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ABSTRACT

Teachers on Indian reservations or in Indian communities are a specific homogeneous group since they teach the same minority group, live in a specific but often different area, and function in a cross-cultural situation. This study examined teachers of the Papago Reservations and delineated obvious differences between them. Profiles are given for Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers, teachers in the Indian Oasis School District, and all teachers as a whole. Initial contacts were made with the superintendents of the respective groups; 100 percent of the Bureau staff and 90 percent of the county respondents were sampled. Social distance between the teachers and Indians as an indication of community integration could not be measured by this questionnaire. Responses to the question, "American Indians have made major contributions to American society" were positive for both groups at a 90 percent frequency. There are 2 possibilities that account for these answers: (1) many may have answered by reaction rather than by considering the question and answers; or (2) the consideration that, for the Indian to have a valid culture, he must somehow show how it relates and contributes to American society. If these are correct, then there are important implications for Indian education. If teachers are going to work with Indian problems and carry with them the assumption that the Indian must somehow relate to American society as a whole, the possibilities of negative consequences are greatly increased. (KM)

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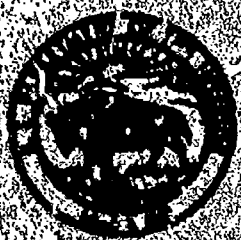
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THESE SCHOOLS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE

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The views expressed in the articles are those of the authors and are not necessarily of the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the BIA Research Council.

FOREWORD

The fifth issue of the BIA Education Research Bulletin places particular emphasis on works done by professional educators relative to quality of education programs. The Bureau is and always has had the upmost concern with high quality teaching for the Indian youngsters in the Bureau schools. This issue is devoted to that purpose of ever pursuing a better approach to teaching and the improvement of the profession of teaching.

Mr. Lary Shafer's study of group differentiation of teachers on the Papago reservation in which he compares the BIA teachers with public school teachers addresses itself to that issue of teacher competency and instructional improvement.

Beverly Anderson's educational needs assessment on Pine Ridge reservation and the student dropout study at Ft. Wingate High School both address themselves to the improvement of educational services to Indian people. When a school such as Wingate High School conducts an internal study for self-improvement and unbiasedly makes its findings available to the public, then we can feel assured that there are educators with full commitments to improve our educational system.

Lloyd New points out the importance of taking into consideration the cultural differences that most certainly accounts for basic learning foundation among many Indian students. These differences, if recognized and nurtured properly, can provide the impetus necessary for creative expression.

This particular issue of the *BIA Research Bulletin* will receive evaluation examination from the BIA Research Council who have the role of an editorial review board later this summer. The board will seek ways to improve the type and quality of information that the bulletin will carry to the readers.

Clennon E. Sockey
Director

GROUP DIFFERENTIATION OF TEACHERS ON THE PAPAGO RESERVATION:

A Comparison of BIA and County Teachers

Lary Shafer

Introduction: Teachers who teach on Indian reservations or in Indian communities represent a specific homogeneous group in the sense that they are teaching the same minority group, are living in a specific, often different area, and are functioning in a cross-cultural situation. Yet within this homogeneous group there is a great diversity and important differences in training, attitudes, age, employees, acceptance of and by the local community, commitment to job, etc.

The purpose of this study is to look at the teachers of the Papago reservations and delineate the differences between them and attempt to ascertain the nature of these differences and how they become manifest in the social organization of the teachers. For conveniences sake the obvious difference of who they are employed by will be used as a basis for comparison. The two groups then are the Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers and the Indian Oasis School District. The attempt will be to give a profile of each group and of all the teachers as a whole insofar as the data can be interpreted.

The objectives of this study are twofold: First, to contribute to that small body of literature about teachers of Indian children with a special interest in developing more viable and relevant teacher training and orientation programs which could help alleviate some of the many problems associated with Indian education. Secondly, attempt to illustrate important differences that could be formulated into important questions for further study. This is only a pilot study to further the above two objectives.

It should be stressed here that there is an implication that the problem of Indian education are directly related to teachers.

On the contrary, the roots to these problems go far beyond the teaching aspect, and we have to search for answers in the historical, political, economic, legal and social structures of our total society. No one is immune to having to bear part of the responsibility of the injustices done to Indian children, including the Indian himself.

Basically, we are investigating a defined group of people who have moved into a different ethnic community and their behavior and attitude patterns in relation to that community. It is important to remember that although the teachers are a minority in the setting, they are the representatives of a strong dominant White culture. This fact is important in terms of their responses to the questionnaire.

Background and Review of the Literature: It will be noted immediately by the reader that there is no support literature or information in this paper. This is an obvious weakness of the paper. Works dealing with teachers of Indians are indeed rare, with the exception of Havinghurst Report on the National Study of American Indian Education published at the University of Minnesota. However, the information in this material was not considered relevant or necessary for inclusion in this report.

There is, however, ample research on teacher attitudes in general and with those working with other minority groups. A summary of this data would have at least provided a backboard with which this study conclusion could be compared.

Theoretical Orientation: The hypothesis on which this study is based and on which it was tested came almost entirely from arm chair theorizing. The author was almost completely ignorant of the social, political and environmental makeup of the Papago reservation situation. The questions raised were based on the authors past experiences of working with teacher training programs and other areas of Indian education in Alaska. From the general overall impressions of the Alaskan situation, similar hypothesis were applied to the Papago reservation teachers to see if there is some similarity between them. However, the comparison of the Alaskan situation and the Papago reservation is not a part of this paper.

The bureaucratic nature of the Bureau of Indian Affairs makes for better job security and lower turnover rates than the Indian Oasis teachers.

It was hypothesized that the Bureau teachers would be an older group of teachers with differences in attitudes about their work. It was also thought that the Bureau teachers, being older, would not have the more recently offered special courses dealing with teaching minority groups and would be less professionally prepared to work with Indians. The Indian Oasis teachers would be better trained, more committed and because of this would have a higher turnover and more conflict with the administration. The Indian Oasis teachers would also have more positive attitudes and behavior concerning the Indian than would the Bureau.

The perceptions of the two groups towards the administration and the support they get from them will differ, with the BIA teachers having a more positive attitude about the administration.

The county people were thought to have a higher degree of community integration as shown by social distance indices, where the BIA would be less integrated into the community.

It is only fair to state here that the responses to administrative support is that as is perceived by the teachers. There are other factors and evidence that suggests the reality of the situation may be very different. The reality of the situation could not be determined by this questionnaire and would take much more investigative procedures. However, the teachers perceptions are important as W. I. Thomas stated, if someone perceives a situation as real, then it may be real in its consequences for that person.

Subjective information from the Superintendents of both the Bureau and Indian Oasis state that the Oasis teachers have a very high turnover and the Bureau very little. One could logically conclude that the county teachers did not particularly have positive attitudes toward Indians, whereas, the Bureau teachers did, hence a longer residence period. This of course is only one of many interpretations. The hypothesis of this paper regarding his phenomena is the opposite however, that the county teachers will show a higher positive correlation in attitudes towards Indians.

It is for other reasons, such as preceived administrative support, housing, etc., that accounts for higher turnover. There are apparent weaknesses in this kind of reasoning, but if it is considered as a tool with which to test, it can be held as valid. It will be shown later the difficulties this study has dealing with this question.

It is also hypothesized that the group which represented the greatest professional background and experience would respond more realistically to the statement of, "The American Indian has made major contributions to American society," by giving a negative or non-committal answer. The underlying assumption of this statement is that in fact the American Indian has not made major contributions to our society. Defense for this assertion will be in the latter part of this paper in the analysis of data.

Methodology: Initial contacts were made with both the Superintendents of the respective groups and the purpose of the study was explained. Each requested advance knowledge of the questions and censor privileges. There were no major objections and both superintendents approved the questionnaire without any major changes. Helpful criticism was given by both as to rewording for more depth. The superintendents then met with their principals and they too, approved.

The cooperation on the part of the total school system make the project. Everyone was most cooperative and the respondents were great. Out of all the teachers personally contacted, there was only two polite refusals to participate.

One hundred percent of the Bureau was used as a sample and a large representative sample of the county respondents was utilized (90 percent).

There were a small number of questionnaires that were received too late through the mail to be included in the sample, but the number was not significant.

One part of the Indian Oasis sample was deleted from the analysis. The Topowa school has just this year joined the Indian Oasis system, but in the past has been a Catholic mission school. It does in fact represent a third group on the Papago reservation.

For the purpose of this two-way comparison, it was thought that using the Topowa teachers would not be valid. This information is recorded however, and at a later date, will be used as a comparison component.

The total number of county teachers employed by the Indian Oasis schools is approximately 43 and the Bureau has approximately 23. About 40 county teachers responded and a sample of 25 was randomly picked from this group. One hundred percent of the Bureau sample was used that was available at that time (18).

A set of questions were included to cover each variable considered to be important. Several poorly worded questions were deleted from analysis and some important information was lost.

Originally, use of the computer was considered to correlate, but the inadequacy of the material did not warrant the time and effort of a computer analysis. The data was processed and correlated by hand through a simple coding and tallying technique. This was deemed adequate and most efficient due to small size of the sample.

Most of the subjective answers were interpreted by the author. Where there was room for doubt, answers and questions were put to independent judges and if a decision of two out of three agreed with the authors than it was accepted.

Some of the first categories looked at to delineate differences between was the time dimension. Age was definitely a factor in the differentiation between the two groups. The Bureau, as suspected did have the largest percent (40) in the oldest category (40 plus) and had a low six percent in the 30-40 category. The county by contrast had 20 percent in the oldest category. In the youngest category (20-25), the Bureau had 25 percent where the Indian Oasis had only four percent and in the 25-30 category, the Bureau had 18 percent and the Indian Oasis group had 28 percent.

Generalizing, the results are somewhat at odds with our hypothesis that the Bureau would represent an older group. Although they do have the largest group in the 40 plus category, they also have the largest group of youngest teachers. The Indian Oasis has the bulk of its teachers in the two oldest categories.

Because the Bureau is career oriented, we may be witnessing a stage where a substantial number of its employees are older people and on their way to retirement. They are being replaced by younger teachers. This would account for the large grouping at the two extremes of the age scale. Assuming this data is correct, the hypothesis would then have to be corrected to state that the Bureau is characterized by a large number or grouping of older teachers and a large grouping of younger teachers and that given time, the trend will be for the Bureau to have an overall younger staff, probably in proportion to the rate of retirement of the older teachers. Also, the county teachers would have a tendency to remain in the two oldest categories in relation to the proportion of new young teachers hired.

<u>AGE:</u> 20 - 25	<u>BIA:</u> 25%	<u>IOSD:</u> 4%
25 - 30	18%	28%
30 - 40	6%	40%
40+	50%	20%

Unsubstantiated information has revealed that 15 new teachers will be hired by IOSD for next fall. It would be of interest to this paper to see what the ages of this new group of teachers are.

One of the reasons for the age categories instead of exact age is that when dealing with middle age people or older, and in a profession, they are often reluctant to put their true age down and more often than not refuse to respond to the question.

There are some differences in the individual categories of teaching experience.

<u>YEARS:</u> 1 - 2	<u>BIA:</u> 18%	<u>IOSD:</u> 12%
3 - 5	24%	20%
5 - 8	12%	20%
8 - 12	12%	28%
12+	42%	16%

(Teaching Experience)

However, in general categories they are similar enough as not to be significant. The only big difference is in the last category (12 plus) which the Bureau has a large grouping of 42 percent.

But considering the last two categories together, the Bureau has 50 percent and the IOSD has 44 percent.

There is also a similarity in the two shortest categories (1-2 and 3-5) with the Bureau having 42 percent and IOSD having 32 percent of their teachers that fit in these two categories.

As was expected, there is a difference in their experiences of teaching Indian youth.

<u>YEARS:</u> 1	<u>BIA:</u> 12%	<u>IOSD:</u> 24%
2 - 3	36%	32%
4 - 6	6%	28%
6 - 10	18%	8%
11+	30%	8%

The Bureau had substantially more teachers with experience in teaching Indians, with 48 percent being in the last two categories (6-10 and 11 plus). The IOSD has only 16 percent in their two categories. However, they are both about the same at the other end of the continuum (first year and 2-3) with the BIA having 48 percent of its teachers in those categories and the IOSD having 56 percent.

Using this data and the patterns it represents, the hypothesis could be adjusted to state that there is a correlation between age and experience of teaching Indian children with the BIA teachers, that is they have groupings at both ends of the continuum in both categories. There is no such correlation with the IOSD teachers. Although they represent a large grouping of older teachers they have little experience with teaching Indian children. From this it can be deduced that there may be a tendency on the part of the IOSD to hire middle age or older teachers with little experience in teaching Indian children.

Again, data from the records of newly hired teachers would either confirm or refute this hypothesis.

The educational background and preparation of the two groups differed considerably.

BIA:	BA—50%	<u>MASTERS—45%</u>	<u>Ed. Sp.—6%</u>	<u>PHD—0</u>
IOSD:	68%	28%	0	4%

The IOSD teachers had 68 percent of their staff with Bachelors degrees and 28 percent with Masters. The BIA had more Masters people (45 percent) than the county.

There was also a big difference in the comparison of special course work dealing specifically with Indian or minority education.

	<u>Anthro.</u>	<u>Educ.</u>	<u>Sociology</u>	<u>History</u>
BIA:	30%	100%	18%	50%
IOSD:	32%	68%	8%	8%

The BIA, using these last three categories as objective criteria, is a much better trained group to teach Indian children. They all (100 percent) have had some professional course work dealing with Indian education and ranked considerably higher in the other categories than did the IOSD teachers. (Because the percent is rounded off to the nearest whole number, the anthropology category is misleading as the BIA actually has a small margin over the IOSD in this area also).

The majority of these courses were university courses, but the BIA does offer a lot of in-training programs and workshops and summer programs for its faculty. This may count in part for the BIA rating in this category.

The hypothesis regarding the qualifications of the teachers will now have to be changed to suggest that using objective criteria as experience in the field, degrees, and special professional training, the BIA teachers represent a better prepared group than does the IOSD.

Attitudinal Findings: In the previous section, we have been dealing with those objective criteria which are easily recorded and defined. It was shown that there are significant differences between BIA and IOSD which accompany these other objective characteristics. In answering some questions, there proved to be significant group differences and in others there was no group difference.

One crucial measure that was looked for could not be obtained from this questionnaire. Social distance between the teachers and Indians would be a good indication of community integration. However, it was felt that the data was inconclusive and could not be substantiated to draw valid conclusions. Questions were asked as to how many Indian friends one had, how many times one visited, etc. (See questions 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32). The answers to these questions would have to be substantiated by follow-up field work, including getting a measure of reciprocity from the Indian group. Also the situation under which interaction took place would have to be qualified, that is, if a teacher would buy an Indian a drink in the local bar, would he invite him to his club or home, etc? Home visits have to be qualitatively analyzed also, for just putting down the frequency of visits really tells us nothing or worse suggests things that are not really happening.

Responses to the question (No. 37), 'American Indians have made major contributions to American Society' was about the same for both groups, each answering in the first two positive categories at 90 percent frequency. That is, the majority of the people felt that American Indians make major contributions to our society. As stated earlier, the underlying assumption of this is that, in fact the Indians did not make major contributions to American society. This point is highly debatable among many people and calls for defense of that assumption. Using the broad major categories of American society, as social structure, economic, political, religion, artistic, technological, and by using an objective rating of 1-20 or whatever one wished, those contributions from the American Indian would be at the lower end of the rating. This question was also tested against a control group of about 150 university students who are studying in education and the social sciences. They, too, responded approximately the same, about 90 percent in the first two agree answers. When asked what the contributions were, the responses were such things as art, jewelry, corn, architecture, moccasins, etc. In other words, very superficial material items were considered as major contributions.

What then accounts for the conformity in the quality and quantity of answers to this question? There are two possible answers this paper will suggest. The first is that the answer is reactionary, that many people answer by reaction rather than considering the question and answers. A number of respondents con-

firmed this through later interview saying that they answered the question through reaction to the thought, "they must have contributed something." And so answered positively without considering the question or answer. The second possible reason for the similar response is the idea that the American Indian and his culture can be valid only when it is judged by our culture. That is for the Indian to have a valid culture he must somehow show how it relates and contributes to American society. It seems that the concept of cultural relativism, where any culture is valid within its own cultural milieu, is not considered by many Americans when judging another culture. How many times have we all heard Americans overseas say how nice something was just because it is like back home.

Professional advice was sought as judges for the validity of the assumption of this question; two anthropologists, one sociologist, one educator and one Indian. Interestingly, all agreed with the author that the question was valid except for one anthropologist and his criticism was not of the question's assumption, but of its vagueness. What was most interesting was the Indian's statement that he did not feel that it was necessary to contribute to American culture to be valid and in fact the Indians' biggest contribution is that they have not made any contributions of importance.

In summary to this question, it can be said that, perhaps, because of the uniformity of responses that the question raises no problems. If however, the reasons for this response are correct as suggested, then there are important implications in Indian education and other Indian relations. If teachers and others are going to work with Indian problems and carry with them the assumption that the Indian must somehow relate to American society as a whole, then the possibility of negative consequences are greatly increased. Many of the past and present relationships between Whites and Indians support the agreement of this paper.

It was suggested earlier that the BIA would rate more negative their attitudes about the Indian. To the statement, "Most Indians are", there was a major difference in responses, but not what was expected. Answers were categorized into three groups: negative, non-committal and positive. The responses were judged according to the authors' subjective criteria, however, most

responses were obvious. Those few which were not clear-cut were given to another judge to decide on. If he agreed with the author then they were accepted.

The answers were coded as an expression of attitude toward the Indian. No response was taken as non-committal.

The IOSD responses as a whole were more non-committal and negative than was the BIA. (See Chart No. 5).

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Non-Committal</u>	<u>Negative</u>
BIA	60%	35%	5%
IOSD	16%	68%	16%

The BIA had 60 percent answered positively where the IOSD had 16 percent who answered positively. In the non-committal category the BIA had 35 percent and the IOSD had 68 percent who were non-committal. In the negative response category, the BIA had five percent and the IOSD had 16 percent.

Interpretation of this data can go no further than stating that the BIA was more willing to express their attitudes toward Indians and that the majority of the IOSD teachers were reluctant to make a commitment one way or the other.

A caution to the reader should be noted here, and that is that many of the responses may have been to the *question* and not the Indian. Some evidence shows the question elicited a negative attitude from some respondents. This would in part explain the sizeable number of no response and non-committal answers to the statement.

However, the data does ring out some interesting questions. Why was there such a split between the two groups, and why did the BIA have less hesitancy about the responding to the statement? The answers cannot be found from the data presented here, but it does raise interesting problems for future investigation.

An analysis of the written responses was considered, but a tabulation and categorization of the responses did not show enough difference to yield to analysis.

A final comment on this problem is that there may be a correlation between the seemingly better professional training and minority education course work that the BIA teachers have and their relatively high positive responses towards Indians. It is possible that this training could have helped them form concrete positive notions about Indians.

Another interesting profile of these teachers is that a fairly large percentage of them are single females with a few divorcees and widows. The BIA has 42 percent of the sample which fit into that category and IOSD had 32 percent. The problem, however, is saying this is a typical situation without a control group with which to compare. The author, however, tends to believe this may be a unique situation, and interesting questions are raised if it is so. One question would be, why would a large number of single women isolate themselves on an Indian reservation? Does this type of work have something inherent to it that draws these women? And finally do they represent a special sub-group and if so what is their affect and influence in teaching? These questions should merit further investigation in determining patterns and profiles of teacher populations.

Both groups were relatively uniform in responses to the statement that Indians should be allowed to control their own schools and educational system. Both the IOSD and BIA each had 12 percent who said they should not be allowed to control their education and the BIA had 24 percent who said they didn't know, as opposed to the IOSD which had 12 percent.

	<u>Strongly Agree and Agree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
BIA	70%	24%	12%
IOSD	76%	12%	12%

Both had similar agreement responses to the statement.

There is also an interesting difference between the two groups in their responses to the statement, "would you want your child to attend your school?".

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Response</u>
BIA	72%	18%	18%
IOSD	40%	32%	28%

The Bureau responded 72 percent that they would want their children to attend their school. Only 18 percent did not respond. Many of these no responses may be because it is not applicable, that is a number of people did not have children and so did not respond. There are major differences in the IOSD responses. Only 40 percent of them said that they wanted their kids to attend their school and 32 percent said they did not and 28 percent did not respond.

From this it looks as if the BIA teachers have a more positive attitude towards their school in that they want their children to attend the system.

It cannot be determined exactly why the BIA teachers have a more positive attitude towards their school. There could be a number of possible explanations, none of which could be verified from the results of this study. Again, the nature of the job, security, etc., may be influencing the responses from both groups. It may be that there is a qualitative difference between the two systems. All that is suggested here, however, is that a pattern exists in that for the most part the BIA teachers tend to want their children to attend their system.

It was hypothesized that the county teachers would have a greater negative response towards the administration because they would be younger and highly trained. We have seen that they are not younger, or better trained, but they do have a higher degree of negative response to the two questions concerning attitudes towards the administration. See specifically questions 19 and 45 in appendix. The responses to both these questions were relatively uniform. (See Chart No. 8).

Negative Responses Toward Administration

	<u>Question No. 19</u>	<u>Question No. 45</u>
BIA	12%	18%
IOSD	44%	48%

The IOSD teachers responded negatively about the same to both questions and the BIA was uniform in its responses to the same two questions.

Again, this information only relates in some ways the way teachers perceive their administration. There are a great many variables relating to these differences in viewing the administration. Length of service with the same employer may reflect some degree of correlation with the negative responses to the administration. For example, the BIA has 30 percent of its faculty that has been teaching for them for 11 years or more and 12 percent for 7-10 years. (See Chart No. 9). The IOSD has only 8 percent who are in the 7-10 category and more in the 11 plus category. The BIA teachers definitely have a larger percent of teachers who have remained with them for some time.

	<u>Years</u>				
	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-10</u>	<u>11 plus</u>	
BIA	<u>60%</u>	<u>6%</u>	<u>12%</u>	<u>30%</u>	
IOSD	56%	36%	8%	—	

Probably some condition of contentment exists for these people to have remained with one employer for so long. However, there are many reasons that could account for this, such as the BIA retirement plans, security, etc. It would be interesting to keep tabs on the group of young BIA teachers and see if they stay as long and for the same reasons.

Evidence gleaned from this study does not give enough support to show a positive correlation between length of stay with one administration and attitude toward that administration. It does, however, point up to some interesting avenues of inquiry for future research.

Summary and Conclusions: The data from this study can do no more than to illustrate various patterns that exist in a comparison between the BIA and IOSD teachers on the Papago reservation. Some of the patterns are demonstrated by differences between the two groups and others are similarities and uniformities. Although it is impossible to illustrate other than these patterns, it is possible to make a few concluding remarks.

On the whole, the BIA seems to have a more positive concept of its role in the educational milieu. The relation of this attitude to a creative school and teaching cannot be determined here. Such attitudes may be the result of exciting, creative educational pro-

grams which are going on. On the other hand, such attitudes could represent complacency within a secure bureaucratic organization. There are a number of views regarding BIA education and the American Indian. The most accepted stereotype view is familiar to all of us. In fact, much of this stereotype view was used as a tool to test hypothesis. As we have seen, many of the original hypothesis did not hold up under scrutiny.

In the past few years, the image of the BIA has changed for many people. In many quarters there is a new sense of creativity and responsible education. Some of the more exciting programs in Indian education is being initiated and supported by the BIA. What may be a source of conflict is the fact that there may be large numbers of older teachers who still adhere to a dysfunctional educational policy. We have seen that there are two major age groups in the BIA teachers. Further research into the differences between these younger and older teachers would be valuable. If in fact, the older groups of teachers do adhere to a dysfunctional philosophy, the BIA administration should take steps to insure independence for the younger teachers so they will not be adversely affected by it.

A point should be made here in defense of all teachers, in that the problem is not that they do not care, but do not know or understand the recent philosophies being adopted in education by the teaching profession and the Indian himself.

The IOSD also represents a certain pattern in that it tends to be more negative about a number of points. This conflict that seems to exist in the IOSD system can be viewed in a number of ways. For one thing, it could be a problem. If for example the conflict between administration and teachers was such that it inhibited both from functioning properly, then it would have an obvious negative affect. On the other hand, a certain quantity and quality of conflict can play a highly functional role in the educational process. Coser's intensive work on social conflict shows that in many cases it is necessary and often the basis for the functioning of institutions. From conflict can come creativity. From the data gathered in this study, it is not possible to determine the role of conflict in the IOSD system. However, there are indications that it may have some dysfunctional attributes. The fact that a sizeable number of IOSD did not want their children to attend

their school may be interpreted as evidence of dysfunctional conflict.

A practical suggestion from the evidence would be the possibility of more preservice and inservice training for the IOSD teachers. This training could come from a number of sources, the most obvious being the state universities. The responsibility of supplying qualified teachers to work with Indian children has to be met by all of those involved.

Finally, more research should be conducted into the functioning of the Indian school. This paper has pointed out a number of questions that warrant future research. Care should be taken so that his research does not become esoteric in nature and that all the people involved are brought into the problem. Findings should be made available immediately to teachers and administration. The researcher has an obligation to work with these people to the solution of common problems and achievement of common goals. Much research in the past has been done for other reasons than those described above. Teachers and administration have too often been considered only as subjects to be studied and the educators and social scientists who made these studies ignore the larger more pressing problems these people face. The research often does not contribute in helping solve their problem and in many cases increases the problem by creating suspicion on the part of the school system. It is hoped that this paper in part has met its responsibilities to the teachers and administration who have participated in this study.