the concept of sacrifice and training for a future end. It is very easy to see then that the student from the reservation is difficult to motivate when standard traditional academic values are assumed, as they simply are not self-motivating for the Indian student.

Another set of values producing lack of understanding between the two cultures, relates to the family. In the Judea/Christian culture, the nuclear family consisting of the father, mother, son and daughter; carries with it rather clear cut definitions and expectations of responsibility. When a child becomes an adult, whatever that means, in the white world they are on their own. They are expected to be independent and legally responsible. If one's brother participates in socially unacceptable behavior, shame is brought to the family name, which seems to miss the point. There is little shame or concern about the fact that the behavior was detrimental to the community, but a great deal of emphasis placed upon the reputation of the family. At the same time, misfortune occurring to outlying members of the nuclear family, such as grand parents, great grand parents, uncles, great uncles and aunts, cousins; very often are considered unfortunate, however they are not the responsibility of the family. It is as if the basic principal is, "you take care of yours and I'll take care of mine", with mine being defined as the immediate nuclear family.

In the traditional Indian value system, the family is much extended, in terms

of careing and responsibility. Aunts are often considered to be mothers, uncles are called fathers and cousins are brothers and sisters of the immediate family. Clan members are considered "relatives". The philosophical generalizations must be understood between the two systems before any of the rest of the values can truly make sense. In the western European tradition the greatest good has been the development and perpetuation of the self. Although some lip-service is paid by our Christian doctrines through praying for others, primarily the ultimate objective is personal salvation. Day to day behavior is geared towards this objective in terms of economics, religious values, education, status needs and family relationships. This produces an extremely competitive, consumptive, explorative, interaction with the environment and with personal interactions with other people. The traditional Indian culture has as the ultimate good, the survival of the Tribe. The individual is expendable in the sense that one does what is good for the people at the sacrifice of individual goals and objectives. This is seen in a variety of behaviors, such as the "give-away" ceremony. Those that have, share what they have with others as a point of honor. In the white society, a house warming ceremony provides much anxiety for the new home owner, as he tries to impress the people with his possessions. With the Indian culture, the Indian people would give away their material possessions in an act of sharing. The more you share, the more honor, prestige and status you enjoy; as opposed to the more you have and collect material things for status symbols, as we find in the white culture. Thus in many cases the principal of higher education and the credentializing process is hard to incorporate into the sharing concept as it is seen as an individual and personal gain, with little generalizability to the people.

Getting back to the extended family concept, it is often difficult for people living in an academic or other artificial environment, to understand the tremen-

dous sense of responsibility a student may have towards what appears to be a distant relative. In the Indian culture, if one is asked to help, he simply cannot refuse. Thus, a student getting a phone call that he is needed or that someone wants him at home, goes. The threat of receiving an F for the course is of little relative importance. If he is needed, he is needed. The fact that administrative officials do not understand what is real and true is very bewildering to the Indian community.

A final consideration that is again, very difficult for the white community to understand involves most of the philosophical, sociological, psychological and religious values previously eluded to. In the rural white community, the fact that a son or daughter has left the farm to go get a college education, is pointed to with great pride. The family will make great sacrifices to get their children into higher education. In small communities everyone in the community is aware, and points with some civic pride, towards those that have gone on and "amounted to something". However in the more traditional reservation culture, if the child makes the decision to leave the reservation and go to the university and get a white man's education, the community is not enthusiastic. In other words, it is a clear cut decision that the person has made, to reject the old traditional ways and go the white man road. It is generally assumed that the person is lost to the traditional community. Many Indian students that have gone on and completed their degrees, have found it extremely difficult to return to their reservation to work. This seems to be more true to the smaller northern reservations than others, according to the Indian students, however it is definitely a factor in reservation settings such as the Northern Cheyenne. There is a certain amount of mistrust of an Indian that has gotten an education and the educated Indian must face a rather continuous attack by family as well as others, for having an education. It must

be remembered that an education is a white man's education and is viewed as such by the Indian community. I have counseled several Indian students that have dropped out just prior to graduation because they are forced to make that decision, and some choose to go back to the reservation feeling that they can be accepted more easily if they do not bring back the degree.

White communities and academic institutions that promote token Indian Studies, American Indian Studies, Native American Programs at their institutions are obviously either hypocrites in the sense that they pay little attention to the historical acts of their profession, or are simply blind and deaf to the messages presented by the Indian people concerning the difference in values of education. For example, in 1774, on June 17th, the Commissioners from Maryland and Virginia negotiated a Treaty with six Nations at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The Indians were invited to send their boys to William and Mary College. The next day the Indians declined the offer in this manner: "The Indians Refusal; We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, that you mean to do us good by your proposal; and we thank you heartily, but you who are wise, must know that different Nations have different conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the College of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences but when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods...Neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less oblig'd by your kind offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful sense of it; if the gentlemen of Virginia will

send us a dozen of their sons, we will take care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them".

In summary then, the differences in values of the reservation Indian, in terms of overall objectives as well as daily life styles, creates in the Indian student numerous conflicts that contribute to the eventual drop out problem. Unfortunately, as I indicated previously, the teachers and administrators of our academic institutions from pre-school through post-graduate study, truly believe that they know all the answers and that their system of values is the only one to be followed. Otherwise the Indian value system would have been incorporated in the school system serving Indian children many years ago. Unfortunately, the schools serving large numbers of Indian children have been more white than many of the predominantly white schools. Accepting different values is always difficult at best, if you do not treasure the value of acceptance. In point of fact, in the areas of education, welfare, religion, philosophy, psychology, family relations, environmental studies, ecology, botany and zoology; as far as these disciplines are concerned with identification and function of Flora and Fauna, and many other areas, the Indian people are so far ahead of the Ph.D. granting disciplines; in terms of workable, useable knowledge, that it is embarrassing to have academic people visit the reservation.

The Indian people in general, have been laughing at academicians and others that come to study what they call "Truth" when in point of fact they only know a very limited kind of truth. They are ignorant of the fact that there are numerous kinds of truth and numerous ways other than the holy scientific method of determining truth. As long as the academic institutions ignore the fact that there are other ways, they will continue to be pointed out in wonderment and amazement, and laughed at for their silly ways by the Indian people.

For example, books being used at numerous institutions concerning some communication skills such as interaction group, interaction communal living, extended family, body language, etc., will be treated as very naive by Indian students. It is true that the redneck academician can stand on his stubborn legs and demand that the Indian student give in, but he will still be laughed at.

It is my personal opinion that the drop out problem will be continued until institutions can learn to be accepting of other values and can learn that there might be other life objectives with a great deal of meaning attached to them. Put another way, I am saying that until teachers, administrators and institutions can be developed, that are "Indian" in philosophy, attitude and values, the drop out rate will continue to be high among the American Indian students.

THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATIONS IN INDIAN LIFE

**Position Paper
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Washington, D. C.**

THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATIONS IN INDIAN LIFE

On his deathbed, the famed novelist John Steinbeck confided to a close friend that, as a writer, the only individuals remaining in the world whom he envied were black people, because he could perceive the unrealized wealth of their profound yet largely untold experience.

Indian people today enjoy a more diverse, realized and unuttered universe than the American blacks, a universe also largely unexamined and unexplored. Indian America itself is a pluralistic universe of semi-sovereign tribal societies floating like bright leaves on the dark, alien and uncomprehending sea of a larger and intermittently hostile society.

And Indian America in this decade is propelled by a fever of creativity and ferment, a current of aggressive turbulence. In practically every sector of Indian life there is accelerated motion, a soul-burst of activity. Rights and racial conflicts erupt in long-silent areas of Indian country such as North Carolina and Gallup, N.M.; Indian actors enter the New York stage; a cadre of Indian lawyers hastens a broad understanding of the legal dimension of Indian rights in the minds of the Indian majority; the steady encroachment on Indian resource holdings, abetted by the new so-called "energy crisis," emboldens the defense of Indian homelands. A movement toward the total takeover of reservation social institutions is clearly discernible, as is the renewal of tribal religions. This decade is a critical juncture in the shared Indian life, a time in which, according to author-intellectual Vine Deloria Jr., the emotional problems of Indians are no longer overwhelming as a more fathomable future appears on the horizon. The Indian psyche is achieving a new equipoise. This time is a major moment in Indian history.

1. THE COMMUNICATIONS CRISIS

But will this unexplored and active Indian universe be comprehended--and recalled--to the coming Indian generations? Will it be kept in the memory as a heritage? Or will it be permitted, as have some decades past, to slip unacknowledged and unheralded, beyond recall? That is the communications question.

A supposition of tribal bonds is common awareness. The basis for tribal life is common consent. That network of human relatedness, the sense of a family of families we call a tribe, requires a shared awareness of the common life.

Today many Indian communities lack the appropriate power because of the absence of shared contemporary knowledge upon which communities base decisions. The trails of our communities are all too often the trails of gossip and rumor. Indians too often are the last to know the least. Between community and community there are gulfs within a tribe. Those bonds which tie a people together may loosen in some instances, and in other instances fail altogether.

Tribe-to-tribe as well, those lines of communications sometimes fail. While the federal government homogenizes the diverse Indian universe with beneficent or malevolent decision-making affecting the present and the future, individual tribes, isolated from the fates and fortunes of other tribes, repeat their fatal mistakes without the benefit of the knowledge of their successes. Tactics hard won by one tribe, tactics and knowledge addressed to a secure Indian future, go unheard and unheeded by other tribes for lack of information. There is today a crisis of communications among Indians about and for themselves, a crisis only Indians can resolve. How do we go about finding a solution?

The single fundamental assumption for Indian involvement in developing talent in the area of media technology for Indians is a simple one: that the individual tribal societies and other Indian communities are human entities coequal with the dominant non-Indian society, and that the media technology provided in this century can be put into the service of Indian people in an Indian fashion for an Indian future by professional Indian communicators themselves.

Media training and technology--by which are meant educational experiences in the mastering of the disciplines of journalism and printing, radio broadcasting and technology, video broadcasting and technology--can be of immediate and crucial use in the preservation and strengthening of tribal cultures and rights and issues on the reservations, and for the strengthening of self-identity and self-definition for Indians residing outside those locales. Professionalism in media skills can be employed within reservation societies inside the local schools for the cultural shaping of the child, and within the total larger communities to define the common tribal life in both intra-tribal relations and in relations with an outside and engulfing alien society.

2. PROBLEMS IN INDIAN COMMUNICATIONS

Communications problems for Indian people at this point in time are two-fold, the first emanating from within the individual tribal societies, and the second arising from the nature of mass communications today and the controlling perspective or mentality it exhibits toward the American Indian minority community.

A. Failure in Indian communications

The first component of a crisis in Indian communications is the dilution, and in some instances the collapse, of the historic modes of Indian communication within the tribes, bands and clans themselves. In the tribal past, the classic modes of Indian communication have been person-to-person, group-to-group, through storytelling and dance and prayer and the symbolic communication of ceremony, in the setting of families. That classic mode of communication was the primary mode of education, the provision to the young of an entire tribal universe in a fashion which is becoming lost.

In more secure times than these, everything the Indian individual needed to know for self-definition and for tribal definition was made available with the luxury and time of years. For some children, winters were for stories. For all, summer was

for dances, and feasts in the early fall. The ceremonies prevailed like a great hub.

In the different tribal orders of time, the pace of growth and the pace of understanding were assured.

But in many tribal sectors today those classic lines of Indian communication have suffered from intermittent and contradictory federal policies of suppression of the ceremonies, the enforced separation of parents and children, the continuing loss of the ability on the part of many to converse in their original tribal languages, and the overweening presence of the majority American culture and its alternate system of knowledge.

A tribal culture might usefully be defined as a known universe borne in the mind of the individual. And in the long history of collision with the Manifest Destiny society, that known universe has been under siege for centuries. Much of the knowledge, the definition of Indian life borne in the life of one's own grandfather and grandmother is vanishing with time and death. It is timely and mandatory to seek avenues not to replace those traditional modes of communication but rather to restore and enhance them toward a truly Indian future.

B. Failure in the mass media

The second key factor in the dilution of the classic modes of Indian communication is the engulfing of all Indian people by a majority non-Indian society which buffets, ignores and intrudes upon Indian life. The media systems of the non-Indian society and their contents engulf the Indian mind. Much of the tenor of Indian life today is that of a besieged life, a besieged self-understanding.

Indian people, living on reservations in geographic and cultural isolation, are virtually without the benefits of mass communications. Although they have access to all channels of mass communications--daily newspapers, radio and television--the media provide little information of interest or relevance to Indian people. Mass media efforts deal generally with the municipal-county-state-federal governmental structure and have little meaning to a people living under a unique tribal-federal

relationship. Local media, emanating from communities near reservations, not only tend to ignore their Indian constituencies, but more often are hostile to them. The Indian public is the unserved public.

The communications systems in this country consequently are only improperly labelled the "mass media." With more accuracy they must be styled the "majority media," because they serve the information and entertainment needs of a predominantly Anglo Saxon public rather than those same needs of the myriad minorities within the society, including the Indian nations. The concerns, issues, problems and crises within each minority, including the Indian population, become "news events" only when they reach a point of conflict with the majority interests. And when the media focus on Indian life, it is a distorted and grossly simplified rendition of the "Indian problem" which somehow never changes and which will not go away. Because the media are the prime moulders of public opinion within the larger society, their failures can take on sometimes tragic proportions when they fail to seek the total truth. Indians have been subject to stereotyping in the public mind, through films and television primarily, a stereotyping which is racist and demeaning, but worst of all simply unreal.

The communications media work within the cultural mentality of the dominant American society, with all the assumptions, texture and contradictions which comprise the mentality of any given society. That mentality which subtly governs the "outlook" and "perspective" of the major communications systems in America has, in a literal sense, almost nothing to do with the contents, concerns and configuration of Indian life. Indians are virtually edited out of existence. The mentality which governs the media exhibits the very arrogance and triumphalism of the American culture itself, which recognizes no other coequal manner of living. Whatever fails to measure up to this predefined sense of the proper level of life is unfit for public attention. The media mentality reflects the blind spots, the arrogance and the racism of the society itself.

3. THE ROLE OF THE INDIAN COMMUNICATOR

The function of Indian communications today has a dual direction: a direction inward toward the rebuilding of the tribal community, and an outward direction of interpretation of the external society to the extent that it impinges and weighs upon the tribal society.

Indian communicators, like their non-Indian counterparts working in the press, radio and television, must be busy transcribing the first rough draft of the contemporary history of Indian people, and they must take this moment in Indian history with the utmost seriousness. From within the perspective of Indian concerns, they must have the willingness and the responsibility to hold up a mirror to their times--and to the occasionally troubled and murky matters of tribal times in flux. Indian communicators at this point in history must, as in the past, become the reflective, self-aware and trained eyes and ears of our Indian tribal societies. And they must participate in the strengthening of the tribe and the community through their commitment to handing on, and handing down, the tribal realities of the present and the past.

The responsibilities of the Indian communicator extend outward toward the dominant society as well. Because the Indian tribes today are encircled like islands by the larger containing society, and because of the special trust relationship of most of the tribes with the federal government of the United States, much of contemporary Indian life is radically affected by the stances and shifts in federal Indian policy. Indian people are the most regulated people in history, being subject to 389 treaties, 5,000 statutes, 2,000 regulations, 2,000 federal court decisions, 500 Attorney General Reports and 33 volumes of Indian Affairs manuals.

It is no longer adequate or intelligent, in the area of communications, to ignore the responsibility of Indian communicators for the careful and continuing scrutiny of the makers and executors of federal Indian policy, whether in the nation's capital or throughout the federal structure. The role of trained media professionals in relation to their Indian communities is to measure the performance and conduct of the

federal government, and to bring that information in balanced and objective perspective directly to Indian communities themselves. Nor does this media function collide with the function of the Indian politician. In the words of Walter Cronkite, "We cannot tell you what to do, but we can tell you what's happening."

Responsibilities incumbent on the Indian communicator are to be that of a student of tribal and collective Indian history, a chronicler of contemporary Indian times, a responsible investigator of fact relevant to Indian interests and needs, and a diagnostician and prognosticator concerned about the shape of the future from the portents of things present. The scope of interest of the Indian communicator is the scope of the contemporary Indian universe itself and all that impinges upon it. That world is his to comprehend, to record and to convey through the printed word and the media of sound and sight for the Indian publics.

The fundamental conviction underlying Indian communications is that only an informed people has its future in its own hands. At this point in our common history moreover, American Indian life is the last unexamined sector of this society. And the Indian publics, deprived of crucial information affecting their present and their future, have no realistic and responsible basis upon which to form opinions which are the fundamental force in the moving of governments, whether those governments be tribal, state or federal. To be uninformed is to be politically and socially impotent.

The birth of Indian communications is the birth of an enterprise to meet the unmet information needs of Indian communities. Indians have been the least informed on affairs which affect them of any minority in America. They are bereft of these primary matters of information from which spring social and political consciousness. Information has been the privilege of the few. And in the context of the contemporary Indian political world, both knowledge and information spell power. Information to the Indian masses, of course, short-circuits the politics of privileged information. But to paraphrase the Supreme Court Justices in their 1971 ruling on the publication of the Pentagon Papers, the media exist not to serve the governors but the governed.

The development of truly Indian media systems can benefit the Indian citizenry directly and responsively in a time of widespread, known and critical need.

4. EXISTING INDIAN COMMUNICATIONS

Indian people today already have the basis of Indian "minority media." Today over 300 Indian newspapers and newsletters are published regularly on the reservations and in off-reservation Indian communities. Nearly 50 radio stations around the nation carry regularly produced Indian-content broadcasts, most of them prepared by Indian personnel. One full-time Indian radio station, Ramah Navajo Radio at Ramah, N.M., devotes its entire broadcasting day to its Navajo listenership. The All Indian Pueblo Council Communications Project, begun in 1972, envisions the eventual operation of a communications center in Albuquerque, N.M., with radio, television and newsprint components as well as a printing plant. The American Indian Press Association News Service provides a continuing flow of news stories on national and regional Indian matters and events to about 200 member Indian publications. About 10 Indian men and women are working as TV technicians and nightly news telecasters on video stations in the West. Indian documentary and art films in the past year have begun to appear, and the Indian Community Film Workshop in Santa Fe, N.M., is completing the training of a number of young Indians in film production. The American Indian Theatre Ensemble is performing contemporary Indian dramas on the reservations.

This base core of Indian communications endeavors has emerged from the commitment and experimentation of largely untrained Indian individuals anxious to keep their efforts moving while encouraging others to enter Indian media to acquire professional training which will give them equivalent status and professional standing with their non-Indian peers. Newspapers have collapsed with the departure of an editor when no successor can be found. Indian radio shows with large listenerships have gone silent with the transfer of an individual to another locale. Political dismissals of some Indian reservation editors are tolerated on the grounds they are "not properly trained."

As a result, the lack of educational credentials leaves the field of Indian communications tentative and fragile, and those to whom the Indian media are responsible, the Indian publics, precarious. The realistic alternative to this state of flux and perishability is professional training, beginning in the classroom.

5. INDIAN COMMUNICATIONS NEEDS

A two-fold task, then, lies before concerned Indians today: first, for the sake of the continuity of Indian cultures, to preserve, enhance and develop the classic modes of Indian communications with the assistance of new media skills; second, to develop professional media skills among Indians for use both within the Indian societies of the many tribes and communities within this nation, and externally through the injection of Indian perspectives into the mentality of the "majority media" through the development of a cadre of trained Indian media professionals.

To undertake this task is to master the best of a technology and a methodology alien to Indian people, with the purpose of revitalizing and strengthening the familiar, known world of tribal identity, culture and concerns in a manner matched to the potential of this century and matched to the Indian future.

Indian media development is not a luxury. Unless Indian people acquire the skills to mirror their own lives, history and culture, and their own experiences in the schools through media tools, they will continue to be subject to distorted images and half-truths concerning themselves prepared far outside their own world-view for them. Indian media development does not overlap the services of the majority media. The information and entertainment needs of the larger American public overlook the common public Indian life. Serious Indian issues seldom find themselves on the national agenda. The racist stereotypes of Indians as lazy, drunken, savage and wild continue to be imbedded in the public psyche through the media and the film industries.

Unless Indian people accept the responsibility for clearing the spiritual air of those stereotypes and half-truths, they cannot justly complain of media distortions and lack of news coverage of their profound common concerns. Nor can they complain

justly of the continuing lack of adequate curriculum and educational tools in teaching the Indian young about the Indian experience in an Indian way. Unless a corps of Indian media professionals is developed, communications among Indians themselves will continue to rest in the hands of non-Indians, both in the schools and in the communities, both locally and within the national Indian community.

Media development in the immediate future has two immediate bases from which to work: the preliminary network of communications already in existence among Indians today, both traditional and technological, and secondly the media training programs in the federal schools and universities.

Bureau of Indian Affairs schools to some extent today have closed-circuit TV systems installed in their high school facilities. The Labor Department Manpower Training Program, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Interior Department have provided subsidy monies for pilot media projects. The private economic sector is beginning to become responsive to media development. The media job market exists today on reservations, and it is only little noticed. And in the universities, the Indian Studies Programs, coupled with media studies, provide concurrently both craft and content for the development of Indian media. Options for media scholarships and training are gradually becoming known to younger Indians. But amid all this, the prior need is for the definition of communications needs among Indians and a reasoned response to those needs.

Indian educators must recognize communications as a legitimate Indian community need which requires backing by professionally trained Indians, and this training must come through the colleges and universities. Directly related to this is the need for a broadly based scholarship program in communications for Indians. The implications for American Indian education and American Indian life are potentially vast.

In the area of education, professional Indian communicators can be used extensively in the field of curriculum tools where their knowledge of the various media and their uses can considerably assist and augment the work of educators in communicating with their audiences, be they children or college students or Indian parents, tribal leaders,

and other groups involved with Indian education. Media tools, with the immediacy and images of the tribal language, the tribal face, the tribal gesture and accent, have a relevance and a potency yet unexplored.

Within the tribal societies and communities themselves, the cardinal benefit will be the forging of information links among the people themselves, a better informed people who are more enabled to make intelligent determinations regarding their present and their future. The proliferation of a responsible mirror image of the contemporary Indian universe, known and available to all: that is the forthcoming task.

Richard V. La Course
April 1, 1973

**TEACHER CORPS
A MODEL FOR TRAINING TEACHERS**

**Position Paper
Native American Teacher Corps Conference
Denver, Colorado
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**Roger Wilson
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TEACHERS FOR INDIAN CHILDREN

by Roger Wilson

There are many areas throughout the United States where schools and the communities which feed them lie far from the nearest college or school of education. These areas are particularly common in the western states, Arizona, New Mexico, Wisconsin, Wyoming and the Dakotas being excellent examples. Most isolated and usually most distant from the institutions of higher education are the larger Indian reservations so that the schools dealing most with Indian children seldom are used for teacher-intern training or in-service courses for present teachers. Ironically, although the elementary and high schools in these areas are operated mainly for Indian children, the teachers who staff the schools often know nothing of the special characteristics of reservation life, of the language and culture of their pupils, or the best ways to teach children of non-Anglo backgrounds. For the most part, teachers in these schools have been trained in the traditional manner, having taken the usual courses including psychology, child development, and methods of teaching. In terms of practical application, they have spent from six to eight weeks in a student teaching laboratory where the children come from predominantly non-Indian, urban or suburban homes.

Indian children because of their isolated situation and cultural and linguistic background need the best qualified teachers the schools of education can produce. Reservation schools often do get qualified teachers from good colleges, but if the teacher has been recruited from a populous eastern area and has never been in the West before, he is in for a series of shocks when he enters upon his career in Navajo or Hopi country. First comes the physical shock of the light and space and emptiness of the landscape, then the strangeness of the houses, fields, and crafts of the people. He, of

course, is little prepared to understand either the language or the ways of his pupils or the Indian aspects of the "foreign" community he will find himself in.

However, upon reaching his destination in Kayenta, Dennyhotso, or Keams Canyon, he feels a little more at ease. The school buildings are modern, his own housing is more than adequate, and his neighbors on the compound all speak English. Overnight he has hurdled the language - culture barrier. He thinks he is in a world he can cope with.

For a while the isolation, the distance from the nearest railhead or municipal airport, the sand between his teeth are novel - something to write home about. Then soon, driving 250 miles round trip for groceries and other necessities becomes a "drag", and in bad weather, over unsurfaced roads, "town" becomes a tantalizing dream.

In spite of the creeping frustration he feels at home, he feels he should make glorious progress with the untouched minds of his pupils in the classroom. Here, however, he finds himself slowed down, even blocked, unable to make himself clear or to get the response he'd got in practice teaching.

The children in the classroom also encounter frustrations not too different from the teacher's. To them the teacher and his language are foreign, the surroundings with their stiff furniture and unaccustomed patterns are foreign, the rules and regulations concerning behavior, and the threat of discipline are foreign. Many feel homesick and miss their pets and families, and long for their customary freedom of movement out of doors.

If our teacher is in the primary grades, he finds that the children speak little if any English. The intermediate teacher finds his pupils have made some progress in vocabulary and comprehension, but both he and the class find communication limited if not difficult. The upper grade teacher soon finds that he must not require too many compound sentences in compositions

or, in giving instruction himself, use the compound-complex sentence. How can this be, when everyone knows that English is the Universal Language?

At the end of the school year, the teacher who has lasted that long finds his worst suspicions confirmed by the results of the standardized achievement tests. With the exception of spelling, arithmetic computation, and, to some extent, the social studies, the results are quite sad. The drilling in arithmetic and spelling paid off. As for the social studies, in an area which is primarily under the thumb of the federal government, it's not hard to remember that Washington was your father.

Three important factors now enter the picture to plague the teacher. Depending on his attitude toward this first year's experience, they may not necessarily be in the following order. First, he is conscious of the fact that cultural and language differences do exist. But, he wonders, how much they are to blame for the net results of the hard year he has just put in. He has no way of knowing, and that depresses him. Second, the logistics of the situation have depressed his family as well as him -- distances so great and isolation -- whew! Third, he has experienced a frustrating year because he wanted to do a good job and he has lacked success almost all around in the classroom.

Will he stay and take advantage of the things he has learned this year, or will he leave and be replaced by another novice who will have to struggle through a similar experience to a similar end? It's now May 31 and he has until the middle of August to make a decision. During this time, while making up his mind, he can get in two weeks of vacation, take advantage of educational leave, or remain on the compound (and on the pay roll) he' . . . to paint the lavatories or count paper clips.

As picture of muddle and frustration in reservation schools involves both the new teacher and the pupils. Most of us concerned with Indian

education realize the sad truth of the picture just sketched. We see the teacher's lack of information about the children themselves, their language, their culture, and the community they spring from as prime inhibitors of their educational development in the schools. We also see the teacher's reaction to frustration in the classroom, isolation and distance as a prime factor in the attrition of teaching personnel.

What to do?

We obviously cannot offer a different physical environment for the new teacher, so the answer seems to be to get a different type of teacher, the ideal reservation teacher. How can we recruit or produce such teachers? One way would be to retrain existing staff; another would be to get the cooperation of Colleges of Education to help prospective teachers to learn enough of an Indian culture and language to deal effectively with children of that culture and language. Also, the teacher candidate would have to know, or be initiated into, the realities of reservation life before being asked to teach in Indian country.

Another way to get the ideal reservation teacher would be to take as candidates people who are native to the area, familiar with the language and culture, and accustomed to the isolation and distances involved in living and teaching on a reservation. In Northern Arizona this means recruitment of Navajo and Hopi Indian students, something very little encouraged in the not too distant past.

Until quite recently there was almost no encouragement for Indians to enter the teaching profession. So-called achievement and placement tests indicated to most schools that Indian students would do best in the clerical and vocational fields. Therefore, these are the areas where most Indian students who entered trade schools, colleges, or universities are to

be found. This placement policy has produced a small pool of technically trained young people who find little opportunity to put their skills into practice when they return to their home areas. Those graduates wishing to remain in the mainstream of the dominant society encounter keen competition and, with the exception of civil service positions, find it difficult to survive in jobs outside the reservation. These young Indian men and women with their vocational or fairly good liberal studies backgrounds find themselves presently working as teacher aides or in clerical positions. Many need only the opportunity and some encouragement to enter the profession of teaching.

Another source of teachers which we must recognize is the group of earnest non-Indians who desire to teach on the reservation and have the dedication to stay where they are needed. However, desire and dedication are difficult to measure, and ability to acclimate to reservation conditions can be measured only after the fact. Now here is where the Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps based on the Northern Arizona University campus comes in. It is, so far, the best instrument for developing, shaping, and tempering the prospective ideal teacher for our Indian children.

The Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps Program was the first major effort to get "the ideal teacher" for the reservation schools. There were teacher-interns from Teacher Corps in several Indian schools serving the Sioux tribes in Nebraska and South Dakota in 1966, and the interns involved received academic training at the University of Nebraska in Omaha, but the program merely added useful, partially trained personnel to the schools. It did not constitute a full scale Teacher Corps Program.

The Teacher Corps began as a result of Congressional legislation in 1965 with the first programs getting under way in 1966. The Northern Arizona University program got started in the summer of 1968 with five

participating schools on the Navajo Indian land. In 1969 five more schools, some Hopi, the others Navajo, joined the program. There are now projects operating on Indian reservations in ten states.

About half the current projects are in major cities, including nearly all of the 25 largest. Most of the rest involve smaller towns and rural areas, taking in migrant camps, Spanish-speaking communities, Indian reservations, and parts of Appalachia and the Ozarks.

Teacher Corps projects usually team up with a university school of education, one or more nearby school districts, and the school communities. A federal grant enables the participating parties to work together toward educational reform and innovation for two years. The Washington staff of the Teacher Corps assists each program to attain its objectives and offers help when difficulties arise.

The Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps Program is part of the nationwide effort to produce qualified teachers for areas with high concentrations of low income families, while encouraging colleges and universities to broaden and specificate their teacher preparation programs. The people who designed and constantly redesign the local program expect that it will strengthen educational opportunities for Navajo and Hopi children as well as encourage members of the two tribes to enter the teaching field. The university and Corps staff people also expect that what the Corps learns will be disseminated to other schools of education, other states, other local educational agencies to the noticeable improvement of education in communities scattered over the country.

The Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps program is administered through the College of Education of Northern Arizona University with funds coming from the United States Office of Education under the Bureau of Health, Education, and Welfare. Representatives of the NAU College of Education staff, the two

co-directors of the Teacher Corps Program, officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs agencies and schools, personnel of the public schools involved, and members of the tribal governments all have a part in planning for the two year phases or cycles by which a "class" of interns learns what and how to teach on the Navajo and the Hopi reservations.

This by no means exhausts the list of cooperating groups in a Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps program. By means of Indian interns, parents in the school community get drawn into consultation about curriculum changes, staff changes, and changes in school policy. Other adults get involved in the presentation of native lore - folktales, customs and information - to children in the classroom. Some attend General Educational Development or other adult interest classes. Thus the university, the BIA Agencies, local educational agencies and the local community are involved with one another to their mutual benefit. Not only do the children get better instruction, but feedback to the School of Education helps toward modification of teacher training and dissemination of new ideas to all the schools of the area.

A most interesting aspect of the Corp's procedure is the planned involvement of the university, local educational agency, and Indian parents in the selection of all team members. A review committee including the above mentioned representatives previews, assesses, and interviews all applicants, all of whom will be spending their next two years in a reservation school if they pass muster.

The Navajo-Hopi program operates on a team basis with each participating school supplying a team leader for the five or six teacher interns assigned to it. These teacher interns are students of at least junior or senior standing with a minimum of 60 semester hours college credit. Each one must evidence a strong interest in and commitment to improving educational opportunities for Indian children. Team leaders are experienced teachers

in the local school. They take part in various aspects of the preservice summer sessions with which interns begin their "apprenticeship". The interns during the preservice weeks decide which team leader and school they wish to associate themselves with and they are normally assigned to the school and leader of their choice. Team leaders are normally on the payroll of the local educational agency so that their salaries form part of the local financial support of the Teacher Corps effort.

The average intern, nationwide, is 23 years of age, somewhat more likely to be male than female, and a member of a minority group in almost 50% of the cases. Many already have a bachelor's degree and will receive the Master of Arts on completion of the program. The undergraduates will receive a Bachelor of Science at the successful completion of their two years. Ten percent of the interns are 30 years old or over, and many are married, with an average of 1.4 children. This last group of interns shows the strongest tendency to drop out of the program because of problems stemming from trying to maintain a family on the limited time and salary the program allows them.

About 5% of those entering the summer preservice schooling drop out, leaving 95% who go on into actual internship. A very high percentage (86%) of those who complete the program have tended to stick with teaching and to work with children in low income areas.

In all, 47 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia have had Teacher Corps programs in operation; almost 10,000 interns have been trained, and thousands of students, parents, and teachers have an opportunity to participate in the formulation of school programs. Currently the Corps is serving children in 152 school systems, 37 states, in inner city ghettos, in correctional institutions, in the barrios of the Southwest and the hills of Appalachia. The projection for 1974 indicates that these numbers will

substantially increase.¹

Applicants accepted by the Northern Arizona University Teacher Corps program, actually now called the Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps, begin in their program by taking a preservice summer on the campus at Northern Arizona University. The classes include intensive study of the language and culture of the Indian people of the area, as the preservice work is designed to give the corpsmembers the background to manoeuvre and manipulate within the total educational framework of the field situation. Basically, this preservice training will give a picture of the child in his environment -- at home, in the school, and in the community. The seminar type course includes not only language and culture but the community, dealing with problems of cultural differences and child development.

At the end of summer the interns begin their first year's service. During inservice, actual techniques and theory coursework are offered in order that the intern may put into practice the principles of education as soon as he receives them. Instruction for interns in the Local Educational Agency is by video tape (micro teaching) and other audio-visual means, with lessons open for discussion with the team leader. The university, by constant supervision of the classroom internship and community activities, helps direct the intern in his choice of coursework for the interim summer.

In the classroom the five or six interns at a school usually begin by working with individual pupils in tutorial functions. They go on to small group work and eventually deal with the whole class, thus freeing the teacher for other duties. The members of the team rotate every six weeks so that each one gets experience in working with all grade levels. The class-

¹P.B.T.C., Vol. 1, No. 8, Multi-State Consortium on Performance-Based Education, (March, 1973).

rooms may range from the traditional self-contained type to variations of the open and portal types. Each Corpsmember, working with the team leader, fellow interns, teachers, and teacher aides, get opportunities to work in the widest range of teaching situations the school provides.

About 60% of the intern's time goes to actual work in the classroom, where he learns teaching techniques as they apply to the Navajo or Hopi child. About 20% of his time goes into efforts to relate to and understand the community and to get community people to interact with the school; the remaining 20 percent goes to University studies.

As the interns begin to see how language and culture cause people in the community to react, they apply the insight to their classroom work and can better apply their knowledge of the general structure of the language when they give remedial work or plan English lessons. By means of this kind of program, with its many levels of feedback, the interns can plan their work and assess the children's achievement realistically. They will not search fruitlessly for mental or physical handicaps when their pupils seem incapable of hearing certain terminal consonants, misuse gender, or create amazing irregularities in the tenses of regular English verbs. They will have heard all this in the adult community from high and low alike. Also the interns know enough of the native language to appreciate the difficulties their pupils face in learning to use the foreign language, English.

Oddly enough, Indian interns usually require course work during the preservice or interim summer to learn some aspects of their own native language, the alphabets of which differ markedly from the English. Most Navajo and Hopi college freshmen can neither read nor write their own language though they learn to do both rapidly and with ease if they speak the language fluently and accurately. They also may need some course work in the structure and grammar of the language as well as in tribal history and political set-up.

The intern has to learn to deal with religious and social taboos or he finds himself in conflict with essential values of his pupils and the community. For example, he must know that clouds have his scientific account of their origin and a deeply held Hopi belief concerning their cause. The Hopi child has been taught all his life that clouds are smoke blown from the pipe of Pipmonqwi (tobacco chief). In a gym class or at a social dance, he must know that a boy and girl of the same Navajo name - (clan) cannot dance together because "brother" and "sister" must not touch one another. This clan relationship, having nothing to do with blood kinship, is still one of the firmest bars to marriage in the tribe.

When the first year of internship ends, the interns go back to Northern Arizona University for a second summer's work. By now most know what grade level or subject areas they wish to specialize in so that they can plan their courses and ready themselves for the second school year on the reservation, when they actually do specialize under the team leader's guidance. At the end of the second successful year of internship, the intern receives his bachelor's degree or the master's degree and is ready to accept a teaching position on his own.

By this time the intern has had two years of reservation life. He knows a fair bit about the tribe he has worked with. He has had some real successes in his schoolroom and community experiences. He, whether Indian or non-Indian, should be able to survive the isolation and distance problems of reservation teaching and feel at home among "the people". He will not let the chain link fence which borders the compound isolate him as it has isolated so many teachers who have not had Teacher Corps background.

Although the rationale for surrounding the school and all its facilities with a high metal fence is that the fence keeps out stray cattle, the fence seems to keep teachers in, isolated from the Indian community. Up to the

present, few teachers have tended to venture beyond the gates except to go to town or to the trading post, where they experience no language or cultural barriers. Thus, although the non-Indian teacher could be viewed as a minority within a minority while on the reservation, he seldom experiences the problems of crossing cultural barriers, one of his students' greatest problems.

In the classroom it is no different. The teacher can handle the language barriers for the moment by use of a native-speaking teacher aide or custodian. Don't get me wrong' many teachers in schools on the reservation are concerned, dedicated professional people and many stay a long time, but their effectiveness is limited until they gain a solid acquaintance with and understanding of the culture and "the people" they work among.

The attitude of the teacher is paramount. If there is one single thing we should instill into our prospective reservation teachers besides knowledge of subject matter, teaching methods and techniques, it is a positive attitude toward the children they will be teaching. The Indian child is as bright, as enthusiastic, as naughty, as lovable, as teachable...as human, as much of an individual as any child...anywhere. Cultural differences and language interfere with his easy achievement of goals the teacher sets for him. The same cultural differences (looking in the opposite direction) and language difficulties blind the "untaught teacher" to what is really happening. So student and teacher suffer frustration and failures which impell many to dropout.

Let's go back now and restate just what type of program we want for the new style reservation teacher so that Indian children will benefit by the best education that can be designed and administered for them. First, we have seen that the raw material is available-in young Indian men and women with ability and the desire to become teachers, and in able non-Indians with a sincere interest in teaching Indian children. We still need

some measurement tools to predict their success in performance and probable longevity as teachers on the reservation, but interest and real desire are basics we cannot do without. Secondly, we want a performance based program, one which places emphasis on the results produced in children and the community. This aim brings us back to the mandate Congress gave to the Teacher Corps: "to broaden teacher education and serve the children of low income areas."

The Teacher Corps interprets "broaden teacher education" to mean the development and implementation of an effective alternative to the way teachers have been trained under standard teacher education programs. The Teacher Corps Statement of Mission identifies this alternative kind of teacher education program as competency based teacher education.

Competency based teacher education has a number of distinguishing characteristics. Teacher preparation goals are measured against three criteria: knowledge, performance, and product. Knowledge concerns a person's competence in terms of what he knows; performance, his competence in terms of what he can do; and product, his competence in terms of what the children can do and become as a result of their being taught by him. Typical traditional teacher training programs aim at developing the candidate's knowledge and skills quite explicitly; the child's growth and performance came into the picture only by implication and so are often neglected or imperfectly understood as goals for the trainee.

In competence based programs the minimum level of mastery or competency is established for each objective and the learner has as much time as he needs to complete the objectives successfully. The program planners take seriously the things educators say they believe about how learning occurs. As a result, learning objectives are carefully determined in advance and made clear to the teacher-trainee prior to his instruction. The basic units of competency based teacher education (CBTE) are modules, and each module

sets forth its objectives and a variety of alternative ways a student may use to reach the objectives. The student may, with permission, set up his own way to achieve the objectives in the modules.

Since performance and product criteria are crucial to competency based teacher education, prospective teachers must receive instruction in a setting where each one can work directly with children. This means that "field work" begins early in the student's program and extends over a much longer time than observation and practice teaching does in most traditional programs.

Teacher Corps has established the "module" as a primary means of achieving a competency based program of instruction. Instructional modules vary in many ways: in difficulty, content, time requirements, objectives, etc., but they share a common format. The format is intended to assist the learner to understand the objectives and the alternative ways in which he may proceed through instructional experiences toward the successful completion of the objectives.

In the design of the module system, feedback is a major component. It provides the learner with reinforcement and immediate opportunity for remediation. The feedback mechanism makes the system responsive because it requires interaction between the developer of the module or the instructor using the module and the student himself. The module to some extent forces the learner to make choices and then follow them through; consequently, he tends to seek advice from the teacher. Thus they meet frequently on a one-to-one basis. This contributes to the personalization and individuation of instruction, even the tailoring of some aspects of modules to the learner's individual needs, a great boon in our so often depersonalized schools of higher learning.

Because the competencies expected are spelled out in the form of objectives, problems of accountability are minimized. Both students and

the programs can demonstrate success in visible, assessable ways. Management can be made systematic, efficient, and simple enough to contribute to the quality of the program and to the educational development of each program participant.

Simplification may seem a strange outcome of the use of instructional modules in the light of the seven criteria for each module and the vast number of modules required. Yet simplification of a very important kind does result from the use of properly planned modules. The elements of a module are specific enough that where objectives are not fulfilled the module can be inspected, its parts evaluated, and its point of breakdown rather quickly found and remedied. If a module does work, but not to the teacher's liking, evaluation part by part and then an overall view can help the teacher build in a new element or reorganize those already there to achieve the results desired... Here we find a great point of superiority of competency based teacher education over the older styles of teacher education with their vagueness and subjectivity in the area of "product" or changes in the person being taught.

The competency based teacher education approach focuses on what the students are able to do after instruction rather than on performance prior to instruction. Stated in another way, the exit requirements are much more important than the entrance requirements. This means that students who have great potential as teacher but who found standard, campus based program and campus life more than they could handle have a new and better chance than before to become teachers. However, Teacher Corps still requires at least two years of college credit for entrance.

Competency based teacher education offers a number of advantages to native Americans and others of minority groups who wish to learn to teach. First, of course, is the fact that recruitment of minority people is actively

pursued in the name of the Teacher Corps. Then, the interns actually work in schools and with people of their own ethnic and geographical backgrounds. They can work with theory, in the classroom, as soon as they are taught it, and competency based teacher education training gives the trainee a knowledge of his competencies so that he can hold up his head in a certain amount of pride at his accomplishment. Each competency he achieves gives him new, solid ground for new educational experiences so that eventually he finds pleasure in learning and can take ease in his relationships with pupils and his own classmates. This all leads to good expectations of successful completion of internship and a greatly reduced likelihood of teacher turnover on the reservation, in the barrio, and wherever else the "new" teacher may have come from, for he has in effect been there all along.

The minority group recruit, whether American Indian, Chicano, Black, or Appalachian, develops direct contacts with the university or teacher education college on which his branch of Teacher Corps is based. He brings with him significant knowledge of the community and his people. Thus the higher educational institutions get input that helps them improve their offerings, both in kind and quality, while the trainee carries out with him the broader concepts and clearer, deeper insights he has gained at the university.

The Teacher Corps has actively taken up the challenge of preparing teachers for work with children of low-income areas and of changing attitudes, methods, and programs of schools of education across the country. Competency based teacher education puts the best tools so far into the hands of the prospective teacher, but it makes very heavy demands on the teacher training institutions. One point of real difficulty is the seemingly simple need to schedule modules of instruction which do not always fit tidily into semesters or weekly hour schemes, especially when students take very different lengths of time

to accomplish the work of a cluster of modules. Colleges of all sorts still find truly individual scheduling and individualized instruction almost agonizingly difficult because of their own built in rigidities.

The Teacher Corps has begun to get some flexibility into schools which have taken up the Corps' challenge. It has begun to get people in the communities to take responsibility for some aspects of the school, its program, and its interaction with the community at large. It has begun to retrain teachers on the job and to put new, competent teachers into areas where only the best can do the job required. It has also been used to accomplish such things as introducing kindergartens into a school district, establishing educational programs for young offenders in a state prison, and preparing curriculum for African studies.

At the university level there has been a break in the academic isolation in which schools of education have operated, and faculties are getting into closer contact with the realities of the classrooms for which they prepare teachers.

Many universities have revised their teacher education curricula so that there is a significant shift away from the traditional lecture-library coursework toward seminars, credit for classroom experience, and work in the community. Most important, these changes are being incorporated into the regular program for student teachers.

Similar advances are being made in the lower schools though not quite to the same degree. The use of teacher aides and volunteers has increased; inservice training of regular staff has increased; new curricula have been introduced and old ones modified; new staffing patterns have been attempted; and bilingual and culturally oriented instruction has been introduced or increased where it already existed.

There have been gains in the interrelation between the schools and their communities as evidenced by increased parent participation in school oriented

meetings for whatever purposes, by formation of parent tutoring groups, by the willingness of parents to volunteer classroom services, and by the lower dropout and absentee rates. Teacher Corps also brings hope to the communities because it has set up a ladder for career oriented minority people and by granting a weekly stipend to interns actually enables students to set foot on some of the rungs for upward mobility.

Teacher Corps has done much, especially in establishing CBTE; it can and will do more to improve education in low-income areas and to change for the better the schools of teacher mobility.

With the proper professional preparation of Indian people, they should eventually be controlling their own educational destiny and have full self-determination.