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ABSTRACT

Fducational systems (both tribal and formal) of the Pueblo Indians, including Taos, San Juan, Tesuque, Zia, Zuni, and the Bernalillo District in New Mexico, were analyzed. The analysis included discerning whether or not (1) the Pueblos' traditional culture and heritage is being taught and to what extent and (2) bilingual and bicultural studies have been implemented in the elementary and/or secondary schools on the reservations and to what degree. Interviews were conducted at day schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the All Tribes Mission School, and schools in the Zuni area. Students, teachers, school personnel, and parents were questioned about tribal and formal education. It was found that so far San Juan has been the only pueblo to introduce bilingual and bicultural studies into the elementary school. The others prefer to keep the tribal and formal educational systems departmentalized with tribal education in the kivas. Even though bilingual and bicultural studies have not been developed at Taos, Tesuque, Zia, and Zuni, Indian aids who speak the language of the pueblo have been hired to reinforce instruction. This paper also discusses the history, language, and educational and population statistics of the Pueblo Indians. (NQ)

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The Pueblo Indians Of New Mexico:

An Analysis of the Educational System

[1974]

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Review of the Literature

The amount of information available on the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico is vast, although most of the studies have been done by sociologists, linguists, historians, and anthropologists. A valuable anthropological study, The Pueblo Indians of North America has been written by Edward P. Dozier, a Pueblo Indian, and a cultural anthropologist. Dozier's text has been invaluable for general reference. In spite of the abundance of material available from various disciplines, research on Indian education has been minimal.

Gilbert Sax's text, Empirical Foundations for Educational Research has been an asset in constructing a research design especially his chapters on the methodology of the interview.

A survey of the publications on the North American Indians located in the Education Index indicates that studies have been conducted on various tribal groups throughout the United States, although current information on the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico is non existent.

The ERIC Clearing House on Rural Education and Small Schools has published a valuable study, The Educational Disadvantage of the Indian American Student by L. Madison Coombs, which is an important national survey.

The Office of Educational Programs, Publications Service at Haskell Junior College, Lawrence Kansas, has provided Statistics Concerning Indian Education, which has been most useful.

In addition to the texts, the Commission of Indian Affairs, Sante Fe has been cooperative in providing population statistics on the Pueblo Indians. Perhaps, the most valuable specific research on the Pueblos of New Mexico has been conducted by Anne E. Smith, who has written Indian Education In New Mexico. Her earlier research, New Mexico Indians is a pioneer study dealing with the economic, educational, and social problems of the Indians.

General Backround

The Indian Americans are an ethnic minority of some 600,000 persons in a nation which has a population of over 200,000,000. Indians have been among the most disadvantaged Americans pertaining to job opportunity, housing, health, and education. The average income for Indian families has been about 75% below national norms or at about $1,500 per year. The unemployment rate has also been about 40%, which is ten times below the national figure; the average life span of Indians is about 44 years which is drastically lower than the general population. Indian students drop out of school at a much greater rate than the general population, while their achievement has also lagged far behind in contrast to students from the dominant culture.[1]

Presently Indian children attend Federal, public, and private schools. In 1973 (fiscal year) 187,613 Indian students between the ages of 5 to 18 were enrolled in schools in the United States. About

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1 Coombs, L.M., The Educational Disadvantage of the Indian American Student, p. 11

68.5% of all Indian children of school age 5 to 18 were enrolled in public schools, 25.6% were enrolled in Federal schools, and 5.9% attended private or mission schools.

Several states which contain a sizeable Indian population are totally responsible for the education of their Indian students. Education of the Indian is largely out of the jurisdiction of the Federal Government in California, Idaho, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs was directly responsible for education of 55,051 students enrolled in Federal schools and housed in Federal dormitories. In 1973 the BIA operated 195 schools with an enrollment of 51, 180 Indian children, and 19 dormitories for 3,871 children who were attending public schools. In addition the BIA was partially responsible for approximately two thirds of the students enrolled in public schools.[2]

Theory

A survey of the literature reveals that there exists a well defined body of theory, which has been formulated by the social scientists concerning the causes of the educational dilemma in which the American Indian is involved.[3] The main formulators of the theory have been the anthropologists, sociologists, and linguists with relatively little input from educators.[4] As a result of this educators are generally finding that there exists an imbalance of input, and they

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2 Hildebrand, A. C., Statistics Concerning Indian Ed., pp.1-3

3 Coombs, L. M., p. 85

4 Ibid...p.41

attempting to implement a theory, which they have not designed. Also, educators may be reticent in accepting a theoretical frame of reference presented to them by the specialists, who generally do not work intimately in the classroom setting. In spite of this possible problem, "both the social scientists and the educational practitioners recognize that American Indians must be helped to find a place in today's world which is satisfying to them, while ensuring their right of self-determination and the dignification and preservation of Indian culture."[5]

The Senate Subcommittee discovered that for numerous years the public and Federal schools have been deficient in their education of Indian children. The dominant policy of the government towards the Indians has been one of coercive assimilation which has had disastrous effects on the education of the Indian children.[6]

Parmee, an anthropologist states that " the dominant culture can create serious social and psychological conflicts within the minority society. These conflicts can actually inhibit the very adjustment or change that the dominant culture is trying to promote. Furthermore, they can affect the potential human resources of the minority society in such a deleterious manner that the people are left morally, weakened, culturally deprived, and economically dependent."[7] In order to prevent this from occuring alternatives to the existing system must be considered

According to Coleman's Report the educational system of the Indians has been extremely inadequate, which is reflected by tests administered to Indian students that do not efficaciously measure attitudes, intelligence nor qualities of character. What is measured,

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5 Ibid...p.41

6 Ibid...p.42

7 Ibid...p. 43

however, are the skills which the dominant culture value for the acquisition of jobs in a rapidly changing technological society.[8]

Several investigators are convinced that the low scholastic achievement on the part of numerous Indian students has been brought about by the alienation of the Indian students towards the dominant society and the educationel system itself.[9]

Related to the problem of alienation is the self-concept of the Indian student. The chairman of the Senate Subcommittee has written: "Indian children more than any other minority group believe themselves to be below average in intelligence."[10] The concept which the Indian student has of himself seems to be reinforced by the low achievement on the "culture bound" tests.

In an attempt to remedy the existing situation a bicultural theory of education has been developed. The bicultural theory for education calls for biculturalism over acculturation, the use of Indian cultural materials in the instructional program, bilingual instruction in the teaching of English rather than the teaching of English as a second language, teachers especially trained and sensitized to Indian culture, and Indians controlling the schools where their children attend.[11]

Hypotheses

The survey or review of the literature results in a recognition of the problems involving Indian education and the proposed resolution of these problems through the implementing of bicultural programs, which precipitates the formation of hypotheses about the Pueblo Indian and their existing educational systems.

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8 Ibid...p.44

9 Ibid...p. 48

10 Ibid...p.55

11 Ibid...p.85

Since the Pueblo Indians have a strong social organization, an analysis of the educational system should include both formal and tribal education. If the social organization is as influential as it has been in the past, then through tribal education the Indian children should learn the language of the specific pueblo, the history, legends, and religion of the community, and the significance of the traditional rituals and ceremonies.

If bilingual and bicultural studies have been implemented in the school system, then the formal educational system should have teachers who have had special training in bilingual and bicultural instruction, which would lead to instruction in both the Indian language and English, separate Indian language classes, and an emphasis in the curriculum upon the culture, history, literature, art and music of the Pueblo Indians.

If the Pueblo students do not receive bilingual and bicultural education, then the students experience cultural conflict as a result of trying to deal with the values of two diverse educational systems, the formal and the tribal.

Purpose

The purpose of this field research is to analize the educational systems of the Pueblo Indians, including Taos, San Juan, Tesuque, Zia, Zuni, and the Bernalillo District in New Mexico. Both tribal and formal education are considered in the study. The analysis of the tribal system includes discerning whether or not the traditional culture and heritage of the Pueblos is being taught and the extent

to which tribal education occurs. The study of the formal education involves discerning whether or not bilingual and bicultural studies have been implemented in the elementary and/or secondary schools on the reservations, and the degree to which the implementation has occured.

Methodology

In this study the research method is the interview, which "represents a direct attempt by the researcher to obtain reliable and valid measures in the form of verbal responses from one or more respondents."[12] The information gathered from the interview will either confirm or refute hypotheses. Therefore, the data collection process is a means to an end and not an end in itself.

According to Sax there are advantages and disadvantages to this approach to research. The greatest advantage of the interview is that it is highly flexible allowing the researcher to change his mode of questioning when the situation demands it. If the subject does not understand the question, it can be rephrased. The interview is also an advantage to the respondents, since they are allowed the freedom to enlarge upon a question, retract a statement, or ask for clarification of an ambiguous question. By using this methodology the researcher not only observes what the respondent says, but the way in which he responds. Sometimes the way the subject responds is as important as the content of the response.[13]

The interviewer must constantly keep in mind that the establish -

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12 Sax, G., Empirical Foundations for Educational Research, p. 201

13 Ibid...p.202

ment of rapport between himself and the respondent is extremely important, since once the respondent perceives the situation as being non threatening and is open and frank, the validity of the interview is enhanced.[14]

Although the flexibility of the interview is an advantage, allowing the respondent the freedom to respond in any way he chooses, problems arise when attempting to summarize, categorize and evaluate because respondents may be using a different frame of reference than the interviewer. A second disadvantage of the interview is that the personal values, beliefs, and biases of the interviewer may influence the outcome of the investigation. Another disadvantage is the use of the interview technique when other reliable and more suitable techniques are available. When this is done, conflicts arise between facts and opinions.[15] Lastly, finding reliable informants or respondents during a short term investigation may influence the reliability of the conclusions.

Orientation

The Pueblos are genetic and cultural descendents of the Anasazis and the Mogollons, whose prehistoric desert culture goes back more than 10,000 years. The ancestors of the Pueblos were hunters and gatherers who later domesticated corn (2000 - 3000B.C.) By 300B.C. the Pueblos lived in villages where baskets and eventually elaborate forms of pottery were made. The Pueblos developed elaborate three

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14 Ibid...p.202

15 Ibid...p.203

and four storied apartment-like dwellings, which included the kivas, special circular buildings used for ceremonial purposes. Simultaneously, irrigation techniques were learned.

A high degree of social organization and civilization was acquired between 700A.D. and 1300A.D., when the Pueblo culture covered vast portions of the Southwest, including Mesa Verde, Aztec and Chaco Canyon, Canyon de Chelly, Kayenta, and the Point of Pines. The cliff dwellings (ruins) reflect the communal atmosphere of the Pueblos.

Towards the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, there occured a widespread abandonment of the cliff dwellings, farms and villages within the areas mentioned above. The entire Pueblo culture retreated to the Rio Grande area and to numerous sites in Western New Mexico. Shortly after resettlement of the Pueblos, the Apaches and Navajos, nomadic tribes, began to settle in New Mexico and Arizona. These later tribal groups adopted many aspects of the Pueblo culture.

In 1540 the Spaniards led by Francisco Coronado established headquarters among the Tiwa Pueblos at Taos. The Indians were expected to provide Coronado's troops with provisions, which eventually led to animosity and overt hostility, resulting in the massacre and oppression of the Pueblos by the Spanish. The Spaniards attempted to eradicate native religious practices by invading the kivas and destroying ceremonial paraphernalia as well as suppressing ceremonies, attempting to replace the Pueblo religion with Catholicism.

Missionaries competed with civil authorities for Indian labor.

After several years of oppression, in 1680 the Pueblos organized and revolted against the Spanish, killing missionaries and colonists and burning the missions and settlements. However, in 1693 Don Diego de Vargas reestablished Spanish control in New Mexico. The Pueblos finally compromised and adopted the externals of the new faith; however, they clandestinely continued to practice there ancient rituals and kiva ceremonies.

Gradually the Pueblos began working more cooperatively with the Spanish and even assisted Spanish troops in suppressing attacks from the invading Apaches and Navajos.

While the Spanish territory was being lost to the Anglo-Americans, the Pueblos returned to practicing their former religion, until once again persecution occured with Anglo domination. American missionaries and U.S. Indian Service officials took steps to remove the Indian children from their families by enrolling them in boarding schools, thus preventing the children from being influenced by the tribal values and religion. The policy for a number of years was one of coercive assimilation. Indian Service officers were instructed to prevent ceremonial practices, which were considered as being anti-Christian and indecent.

Even though the policy towards the Indians has gradually changed during the twentieth century, the Pueblos remain secretive pertaining to their sacred religious customs because of the negative experiences of the past in dealing with Spaniards and Anglo Americans.[16]

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16 Dozier, E., The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, pp. 1-5.

Historically the Pueblos were the original settlers of the Southwest and New Mexico. Later the Apaches, Navajos, and Utes settled in New Mexico as well. Also, in the past the various tribes have suffered losses in population due to war, accidents, and diseases. Even in modern times some of the same problems continue to affect the Indians even though there has been a gradual increase in the population of the Indians of New Mexico.

In 1972 the Indian population of New Mexico was 78,660 or about 12 % of the total Indian population of the United States. In New Mexico Indians comprised about 6% of the total population. The Jicarillo Apache numbered 3,278, while the Mescalero Apache were enumerated at 1,850. The Navajos had a population of 51,183, and the resident population of the Pueblos was 22,333.[17]

The Pueblo Indians, who have lived in compact villages known as pueblos since prehistoric times have been grouped according to their three major languages. The following chart distinguishes the languages and the villages chosen for study.

Tanoan		Keresan	Zuni
Tiwa ...	Taos	Chochiti	Zuni
	Picuris	San Felipe	
	Sandia	Santo Domingo	
	Isleta	Santa Anna	
		Zia	
Tewa ...	San Juan	Laguna	
	Santa Clara	Acoma	
	San Ildelfonso	Canoncito (Navajo)	
	Pojoaque	Alamo	
	Nambe		
	Tesuque		
Towa ...	Jemez		

17 The Commission of Indian Affairs, Sante Fe

The following chart shows the number of Indian children 5 to 18 who were enumerated and enrolled in the Federal, public, and private schools of New Mexico in 1973. Included in the tabulation are the students who also were enumerated but not in school, and unknowns.[18]

Area	Total Enumerated	Federal	Public	Private	Total	Not in School	Unknown
Albuquerque							
N. Pueblo	1,568	533	926	71	1,530	116	22
S. Pueblo	7,209	11,436	4,943	422	6,801	176	232
Zuni	2,203	59	1,605	471	2,135	66	2
Total	10,980	2,028	7,474	964	10,466	258	256
Jicarillo	836	20	756	31	807	4	25
Mescalero	801	61	576	72	709	30	62
S. Ute	293	3	258	6	267	26	-
Ute Mt.	703	99	485	27	611	92	-
Total	2,633	183	2,075	136	2,394	150	87
Navajo	22,517	6,362	9,549	894	20,392	1,698	427
Total N. M.	36,130	8,573	22,685	1,994	33,252	2,108	769

The chart below indicates the percentage of Pueblo, Apache, Ute, and Navajo Indian children between the ages of 5 to 18 enrolled in the Federal, public, and private schools of New Mexico, including those students who are not in school and the unknowns.

Tribe	Total	Federal	Public	Private	Total	Not in School	Unknown
Pueblo	10,980	18.43	68.08	8.80	95.31	2.35	2.34
Apache & Ute	2,633	6.95	78.80	5.2	91	5.7	3.3
Navajo	22,517	28.25	58.34	3.93	90.52	7.54	1.94

18 Hildebrand, A., Statistics Concerning Indian Education p.6

In contrast to the total number of Indian children of New Mexico enumerated and in school between the ages of 5 to 18 including those students who are not in school and unknowns, the Pueblo population is compared in the chart below:

	Indian	Pueblo
Total	36,130	10,980
Federal Schools	8,573	2,028
Public Schools	22,685	7,474
Private Schools	1,994	964
Not in School	2,108	258
Unknown	769	256

For the purpose of this study Day Schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs were visited. Interviews were also conducted at the All Tribes Mission School and the Zuni area. The following chart gives the location, student enrollment and grade levels of the systems studied.[19]

Area	Enrollment	Grades
Taos	207	K-8
San Juan	109	K-6
Tesuque	17	K-4
Zia	84	K-7
Bernalillo	59	K-6
Zuni	2,135	K-12 *

19 Ibid...p. 17

* The Christian Reform Mission at Zuni

INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN NEW MEXICO

1/28/72

COMMISSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS, STATE OF NEW MEXICO
Room A, Bataan Memorial Building
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

TRIBAL INFORMATION

TRIBE	COUNTY	RESIDENT POPULATION	TOTAL LAND ACREAGE IN NEW MEXICO
Acoma Pueblo	Valencia	2,000	245,672
Cochiti Pueblo	Sandoval	500	26,779
Isleta Pueblo	Torrence Bernalillo Valencia	1,859	210,948
Jemez Pueblo	Sandoval	1,298	88,867
Jicarilla Apache	Rio Arriba Sandoval	3,278	742,315
Laguna Pueblo	Valencia Sandoval Bernalillo	3,028	417,454
Mescalero Apache	Otero	1,850	460,384
Nambe Pueblo	Santa Fe	175	19,075
Picuris Pueblo	Taos	98	14,947
Pojoaque Pueblo	Santa Fe	61	11,600
Ramah Navajo Band	McKinley Valencia	1,400 173	15,461
Sandia Pueblo	Sandoval	201	22,885
San Felipe Pueblo	Sandoval	1,360	48,930
San Ildefonso Pueblo	Santa Fe	284	26,192
San Juan Pueblo *	Rio Arriba	1,025	12,234
Santa Ana Pueblo	Sandoval	400	42,528
Santa Clara Pueblo	Santa Fe Rio Arriba	724	45,748
Santo Domingo Pueblo	Sandoval	2,045	69,260
Taos Pueblo *	Taos	1,201	47,341
Tesuque Pueblo *	Santa Fe	216	16,813
Zia Pueblo *	Sandoval	438	112,511
Zuni Pueblo *	McKinley Valencia	5,500	407,747

TRIBE	COUNTY	RESIDENT POPULATION	TOTAL LAND ACREAGE IN NEW MEXICO
Alamo Navajo Band	Socorro	926	58,669
Canoncito Navajo Band	Valencia Bernalillo	1,033	7 84
Navajo Reservation in N.M.	McKinley Rio Arriba Sandoval San Juan	24,157 30 2,402 22,635	2,383,015
Ute Mountain Tribe	San Juan	20	591,670
		27,541	3,683,400

The map (p.14) indicates the location of the reservations visited, while general population statistics obtained from the Commission On Affairs are given in the section which precedes the map (pp. 15 -16)

Taos

The Taos pueblo is located two miles north of the village of Taos. The Indians in this community speak Tiwa which is a Tanoan dialect. The resident population of Taos was 1,201 in 1972. The Pueblos at Taos have a total of 47, 341 acres. The land is used for farming, open grazing and for commerical timber. Over 30,000 acres are leased for grazing purposes.[20]

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20 Smith, A., New Mexico Indians, p. 144

Most of the Indians at Taos seek employment off the reservation at Sante Fe, Albuquerque, or in Colorado. Often the Indians find seasonal or temporary employment for six months to a year, before returning to the pueblo to recuperate before venturing to seek employment once again. Usually the Indians have exhausted their funds before returning to the reservation.[21] The mobility of several of the Indian families creates problems when attempting to tabulate statistics, since often the Indian students may withdraw from a school and be recorded as dropouts; however, they may reenroll in another school in the vicinity where their parents have found employment.[22]

Presently very few families are engaged in agricultural production and grazing livestock on the reservation, in spite of the vast acreage which surrounds the pueblo proper.[23]

The old pueblo proper does not possess electricity, but those homes outside of the main complex of buildings have electricity. The newer homes without electricity are located west of the river which divides the pueblo complex, while five story apartment-like structures, which are reflections of the cliff dwelling period of the past are located on the east side of the river.[24] These older buildings are unoccupied except for a few of the lower flats which have been converted into gift shops for the benefit of the tourists.

A. Smith claimed that the Taos Pueblos were exceptionally conservative, since the Tribal Council refused to allow electricity into the old pueblo complex.[25] However, the general impression

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21 J. Concha, Security Guard, Taos Pueblo
22 Ms. E. Hirley, Many Farms High School, Navajo Reservation
23 C.P. Gurung, Tribuwan Univ., Katmandu, Nepal
24 J. Concha
25 A. Smith, New Mexico Indians, p. 145

received is that electricity is kept out of the pueblo complex to preserve the pueblo as a museum for the benefit of the tourists, since an admission fee of $1.50 is charged per car plus an additional fee of $2.00 per camera. The Taos Indians who pose for pictures also expect to be paid $1.00. The tourist traffic was prolific. In fact most of the activity in the pueblo complex was created by the tourists with relatively few Indians in sight.

While visiting the Taos Pueblo complex, four students were interviewed in a semi-structured manner. Questions were asked about tribal and formal education. Before giving answers the three eighth graders and one ninth grader spoke to each other in Tiwa and then gave their answer in English through a spokesman for the group.

The boys stated that they did not study about their history customs, and religion at school, but they learned their traditions from their grandfathers and at the kiva, although they were reticent to speak about the initiation ceremony, which is at the very center of their tribal education.

While at Taos, the ten year old grandson of the Security Guard was undergoing preparation for his initiation ceremony. This aspect of tribal education would last between six months and a year.[26]

Traditionally, the child to be initiated remained isolated in the kiva, while being taught about the significance of the ceremonies and rituals, which were linked with the ancient Pueblo religion. After several months of prepartion, the day of the initiatio ceremony transpired. At that time masked Katchinas stripped the child naked and began beating him with whips, causing the child

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26 B. Field, Colorado Springs, a friend of the daughter of the Security Guard, J. Concha

to suffer much pain. After the child was beaten by several of the masked Katchinas, the men removed their masks and revealed their identities to the child. The initiated immediately discovered that the masked Katchinas were his father, uncles and relatives. The child was then allowed the opportunity to wear the Katchina masks. Emulating the procedure of his elders, the child was expected to whip his father, uncles, and relatives in the manner in which he had been beaten.[27]

The extent to which the above initiation ceremony is conducted today remains unknown, since not even Dozier, the Pueblo anthropologist, elaborates on this aspect of tribal education. The initiation ceremony and other ceremonies, which center around the kiva, are extremely secretive.

The Pueblos have managed to preserve their ancient religion, although outwardly they profess loyalty to Catholicism. The Indians, however, have not fused Catholic teaching with their ancient rituals, but have managed to keep them departmentalized. The Catholic ceremonies revolve around the church, while the Pueblo religion is practiced in the kiva.

While inquiring about formal education, the interviewer discovered that several years ago a teacher had attempted to implement bicultural and bilingual instruction, but the parents preferred to have their children taught in the medium of English. The parents believed that they their children would learn Tiwa at home. Consequentl the program was abandoned at the school. However, the Security Guard who made the above statement believed that although the older children

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27 P. Horgan, The Heroic Triad p. 58

spoke Tiwa at home, the younger children were losing their ability to communicate efficaciously in the medium of Tiwa.

The fact that most younger children were speaking more English than Tiwa at school was confirmed at the BIA School by the kindergarten teacher, who observed that during the past four years the children had always spoken Tiwa while playing; however during the past year, she noticed nearly a complete reversal. Most children for the first time were speaking in the medium of English while playing.[28] This phenomenon may be a result of the teachers who have been working with the preschool children in the Head Start Program and/or the parents of the preschool and kindergarten children speaking more English and less Tiwa at home.

The three teachers interviewed at the school were in agreement with the Security Guards statement that the parents were opposed to bilingual and bicultural studies at the school. The second grade teacher mentioned that those students who were connected with the experimental program in bilingual instruction were now in the upper grades at the school, and that their command of the English language was severely retarded by the program in comparison to the students who had not received the instruction.[29]

The BIA School at the Taos Pueblo had an enrollment of 207 pupils in 1973.[30] Eight teachers were employed full time. Kindergarten through grade three had self-contained classrooms, while grades foure through eight were departmentalized. Each of the eight teachers had been assigned an Indian aid. The aids served as interpreters

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28 A. Rhiner, kindergarten teacher, BIA School, Taos Pueblo

29. M. Gomez, second grade teacher, BIA School, Taos Pueblo

30 Statistics on Indian Education, p. 17

to reinforce instruction. The Taos Indian aids either possessed an Associate of Arts certificate (two years of training) or were in the process of obtaining it through summer school sessions. The teachers had their bachelor's degrees, but did not have further training in bicultural and bilingual education nor did those [illegible] interviewed feel that such training was necessary, since the community was in opposition to the program. The teachers had all passed the Civil Service Exam, which was a prerequisite to being hirdd by the BIA.[31] Also before being stationed at Taos, the teachers had to appear for an interview before the Tribal Council, who ultimately approved of their teaching on the reservation.[32]

In the past linguists attempted to study and record the Tiwa language; however, they have been unsuccessful, since the language is intimately connected with religious ceremonies and the kiva. Consequently, neither a dictionary nor a grammar has been compiled. The only person who is making an attempt to record stories in the Tiwa language without experiencing static from the community is the teacher who is working in the Head Start Program.[33]

Apparently, the Head Start Program has been highly influential among the various pueblos in New Mexico, and these teachers have precipitated innovations at the BIA Schools.[34]

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31. A. Rhiner

32. J. Concha

33. J. A. McCarthy, Head Start, , Specialist in Early Childhood Ed. and the Humanities

34. P. Hay, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sante Fe

Even though the teachers at the BIA School have not had success with bilingual studies, several of the teachers attempted to implement bicultural studies; however their efforts have resulted in censorship from the community. The art teacher had encouraged the children to draw designs. While the children were drawing, one of the students inadvertently drew a sacred symbol. When the other students discovered that the symbol had been drawn, the violator of the taboo was censored by his peers. The student who had drawn the symbol immediately destroyed it. Another incident of censorship occurred when the English teacher asked the students to describe the San Geronomo Festival. The enthusiastic teacher placed the finished essays on the bulletin board. The teacher, however, was reprimanded and asked to remove the essays by the Tribal Council.[35]

Conclusions - Taos

The social organization of the Taos Pueblos is strong, since the parents represented through the Tribal Council have refused to allow bilingual and bicultural studies to take place at the BIA School. In addition the Tribal Council ultimately hires and fires teachers. Also at Taos the students must undergo tribal education which consists of receiving training for six moths to a year culminating in the initiation ceremony. During the training period the initiate learns the importance and significance of the tribal ceremonies. The extent to which the student learns tribal history, myths, legends, is unknown, since the rituals and activities which take place inthe kiva are secrets of the tribe.

35 M. Gomez & A. Rhiner

The government's attempt to implement bicultural and bilingual studies, undoubtedly, was designed by the experts in an effort to solve the problems which the Indians must endure. However, the government experts may fail to take into consideration the unique history, and problems of the individual tribes in attempting to develop a theory which applies to all Indians.

Since the Taos Indians refuse to allow bicultural and bilingual studies at the school, the teachers must focus upon a curriculum which emphasizes the values of the dominant culture. The degree to which the students experience cultural conflict as a result of the diversified value systems which are taught is unknown. Since the Taos Indians have historically departmentalized the teachings of the church and kiva, they may be able to successfully departmentalize the values being taught through tribal education with those taught through formal education. On the other hand the students may experienc a great deal of pyschological conflict as a result of the diversified values being taught by the different interest groups.

San Juan* is located on the east side of the Rio Grande, five miles north of Espanola, off of Highway 64. It was the sight of the caritol of New Mexico in 1598, before the capitol was relocated at Sante Fe in 1610. The resident population of San Juan was 1, 025 in 1972.[36] The reservation contains a total of 12, 234 acres. San Juan is the largest of the Tewa speaki.g pueblos.[37]

The Head Start Center is located in the middle of the community. It is the regional office, extending programs to eight of the nineteen pueblos of New Mexico. The pueblos, which have Head Start programs include; Taos, San Juan, Nambe, Tesuque, Pojoaque, San Ildelfonso, San Clara, and Picuris. At the San Juan Pueblo two qualified teachers work intimately with two Tewa speaking aids. The aids were studying for their Assoiate Arts certificate at the University of New Mexico. The Head Start teachers were also not available for interviews.[38]

The San Juan Community Cooperative is in the vicinity of the Head Start Center. About 80% of the funds acquired through the cooperative are returned to the pueblo. The cooperative attained increment through the selling of crafts made by the San Juan Indians. Because of its outstanding products and organization, the cooperative has achieved international recognition, since each year visitors from rumerous countries arrive to study its principles.[39]

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* While at Taos the teachers stated that Bilingual and Bicultural studies were implemented at the San Juan Pueblo. As a result of this discovery Isleta was replaced by San Juan.

36 Commission of Indian Affairs, Sante Fe
37 A. Smith, New Mexico Indians p. 130
38 Mrs. Pino, director of Head Start, San Juan Pueblo
39 Mrs. Ortez, San Juan Community Cooperative

While at the cooperative, a relative of one of the Indian aids from the BIA School was interviewed. She stated that the elementary school employed eight Indians, five were aids and three were Indian language instructors. The San Juan Indians affiliated with the school were attending summer sessions in Albuquerque and Sante Fe. The school had six Anglo teachers and a Spanish principal, all of which had master's degrees. During the past year four interns from Massachusetts were also involved in the bilingual and bicultural program from August through December. In addition the Tewa language was in the process of being recorded by Dr. Spears, a Presbyterian minister, who had already published an elementary dictionary on the Tewa language, which was available to tourists at the cooperative for a nominal fee. The language was also the medium of instruction along with English at the school. Each of the six grades was divided into two groups. While the Indian instructor taught one half of the students the lesson in Tewa, the other half of the class received the same instruction in English. The groups were then exchanged, and the lesson was repeated so that all of the students had the opportunity to experience the same lesson in both languages.[40]

The modern elementary school had an enrollment of 109 students,[41] and was well equiped. When the interviewer arrived at the school, the principal was involved with staff members in a conference. He left the meeting to be interviewed. The principal said that bilingual and bicultural studies had been introduced a year ago at the school, and that instruction would commence again on August 4th, in continuation of the program.[42]

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40 Pauline, a clerk at the cooperative

41 Statistics on Indian Education p. 17

42 Mr. David Torse, M.A., San Juan Elementary School (BIA) (Principal)

Besides the regular bilingual instruction, the students had special classes in the Tewa language. For the first year of the language program, students from the fourth, fifth and sixth grades were grouped homogeneously according to their ability to speak the Tewa language. The students who spoke no Tewa were placed in a class for beginners. Those students who knew some Tewa were placed in the intermediate class, while those who spoke Tewa fluently were placed in the advanced class. The three Tewa language instructors were not aids nor did they function as interpreters as they did at Taos, but they had received bilingual language instruction at Sante Fe, where they were continuing their studies during the summer.[43]

The problems associated with bilingual instruction were numerous, since among the San Juan Pueblos there were parents who spoke only English at home, while others spoke only Spanish, a number of parents spoke only Tewa at home. Some of the parents were bilingual and others trilingual. The following chart indicates the possible language combinations.

Primary Lang. (Only)	Primary & Sec.	Primary & Sec.	Trilingual *
1. English	Eng. & Spanish	Eng. & Tewa	Eng. Span. & Tewa
2. Spanish	Spanish & Eng.	Spanish & Tewa	Sp. Eng. & Tewa
3. Tewa	Tewa & Eng.	Tewa & Spanish	Tewa, Eng. & Sp.

The major problem at San Juan is that three different languages are spoken in the community. The parents who speak only English at home do not see a need for their children to learn Tewa at the school, while the parents who speak only Spanish at home may feel

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43 Mr. David Torse, Prinicipal

* The trilingual combinations may be interchanged.

that Spanish should be encorporated into the curriculum. Those parents who speak Tewa, however, did not seem to object to Tewa being taught at the school, and those who are bilingual and/or trilingual with Tewa as a primary, secondary, or tertiary language do not appear object to Tewa being taught. However, further research is necessary pertaining to the number of families who speak the various languages and the combinations. Also, research should be conducted in order to find out the extent to which the languages are spoken at home.[44]

Another interesting aspect of the language problem is that Tewa is divided into two categories, the modern and the classical. The Tribal Council conducts their meetings strictly in classical Tewa, which is almost unintelligible to those who speak modern Tewa.

The principal stated that the history of the Indians of the Southwest was included in the social studies curriculum, and that Pueblo history was specifically taught during the past year. Thus far Pueblo literature had not been encorporated into the curriculum; however, there was a concerted attempt to introduce Pueblo literature in the curriculum which was being developed.

The faculty seems to work much more closely with the community than at Taos. A grandfather of one of the students was invited to speak to the students at school about the myths and the legends of the community. The children enjoyed listening to the stories, and tape-recorded the narrative as well.

During the past year, an open house was held at school. At that time students had the opportunity to display the pottery, jewelry

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44 Mr. Torse, Principal

and crafts, which they made in art class throughout the semester. The crafts were for sale, and the profits acquired were distributed to the class. Throughout the exhibition and open house, some of the tribal elders were invited to chant and play traditional rhythms on the drum. While listening to the drum beats and touring the building, many of the parents and grandparents were impressed by the fine work that had been done and expressed their appreciation to the teachers and the principal for taking such an interest in their culture.[45]

In conclusion the tribal education at San Juan appears to be conducted in a manner similiar to that of Taos, since the principal mentioned the closely knit kiva ceremonies which are conducted secretively even though the San Juan Pueblos are generally very open about most of their ceremonies, their language and legends.

The San Juan Pueblos are proud that their community has produced two Pueblo anthropologists (including Dozier). Also, of the nineteen pueblos in New Mexico, San Juan has thus far been the only pueblo to introduce bilingual and bicultural studies into the elementary school. Much of the credit for adaptation of the studies is due to Dr. Spears and Mr. Torse.

The degree to which cultural conflict occurs among the students is unknown; however, since the school is attempting to fuse tribal educational values with formal educational values, perhaps, the conflicts are minimal.

A detailed comparative study of the Taos and San Juan Pueblos based upon historical, economic, polictical, social, and linguistic

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45 Mr. Torse, Principal

factors should be done in order to discern the variables which have placed the San Juan Pueblo as a center for both the Head Start Program and Bilingual and Bicultural Studies, while the Pueblos of Taos have preferred to keep the tribal and formal educational systems strictly departmentalized.

The All Tribes Indian Mission is located at Bernalillo, New Mexico. The school has a staff, which is composed of twenty members and is interdenominational. In addition the staff members receive equally a salary of $60.00 per month regardless of the job status of the individuals. Fifty nine students had completed the 1973-1974 school year.

The librarian, cook, and principal were interviewed. The librarian also was the physical education teacher. He said that the basic purpose of the boarding school was to prepare students for the ministry, since the Indians were in need of salvation.[46] The cook stated that the basic purpose of the school was "to teach children to obey and become good Christians."[47] The principal, however, was more involved in academic skills than in the religious aspect of the education. She said that the greatest problem confronting the school over the past year was that AIM (American Indian Movement) had been responsible for having over 50% of the students withdrawn from the mission school. AIM members had accused the staff of "abusing the Indian children." The staff adamantly denied the charges, and were convinced that they had been unjustly accused by AIM.

The members of the staff interviewed were dedicated people, who were not concerned about job security, since their commitments emanated primarily from religious motivation. All of the teachers, in addition to their regular duties, taught remedial reading and tutored students in the evening.[48]

At the boarding school bilingual and bicultural studies had not been implemented, although an interest in Indian crafts took place

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46 Paul Miller, librarian and P.E. teacher, All Tribes Indian Mission

47 Bernadette Lousler, cook, All Tribes Indian Mission

48 Elizabeth Deal, principal, All Tribes Indian Mission

in the art class. Objects made by the students were for sale and on display in a show case in the main hall.

The principal was in the process of studying the Navajo language at the University of Albuquerque, where she went for daily classes. The students, also, would go on to junior and senior high school in Albuquerque after completing six years at the mission school. The public school system in Albuquerque was very poor according to the principal. Recently, a Navajo girl, who was a senior in high school, was sent to the boarding school by her parents because the girl hadn't even learned her alphabet thus far in her education. The girl was placed in fifth grade at the mission school, where she attended classes. In the evening she was tutored in English; however, just as the girl was beginning to show signs of academic progress, the girl's parents withdrew her from the school.[49]

At times the children would experience loneliness, and on occasion a child would run away from the school and not return. Sometimes a child would run away and then be brought back to the school by his parents. Indian children have been known to have frozen to death as a result of running away from boarding schools and attempting to return to the reservations during the winter months.[50]

In conclusion the boarding school appeared to be a place where dedicated teachers taught the values of the dominant culture with a minimum of emphasis upon bicultural education. The formal education received by the Indian children was probably superior

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49 Elizabeth Deal, principal

50 Amy, an Hawaiian, living in Moriarity, New Mexico

to the education which most children receive in public schools, since the staff spends a great deal of time teaching remedial reading and tutoring in the evening. Tribal education, however, is limited to the summer months and holidays when the children return to the reservation. The degree to which cultural conflict exists among the children is unknown. Perhaps, during the school year the children experience a minimum of cultural conflict due to the fact that only one dominant value system is being taught by the teachers. The students may undergo cultural conflict during the summer months while living back on the reservation, and during their high school years in Albuquerque.

The Tesuque Pueblo is located five miles north of Sante Fe, west of U.S. Highway 285. The resident population was 216 in 1972..[51] The area of the reservation encompasses 17, 027 acres. The people of Tesuque speak Tewas as at San Juan.[52]

At Tesuque the Head Start Program was not in operation during the summer months. However, the BIA teacher was available for an interview. Her home and the school, which had an enrollment of seventeen students during the past school year, were connected. The facilities at the school were excellent. The library contained numerous books about Indians.

The Mexican American teacher, who was a graduate of Marquette University, ran an open classroom for grades one through four. She, also, had an Indian aid who reinforced instruction. Twice a month parent teacher conferences were held.

Although bilingual and bicultural studies had not been adapted

51 A. Smith, Indians of New Mexico, p. 148

52 Commission of Indian Affairs, population statistics

there was an emphasis on Indianness at the school. The students during the past year had the opportunity to travel to Disneyland and twice a month field trips were organized within the area, since Federal funds were readily available for such excursions.

The teacher interviewed knew little about tribal education excent that the Tesuque Pueblos were very secretive about their kiva ceremonies.

In conclusion the atmosphere at the BIA seemed encouraging. Although the students did not receive bilingual and bicultural studies, the frequent field trips and excellent facilities kept the students in contact with the dominant society, since the BIA school was extremely isolated.

The Keresan-speaking Zia pueblo is located on the north side of Jemez Creek, sixteen miles northwest of Bernalillo on State Highway 44. The reservation contains 110,267 acres.[53] The population in 1972 was 438.[54] Eighty four students attended the BIA school at Zia during the fiscal year of 1973.[55]

Two Indians were interviewed at Zia. Both men related that the BIA school was operating under the open classroom philsophy, which the Pueblos of Zia did not believe was providing the Indian children with an adequate education. The Catholic school in the area, however, was doing a much better job in educating the Indians, because of the discipline and highly structured program.

The BIA school did not have bilingual and bicultural studies. Although the community did not approve of bicultural studies, they

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[53] A. Smith, New Mexico Indians p. 150

[54] Commission of Indian Affairs, population statistics

[55] Statistics on Indian Education, p. 17

wanted to have the Keresan language taught at the school by a Keresan Indian aid; however, they did not want an Anglo-teacher present in the room, while the language instruction was being conducted.

Even though the Keresan language was gradually being replaced by English as the primary language, the Zia Pueblos have refused to allow linguists to record the language. Also, it was questionable whether an elderly member of the community could be found who spoke the Keresan language thoroughly and accurately.

Tribal education was conducted at the kiva as in the other pueblos studied. However, the men interviewed believed that AIM and the Civil Rights Movement had gone too far in the area, and that the students did not respect their elders. They had become far too rebellious and undisciplined.

Very few Keresan Indians went on to college and the elders of the community did not coerce nor encourage the students to receive higher education. The decision to complete high school and/ or attend college was entirely left to the student to decide.[56]

During the summer the Indian aids who worked at the BIA school had decided to continue their education at the university. Due to a holiday, the BIA teachers were not available for interviewing.

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56 Mr. Pino, member of the Tribal Council, Zia Pueblo
& Theo, bus driver, Zia Pueblo

In conclusion the Zia Pueblos wanted language instruction at the school, but not according to the Washington directive on bicultural and bilingual education. The general attitude seemed to be that the Indians in this attitude would rather see their tribal language perish rather than allow the ancient language to be recorded by linguists. The community, also, was not content with the open classroom type of education, and probably had little voice in its implementation.

The Zuni reservation is reached by travelling south on Highway 32 from Gallup and then turning west onto State Highway 53. It is located in Valencia and McKinley Counties, and is the largest pueblo in New Mexico, containing 400,353 acres[57] with a population of 5, 500.[58] Four outlying villages are part of the Zuni territory including Ojo Caliente, Tekapo, Pescado, and Nutria.

The student population of the entire community was 2,135 in 1973.[59] The community has four elementary schools, Toaiyalone, St. Anthony, Christian Reform, and Zuni Elementary. The Zuni public high school is also located on the reservation.

While in the vicinity of the reservation, a high school graduate from Zuni was interviewed. He stated that the junior high school and high school were combined (grades 7-12) and that about 90% of the students at the school were Zuni Indians. The principal of the school, however, was a Cherokee Indian, who did not believe that bilingual and bicultural studies were necessary, although bicultural studies had been to a slight degree encorporated into the curriculum. Because the Zuni Pueblos only had seven potters left in the community, two of the local potters were invited to teach pottery making at the high school to preserve the fading craft. The potters also taught abstract Indian art at the school. The music department was also focusing upon Indian dances as part of the curriculum. A course on the history of the Indians was not a part of the course of study. The traditional myths, legends and ceremonies were largely conducted secretively in the kiva (as at Taos). Thus, a relatively strong degree of departmentalization exists between the tribal educational system and the formal educational system at Zuni.

57 A. Smith, New Mexico Indians, p. 153
58 Commission of Indian Affairs, Sante Fe
59 . Statistics on Indian Education, p. 6

The pastor of the Christian Reform Church had published material in the Zuni language, which he had learned while working in the area. He, also, held adult education classes and used bilingual methodology in his instruction. However, bilingual instruction was not offered at the local elementary schools.

The drop out rate at the high school was high and attendance was also poor with about 125 students absent each day. Many students dropped out of school, but found jobs making jewelry, since an immediate market was available for Zuni jewelry,and the jewelry business is a lucrative occupation (The Zuni pueblo is the wealthiest with a monthly income of about $2,000,000 from jewelry and crafts). Since jobs are available on the reservation, many students do not go on to college. However, out of a senior class of eighty-five students, twenty Zuni Indians applied for college in the fall.

The high school students were given release time to attend ceremonies. Also, having received permission by the parents, many students received release time for religious instruction held at the Christian Reform, Catholic, or Mormon churches.[60]

A young woman, who graduated from the Zuni High School three years ago, was also interviewed. She stated that there had been three suicides from her graduating class, and that during the past year two seniors had been killed as a result of drunken driving. Two other students had drowned. They were drunk when their canoe capsized. Presently, two seniors were in critical condition at the hospital as a result of drunken driving.

The drinking problem was severe among the young people at Zuni.

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60 Mark Gibbons, Zuni High School Graduate, working as a ranger At Monument National Park

Often the students drive from Zuni to Gallup which is a considerable distance from the reservation. While at Gallup the students drink heavily before returning to Zuni. Most of the accidents and deaths occur when the students attempt to return to the reservation along the narrow and hazardous road from Gallup.[61]

The two high school graduates were convinced that the students drank because of boredom, since the reservation did not have parks, amusement centers, or movie theaters. The only entertainment for most students was related to church activities. However, a few years ago, the Tribal Council approved of a recreational center. Unfortunately, the center was burned down.[62] Presently, funds were being raised to reconstruct the center.

An elementary teacher was interviewed, who was affiliated with the Christian Reform Mission. She said that three years ago the Christian Reform school, parsonage, and church had been burned down. A year ago the recreational center had been destroyed by fire, and recently, a main bridge along the road was burned. Although many members of the community suspected arsenists for being responsible for the fires, thus far nopne had been apprehended. Many of the Indians claimed that the fires were caused by faulty electrical wiring, and/or lightning.

The Indians of Zuni were very strong in practicing their tribal religion. Frequently, religious ceremonies were conducted secretly in the warehouse across the street from the Christian Reform Mission. The Catholic Church at Zuni accepted the Indians as members of their

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61 Susan Weight, graduate of Zuni High School, working as a ranger assistant at Monument National Park

62 Mark Gibbons & Susan Weight

No page 39 appeared in the original.

faith in spite of the fact they they worshipped their own deities and conducted secret rituals; however, the Christian Reform Church would not accept the Indians into their church, unless they renounced their tribal religion. Those who renounced their tribal faith were ostracized from the community and were often persecuted.

The Christian Reform Mission operated an elementary school containing grades one through six. Once elementary school is completed the students are encouraged to continue their secondary education at the Christian reform School in Gallup, Rehoboth High School. Interested and qualified students may attend Calvin College at Grand Rapids, Michigan after completing high school.

At the Christian Reform elementary school, Zuni aids have been hired to serve as interpreters. Thus far, the Indian aids are not qualified to teach the Zuni language. Even though the pastor, Mr. Cooke, a Mexican, has been involved in bilingual instruction for adults, no attempt has been made to implement bilingual and bicultural studies at the school. Mr. Cooke's linguistic studies have been limited to a translation of the Bible and a hymn book.in the Zuni language.

The Zunis seem to experience a great deal of cultural conflict. Changes in the language and in the life style of the Indians has created a communication gap between the older members of the tribe and the younger. In spite of the changes which are occuring, the Zunis were defensive about their traditional ceremonies. Tourists were not allowed to photograph processions and ceremonies which were held in the plaza. At times the security guards confiscated the cameras of individuals who surreptitiously attempted to take photographs.[63]

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63 Dawn Wheaton, B.A., Univ. of Wisc., Whitewater; Dawn taught on the Apache reservation for four years, before teaching at the Zuni pueblo.

While interviewing the teacher at the Christian Reform Mission, three Indian teenagers arrived and were interviewed as well. The students all agreed that English,especially composition,was not taught adequately at the high school. One of the girls, who attended a boarding school in Albuquerque for sixth grade stated that the Indian students were punished for speaking their own language instead of English. The same student attended college for a year and eventually left. Her greatest handicap was an inadequate command of the English language. In spite of punitive measures used in elementary school involving the use of English, the student did not know the language well enough to compete at college.[64]

During the interviewer's visit at Zuni, he discovered that the Pueblo Indians do not have a specific naming ceremony but they are given an Indian name as well as a Christian name. As part of the tribal education, the girls of the pueblo are beaten by masked Katchinas as well as the boys. The training period for the girls, however, is not as long as that of the boys. In addition not all of the worship rituals are held in the kiva, but altars used for private and family worship are found in the homes.[65]

In conclusion. the Zuni Pueblo is not only the largest of the pueblos, but is the wealthiest. In spite of the wealth, recreational facilities are minimal,and social problems are numerous. Boredom and/or cultural conflicts due to diverse value systems may be responsible for some of the social problems at Zuni. Bilingual and bicultural

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64 Rose, a Zuni Indian, who completed a year of college before dropping out.

65 Information gathered by Chandra Prasad Gurung, student of arthropology, M.A. candidate, Tribuwan Univ.

studies have not been encorporated into the curriculums at the elementary and high school levels. The strict departmentalization of tribal education and diverse forms of formal education may bring about a great deal of cultural conflict among the Zuni Indians.

The Deputy Commissioner of the Commission of Indian Affairs at Sante Fe was interviewed. According to the commissioner, the Bureua of Indian Affairs was a bureaucracy at its worst. The BIA was setting itself up in competition with the public and private schools, and was more program oriented that it was oriented towards meeting the needs of the Indians.

The Head Start Program, thus far, had been the most successful innovation in New Mexico. The high degree of motivation of the Head Start teachers, and the nature of the program has influenced not only the Indian children, but the attitudes of the BIA teachers who once they receive tenure tend to be reticent about improving instruction according to the commissioner. The establishing of Indian aidsat the BIA schools did not occur through the BIA, but was brought about because of a directive from Washington D.C., which apparently was not under the Department of the Interior.

The Pueblo Indians, however, have not taken directives from Washington seriously. They have learned to circumscribe the programs initiated by the Federal Government, when it is to their advantage. The Pueblos have been eager to have Indian aids working at the schools, since unemployment is reduced. The Indian aids receive an adequate salary which is beneficial to the individual, family, and pueblo.

In addition many of the Pueblo Indians do not believe that the adaptation of bilingual and bicultural studies will affect the economic status of the pueblo, while a knowledge of English will be beneficial in acquiring a job.

Thus far, the dominant culture did not understand the loyalty of the Pueblos to their clan and tribe, since numerous duties and obligations are linked with the kiva rituals and ceremonies throughout the year. If cultural pluralism is accepted by the dominant culture, a change would occur pertaining to the condition of the Indians.

The Senate Sub-Committee has made generalizations about the Indian Problem, which in reality is a stereotype, since the Indians are being classified into a category. Individual tribal conditions, based upon historical trends, economic, political, and social factors frequently are not considered when such generalizations are made.

In the 19th Century the Federal Government parcelled out Indian reservations to the several missionary groups. The Sioux territory became largely under the domain of the Episcopalian Church, while the Apaches were under the Christian Reform Church. Many other protestant denominations were also given Indian territory, which were viewed as sources for Christian conversions. The Catholic Church, however, was established in the Southwest during the Spanish occupation. The dividing of the Indian reservation into missionary belts is but a single historical factor which must be considered when analizing the contempoary problems of the Indians.

The Navajo culture in contrast to the Pueblos has been much more

eclectic in terms of adapting values from the dominant culture. The Pueblos have been involved in synchronization, which is the external adaptation of the values of the dominant culture, while simulataneously and secretively attempting to presever the traditional values of the Pueblo culture.

In spite of the dualism of the Pueblo culture, the Pueblos have not been able to escape the conflict brought about by the two diverse value systems. The problems of drinking, suicides, deviant behavior, and loss of cultural identity has been extreme among the Pueblos. However, there is no simplistic solution to the complex problems.[66]

The assistant of the Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs was also interviewed. He pointed out that the degree of traditionalism varys from pueblo to pueblo and that each reservation must be considered as a separate entity. Although Taos had more college graduates than any other pueblo, the pursuit of higher education among the Pueblos has not taken place to a great extent.[67]

In conclusion, the Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs and his assistant were aware of the theory of bicultural and bilingual studies, and other directives from the Federal Government. Because they were employed by the State Government of New Mexico, and the state has no jurisdiction over the BIA schools, the BIA was a target of criticism, which may be somewhat justified, while viewing the BIA historically; however, the BIA teachers interviewed at Taos and San Juan seemed to be making an effort to understand the Indians in spite of adverse circumstances and the negative historical reputation of the BIA, which has had a policy of coercive assimilation in the past.

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66 Peter Hay, anthropologist, Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sante Fe.

67 Jerry Cordova, Taos Indian, assistant of Commissioner of I.A,

Conclusion

According to the Deputy Commissioner on Indian Affairs and his assistant, too ofter generalizations have been made about the Pueblo Indians, since individual differences occured from pueblo to pueblo. However, in the area of tribal education the Pueblo Indians were often secretive.

In the formal educational system of the pueblos studied, individual differences certainly took place. At Taos the community was overtly hostile towards bilingual studies. The members of the pueblo did not want the Tiwa language taught at the school, nor did they want linguists to record the language. However, at San Juan, bilingual instruction had been implemented and even special classes were held in the Tewa language. At Zia the people wanted the students to learn the Keresan language at school, but they objected to having an Anglo teacher supervising instruction. As a result the Keresan language was not taught at the school. The Zuni reservation had bilingual classes for adults only at the Christian Reform Mission. A Zuni hymnal and Bible had been translated from English. The principal at the All Tribes Indian Mission was studying Navajo for the summer, although bilingual studies had not been implemented.

The San Juan Elementary School also had a bicultural program. Pueblo history, crafts and music were taught and steps were being taken to insert Pueblo literature into the curriculum. At Zia there was an emphasis on Indian studies in general, but not specifically on the Pueblo culture. The Indian community did not object

to the open classroom, while at Tesuque the people were opposed to the open classroom and bicultural studies. The Taos Pueblo focused upon Indian art and music very cautiously, while at Zuni Indian potters had been hired to teach the fading craft at the public high school. Indian dances were also taught at Zuni, although Pueblo history and literature were not a part of the curriculum.

Even though bilingual and bicultural studies had not been developed at Taos, Tesuque, Zia, and Zuni, Indian aids who spoke the language of the pueblo had been hired to reinforce instruction.

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