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ABSTRACT

A training manual was developed to acquaint teachers and administrators with the history, cultural background, and educational needs of Menominee and Oneida students in Wisconsin. This manual is one of three such manuals which are intended for use with allied audiovisual materials. Historical attempts to meet the needs of limited English proficient students in Wisconsin and the United States are reviewed, and aspects of different types of educational programs for minority students in Wisconsin are outlined. Following a discussion of the culture and educational needs of Menominee and Oneida students, brief essays are presented on such topics as stereotyping, the plight of the American Indian, and what not to teach about American Indians. The associated tapes and suggested readings are listed and described. (RW)

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LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN:
CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

Part III: Native Americans
(Menominee and Oneida)

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WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

January 1982

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FOREWORD

The Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction in coordination with the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs--U.S. Department of Education has, in recent years, recognized the special needs of students of limited English proficiency. In addition, the Department has provided technical assistance to local schools, has developed curricular materials for the various language groups within the state and has promoted and approved bilingual teacher certification programs within the various institutions of higher education in the state.

However, despite these activities, one persistent need has not been met. What has been missing is knowledge about the cultural characteristics of the various linguistic minorities in the state along with some practical suggestions for acquiring and using cultural knowledge to help students with limited English proficiency achieve a higher degree of success within the public school system. To help meet these special needs a series of instructional programs have been developed consisting of a series of three training manuals and allied audiovisual materials.

The materials in these manuals were prepared with several purposes in mind. The first purpose is to acquaint teachers, administrators, and the general public with the history of attempts to meet the needs of limited English proficiency students in Wisconsin. A summary of present-day programs is also included. A second purpose is to present information on the cultural background of groups of limited English proficiency students who attend schools in Wisconsin. Within the general groupings of Hispanic, Indochinese, and Native American students, specific groups are discussed (Mexican/Puerto Rican; Hmong/Vietnamese; Menominee/Oneida) so as to highlight the particular cultural backgrounds and educational needs of students in these individual groups. Native speakers from these specific groups have drawn on their knowledge, insights, and experiential background to prepare this information. A third purpose of these materials is to provide videotaped lessons and a listing of supplementary readings. These items expand on the information presented here and direct teachers to other sources for developing curricular materials, for expanding instructional strategies, and for increasing their knowledge about the cultural background and educational needs of their limited English proficiency students.

I wish to thank all of those who have contributed to this undertaking. All of us in the Department who worked on this project are especially appreciative of the efforts of Professor Constance Knop who edited, authored and organized the material into a pedagogically useful training program.

The publications are dedicated to everyone who has worked to develop quality educational programs for linguistic minorities of varying cultural backgrounds in the public schools of our state.

Herbert J. Grover
State Superintendent

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I. HISTORICAL LANDMARKS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN WISCONSIN AND THE UNITED STATES

The Early Period 1830-1917

There is considerable historical evidence to show that the so-called "melting pot" approach of assimilating the various immigrant groups did not function as smoothly and automatically as many people have supposed. In fact, some of the ethnic groups which now are considered assimilated did have what would now be called bilingual/bicultural education programs. For example, in the 1830's, a form of bilingual education was conducted in Cincinnati which, in that time period, had a large majority of German-speaking citizens. Documents from the time show that first generation German settlers considered America's common schools inferior to those of the homeland. As a result, private, parochial German schools were established in order to provide a better quality of education based upon the German model and also to preserve the language, culture, and traditions for the next generation of German-Americans. In many places across the country, including Milwaukee and other German ethnic areas, such schools competed successfully with the public schools for many years. This was despite the fact that parents of such students had to pay tuition fees as well as school taxes.

In order to draw students away from these bilingual German-English schools, many states established competing schools in which instruction was carried on, both in German and in English. In 1840, Ohio even passed a law which would now be referred to as a state bilingual law. The Ohio Statutes actually provided tax monies to attract German children into the public schools and to permit German culture and language to be taught. It stated that it was "The duty of the Board of Trustees and visitors of common schools to provide a number of German schools under duly-qualified teachers for the instruction of the youths who desire to learn the German language or the German and English languages together." During that same year, the City of Cincinnati was mandated by law to introduce German instruction in the grade schools as an optional subject. This has been cited as the first bilingual education program in the United States.

Similar programs were set up across the country during the 1800's as more and more German immigrants moved into American cities. Among many others, the states of Colorado, Indiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Oregon, and Wisconsin operated schools in which the German language and various subject matter were taught by means of both German and English.

World War I and the End of Bilingual Education

Before the entrance of the United States into World War I, not only did bilingual education flourish across the country, mostly within German-speaking communities, but also German was the main foreign language taught in the nation's high schools, a type of instruction, incidentally, that reached many students who were not of German ethnic

background. However, in 1917, an anti-German movement connected with World War I hysteria led to the virtual elimination of both the German bilingual movement in the schools and the teaching of German in the high schools. On the legal front, nearly half the states in the nation passed laws limiting German instruction to the upper grades of the public schools. At the time, this legislation was hardly necessary. Within a few years, German had gone from enrolling 25% of all high school students down to less than 1%. But the trend was established, and the anti-German movement in education broadened itself into a general anti-foreign sentiment. The resulting legislation ended up prohibiting the teaching of any languages other than English in all schools, public or non-public, to pupils below grades 8 and 9. However, a 1923 Supreme Court decision in the Meyer vs. Nebraska case declared such legislation to be unconstitutional. Had this decision gone the other way, subsequent bilingual legislation would have been impossible. Nevertheless, the anti-foreign language-foreign culture movement had its effects, and the result was the total elimination of bilingual education for almost a half century in American schools, and the downgrading of foreign language study from a virtual high school requirement to an elective mostly directed at middle class, college-bound young people.

Re-Emergence of Bilingual Education

Perhaps the first large-scale bilingual program in the second half of the 20th century was established in the Coral Way School, Dade County, Miami, Florida, in the fall of 1963. With funding from public and private foundations, this program successfully dealt with the language and cultural needs of Cuban refugees who had fled the Castro regime. Other bilingual programs were also established during the 1960's in New Mexico and Texas. Other states followed suit, and by 1967, twenty-one states had some kind of bilingual education program. Most of these were in Spanish, but a few were targeted toward French and Portuguese speaking children.

With the support of a number of concerned groups, including the American Council of the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), Senator Yarborough of Texas introduced a bill in 1967 which put bilingual programs on an official basis. In fact, he chaired a special subcommittee on bilingual education, which held hearings during the spring and summer of 1967 in various parts of the country. With backing from President Lyndon Johnson, the Office of Education established the Unit on Mexican-American Affairs in 1967 to push for the passage of a bilingual law. During congressional debate, the proposed law was amended to include all non-English speaking children from different ethnic groups. The bill which emerged from congressional activity emphasized teacher training, development of materials, and pilot projects. The bill was signed into law in January, 1968, and became known as Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act of ESEA. After the passage of Title VII, Massachusetts became the first state, in December of 1971, to mandate bilingual education programs for non-English speaking students. Many other states, including Wisconsin, used the Massachusetts program as

a general model for requiring bilingual-bicultural programs, in communities with large numbers of limited English-speaking pupils. Wisconsin offered funding of 70% of the program cost for schools which were required to implement a bilingual program. Thus, Wisconsin was one of those states which both mandated a program and funded it. Some states provided funding but were "permissive" in their approach. That is, local districts had the option to offer a program. They received reimbursement if they did so. Other states passed laws but provided little or no state reimbursement to reward schools which operated a bilingual program.

Under the Carter Administration, attempts were made to put heavy pressure on school districts across the nation with large limited English-speaking populations to implement bilingual programs. The implication was that bilingual education was the only fully acceptable means of meeting the needs of limited English proficiency students. One of the first acts of Reagan's Secretary of Education, Terrell Bell, was to terminate such mandates from the Federal level. (However, it should be noted that states mandates are still in effect.) Other problems which are currently facing bilingual programs were summarized by Gerald Kanon in his short history of bilingual education in the United States. As he expressed it:

The obstacles to success are indeed formidable. Perhaps the greatest of these is the doubt in many communities that the maintenance of non-English languages is desirable. It has not yet been demonstrated that a Latino child can become literate in English best by first learning or becoming literate in Spanish. To resolve this doubt in the public mind we shall need to mobilize all available resources behind a few really convincing demonstrations.

Still another massive obstacle is the education of bilingual teachers. Teacher-preparation institutions are only beginning to become aware that new and better programs are urgently needed to educate qualified teachers in the numbers required.

The achievement of truly exemplary bilingual programs will not be easy. As we have seen, many communities are by no means convinced of the desirability of linguistic pluralism. Even those that are, are handicapped by the lack of adequately qualified teachers and other personnel, by the shortage of adequate materials, by inadequate evaluation methods and instruments, and by a lack of collaboration between school and community. Most important of all is the gathering of social data in the planning of such programs.

Finally, to predict that a bilingual education program in the United States will succeed would depend on its quality of teacher training and commitment to its philosophy. For it is a source of pride, a focus of initial

loyalties and integrations from which broader loyalties and wider integrations can proceed. If the proponents of this program fail to achieve a newer and higher level of workmanship, we may expect this exciting trend in our schools to languish and fade away as have so many other hopeful educational ideas in the past.

Meyer v. Nebraska
Supreme Court of the United States, 1923

In a majority decision written by Justice James C. McReynolds, the United States Supreme Court on June 4, 1923, set aside the conviction of a teacher in a private school who had violated a Nebraska law against teaching a foreign language in the elementary grades. The law violated by teacher Meyer had been enacted in 1919. It was similar to those passed by many states as a part of the campaign to "Americanize" foreigners which took place in connection with the anti-German movement during and after World War I. It prohibited the teaching of a foreign language in the first eight grades of any public or private school and also forbade the teaching of any subject by means of a language other than English. In the case in question Meyer had been teaching German to a pupil in an elementary Lutheran school in Hamilton County during May of 1920. In order to convey a feeling for the mood of this particular time period a major portion of the Nebraska State Supreme Court ruling is given here:

Meyer v. Nebraska
Supreme Court of Nebraska, 1922

Plaintiff in error (Meyer) was tried and convicted in the District Court for Hamilton County, Nebraska, under an information which charged that on May 25, 1920, while an instructor in Zion Parochial School, he unlawfully taught the subject of reading the German language to Raymond Parpart, a child of ten years, who had not attained and successfully passed the eighth grade. The information is based upon "An act relating to the teaching of foreign languages in the State of Nebraska":

No person, individually or as a teacher, shall in any private, denominational, parochial or public school, teach any subject to any person in any language other than the English language.

Languages other than the English language, may be taught as languages only after a pupil shall have attained and successfully passed the eighth grade as evidenced by a certificate of graduation issued by the county superintendent of the county in which the child resides.

Any person who violates any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction, shall be subject to a fine of not less than

twenty-five (\$25), nor more than one hundred dollars (\$100) or be confined in the county jail for any period not exceeding thirty days for each offense.

...The salutary purpose of the statute is clear. The legislature had seen the baneful effects of permitting foreigners who had taken residence in this country, to rear and educate their children in the language of their native land. The result of that condition was found to be inimical to our own safety. To allow the children of foreigners, who had emigrated here, to be taught from early childhood the language of the country of their parents was to rear them with that language as their mother tongue. It was to educate them so that they must always think in that language, and, as a consequence, naturally inculcate in them the ideas and sentiments foreign to the best interests of this country. The statute, therefore, was intended not only to require that the education of all children be conducted in the English language, but that they should not in the schools be taught any other language. The obvious purpose of this statute was that the English language should be and become the mother tongue of all children reared in this state. The enactment of such a statute comes reasonably within the police power of the state...

When the case came before the Supreme Court of the United States it was looked at from the standpoint of the Fourteenth Amendment's restrictions on the rights of states to deprive persons of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. "Mere knowledge of the German language," wrote Justice McReynolds in the majority decision, "cannot reasonably be regarded as harmful. Heretofore, it has been commonly looked upon as helpful and desirable." Thus, the majority of the court ruled that Meyer had a right to teach and that he must not be deprived of that right even though it might be advantageous to promote the use of a common tongue. However, it was stated that "this cannot be coerced by methods which conflict with the Constitution --a desirable end cannot be promoted by prohibited means." Justice McReynolds also stated that, "It is well known that proficiency in a foreign language seldom comes to one not instructed at an early age, and experience shows that this is not injurious to the health, morals or understanding of the ordinary child." Thus, the U.S. Supreme Court took issue with the Nebraska Courts' claim that there are "baneful effects in permitting foreigners...to rear and educate children in the language of their native country."

Lau v. Nichols Ruling

The Supreme Court ruling Meyer v. Nebraska constitutes what may be one of the first legal decisions in the United States regarding bilingual education. Clearly, the attitude regarding bilingual education has changed drastically since 1923. An excellent example is provided in the case of Lau v. Nichols. This case is considered a "landmark" ruling as it set a precedent for future legal questions on bilingual education.

Briefly, Lau v. Nichols was a class suit which charged the San Francisco Unified School District with failure to provide all non-English speaking students (in this case, 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry) with special instruction to equalize their educational opportunity. The plaintiffs contended that their rights had been abridged under the U.S. Constitution, the California Constitution, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and provisions of the California Education Code. After being denied relief at lower court levels, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court. In January, 1974, the Court ruled that there had been a denial of equal educational opportunity under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Court chose not to rule on whether there had been a violation of Constitutional rights. The case was remanded to the U.S. district court for the fashioning of an appropriate remedy for the discrimination. The school district has been working with a citizen's task force to develop the remedy. The Lau remedy set the example for other districts contemplating their responsibilities to provide equal educational opportunities for language minority students.

In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court relied solely on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based on grounds of race, color, or national origin in any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance. The Court ruled that the San Francisco schools had violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and could not argue the lack of discrimination because the Chinese students were provided with the same educational treatment as other students. The Court said: "Under these state-imposed standards there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education." The Court went on to rule that "the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students."

This landmark decision of the Supreme Court was also important in that it upheld the authority of the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to issue rules, regulations, orders, and interpretations regarding educational programs for children of limited English-speaking ability. The Office of Civil Rights Memorandum of May 25, 1970, requiring federally funded school districts "to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students," was specifically referred to by the Supreme Court.

Federal Policy on Bilingual Education: Title VII of ESEA

The 1968 Bilingual Education Act or Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, as amended, provided supplemental funding for school districts interested in establishing programs to meet the "special educational needs" of large numbers of children of limited English speaking ability (LESA) in the United States. The children initially served under Title VII also had to be

from low-income families. Funding was provided for planning and developing bilingual programs, preservice training, and for operation of programs, including bilingual education, early childhood education, adult education, dropout programs, vocational programs, and courses dealing with the history and culture of the language minority group being served.

Between 1969 and 1981, hundreds of millions of dollars have been expended under Title VII, most of which have gone for support of bilingual programs in elementary schools. Of this amount, 12% was utilized in special bilingual education projects, including bilingual children's television, curriculum centers, and dissemination centers.

Revision of Title VII

The Bilingual Act of 1974, which superseded the 1968 Act, was more explicit in intent and design. Children no longer had to be from low income families, a criterion that had previously prevented Title VII from meeting the needs of large numbers of language minority children. For the first time, the Federal government provided a definition of what constitutes a bilingual education program. Furthermore, support was provided for bilingual programs, supplemental community activities, training programs, fellowships, planning for programs, and technical assistance. Indian language programs were also permitted under the Act. Further, the designation "Limited English Speaking" was changed to "Limited English Proficiency" or "LEP." Other new features included a requirement that the Commissioner of Education and the National Advisory Council for Bilingual Education (set up under Title VII) report to Congress on the state of bilingual education in the Nation. Under the new legislation, a separate provision authorized an appropriation of \$40.25 million over a five year period under which state education agencies are eligible to receive training grants, along with local school districts and institutions of higher education. At this writing, the Reagan administration has proposed cutbacks in Title VII with complete phase out of all programs by 1983.

The Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974

The Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 declared Congressional policy to be (1) that all children enrolled in public schools are entitled to equal educational opportunity regardless of race, color, sex, or national origin and (2) that public school assignments should be based on the neighborhood in which children reside. Aside from raising formidable obstacles against the use of transportation to achieve desegregation (i.e., busing), the Act provided a list of six acts that the Congress defined as constituting a denial of equal educational opportunity. Among them is: "the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional program." The Act provided for the initiation of civil action by individuals who have

been denied equal educational opportunity and thus gave a direct statutory right of action to language minority persons seeking to vindicate their rights to equal educational opportunity through the institution of effective language programs in the public schools.

In addition, on May 25, 1970, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued a memorandum in which the agency stipulated that school districts with more than 5% national origin minority group children have an obligation under Title VII to equalize educational opportunity for language minority students. Seventy-two districts, or 4% of all districts with 5% or more language minority children, have been reviewed by the agency's Office of Civil Rights to determine their compliance with provisions of the memorandum. These school district review cases include the El Paso Independent School District and the Socorro Independent School District, both in Texas. However, the strongest official federal position thus far on what constitutes compliance with the May 25 Memorandum is the Lau v. Nichols case discussed earlier. In the late 1970's, a number of Wisconsin school districts with large LEP populations were declared to be in non-compliance with the Equal Educational Opportunity Act for having failed to take appropriate actions on LEP pupil needs.

State of Wisconsin Policy on Bilingual Education: Chapter 115, Subchapter VII

In 1975, the State of Wisconsin enacted a mandatory bilingual education law. This law established a program for the bilingual-bicultural education of pupils whose English language usage is limited because of the existence of another language in their background. A school district must establish a program if in a given school there are ten or more bilingual pupils in the kindergarten to 3rd grade; 20 or more such pupils in the 4th - 8th grade; or 20 or more in the 9th - 12th grade. The classes must be taught by bilingual teachers. The Department of Public Instruction is required to recommend ratios of bilingual students to bilingual teachers and counselors in secondary schools. School districts are authorized to provide these services by contracting with other school districts or with a cooperative educational service agency.

The University of Wisconsin System Board of Regents is authorized to establish and operate in cooperation with DPI a training and certification program for bilingual-bicultural teachers and counselors.

The state reimburses any school district granting such programs an amount up to 70% of the actual cost of personnel, books and equipment.

The state bilingual law directs the Department of Public Instruction to determine the number of pupils in each school district who have the same primary language other than English and whose lack of ability to use the English language hinders their progress in regular classroom work. If the "triggering" numbers are present at any grade level, the Department then must direct school districts to employ teachers and other personnel who are bilingual.

Local school districts receiving funds are required to submit a plan of service indicating the number of pupils having a primary language other than English and the number of bilingual teachers and other personnel employed in the district.

The Department of Public Instruction (DPI) serves as the state agency responsible for coordinating bilingual education programs in Wisconsin. DPI staff with training in Second Language Education and Bilingual Education are responsible for this kind of activity as are employees in the DPI Office of Equal Education Opportunity. The DPI's personnel in this area serve basically as consultants, providing technical assistance to school districts wishing to implement bilingual education programs and helping universities to set up teacher certification programs. Equal Educational Opportunity staff members focus on criteria and enforcement questions - for example, involving the Civil Rights Act, Emergency School Aid Act, etc.

The State of Wisconsin's role in the administration of bilingual education programs varies according to the title and act under which a school district or educational agency has applied for funds. For example, the DPI is the administration and allocation vehicle for district funding requests under the state Bilingual Program. However, if the request is made under Title VII ESEA or under Title VII of the Emergency School Aid Act, funding would be in the form of a direct federal grant to school districts. On the other hand, refugee assistance grants are made to DPI with money "flowing through" to LEA's as subgrantees.

One of the major problems that Wisconsin is confronted with in attempting to secure federal funding for bilingual education programs is its relatively small populations of Spanish-speaking students and other LEP groups such as the Indochinese. This Wisconsin percentage is relatively low in comparison with states such as California, New York, and Texas that have very high populations of LEP students. Hence, Wisconsin finds itself in fierce competition with other states when it applies for bilingual funds.

The Success and Failure of Bilingual Programs

One highly publicized study of the success of bilingual education reached the remarkable conclusion that results of bilingual education were "inconclusive." This statement was apparently based on the fact that while some bilingual programs were highly successful others were a failure and others made very little apparent difference during the evaluation period. So, this "averaged out" as "inconclusive." This is roughly equivalent to saying that cancer treatment results are inconclusive because, while some patients recover completely, others die and still others have their lives prolonged. A medical researcher who were to report the cumulative data on cancer treatment as being therefore inconclusive would probably be laughed out of the profession. Educators are, apparently, more tolerant of sweeping generalizations.

The fact is that certain kinds of bilingual programs consistently show success according to rather clearly defined achievement criteria while other programs of a different design show consistent lack of success. It would appear to be more productive to look at the patterns of success and failure rather than to attempt to generalize about something as multi-faceted as bilingual education. A great deal of research has been conducted over the past half century. An analysis of the findings shows that certain patterns are emerging. As one of the chief international researchers on bilingualism expressed it, "...enough data are available to tentatively conclude that, under specified conditions, being bilingual can have tremendous advantages not only in terms of language competencies but also in terms of cognitive and social development. The limiting conditions are that the two (or more) languages involved in the bilingualism have enough social value and worth that both can be permitted to flourish as languages of thought and expression." (Lambert, 1981, p. 2) Another researcher has noted that if both languages in a bilingual program are given the opportunity to meet and pass some minimum threshold level competence, then one can realize the benefits of being bilingual. (Cummins, 1978) In less technical language, what this means is that the "developmental" or "additive" types of bilingual programs are always effective, apparently because both languages are highly regarded by the school system, the teachers, and the community. An example of this is the so-called immersion school concept in which children, whose native language is English learn basic subject matter exclusively in a foreign language from kindergarten through the upper elementary grades. In this case, the home language retained its high status and the language to be added was viewed in terms of academic prestige. In Canada, for example, students of mono-lingual English speaking background were sent to schools in which the teachers spoke only French, and used textbooks and materials which were exclusively in French. In a carefully designed longitudinal study, the students in this school were compared to students who were mono-lingual both in French and English. The researcher commented as follows:

To our surprise, our bilingual youngsters in Montreal scored significantly higher than carefully matched mono-linguals on both verbal and non-verbal measures of intelligence; they were further advanced in school grade than the mono-linguals, and they performed as well or better on various tests of competence in French (the language of schooling) than did the mono-lingual controls at the same time as they outperformed the controls by far on all tests of competence in English. Furthermore, their pattern of test results indicated that they, relative to mono-linguals, had developed a more diversified structure of intelligence and more flexibility and thought, those very features of cognition that very likely determine the depth and breadth of language competence.

What is so startling about these findings is that reading and writing were first taught to the children in a foreign language. In every instance, the ability to read and write English transferred easily when written material in the native language was introduced. In fact, with regard to reading skill, the bilingual students soon outperformed those who had

been taught to read and write mono-lingually. The first research on immersion schools was done in the early 1960s. Since then similar schools have been set up and research has been conducted all over the world involving different pairs of languages and all social economic groups including black children from urban areas. The results are always the same; children in this kind of bilingual program end up out performing mono-lingual controls not only in reading and writing, but also in the acquisition of science, mathematics, and other academic subjects. Confirmations can be found from carefully conducted research in such varied parts of the world as Singapore (Torrance et al., 1970), Switzerland (Balken, 1970), South Africa (Ianco-Worrall, 1972,), Israel and New York (Ben-Zeev, 1972), Western Canada (Cummins and Gulustan, 1973), Montreal (Scott, 1973).

Lambert's Summary of the Impact of Bilingualism on Thought and Language

On April 3, 1981, the internationally-known linguistic researcher, Wallace E. Lambert, delivered a paper at UW-Stevens Point at the Conference on Basic Skills Across the Curriculum. His topic was "Thinking and Learning with one Language or More." As part of his presentation he summarized international research findings on the effects of "additive" types of bilingual programs. His review of the research in this area is given below.

All of these studies indicate that bilingual young people, relative to monolingual controls, show definite cognitive and linguistic advantages as these are reflected in measures of "cognitive flexibility," "creativity," divergent thought," or "problem solving." Ben-Zeev's study (1972), for example, involved Hebrew-English bilingual children in New York and Israel and her results strongly support the conclusion that bilinguals have greater "cognitive flexibility" in the sense that her bilinguals had greater skill at auditory reorganization of verbal materials, a much more "flexible manipulation of the linguistic code," and more sophistication in "concrete operational thinking," as these were measured in her investigation. Ianco-Worrall's study (1972) involved Afrikaans-English bilingual children in Pretoria, South Africa, and it lends equally strong support for a somewhat different form of cognitive flexibility, an advantage bilinguals show over monolingual controls in separating word meaning from word sound; her bilinguals were some two years more advanced in this feature of cognitive development, one that Leopold (1949) felt to be so characteristic of the "liberated thought" of bilinguals. Worrall also found a bilingual precocity in the realization of the arbitrariness of assignments of names to referents, a feature of thinking that Vigotsky (1962) believed was a reflection of insight and sophistication. The study by Scott (1973) of French-English bilinguals in Montreal is important because it involved a comparison of two groups of young children, one of which had been given the opportunity to become

bilingual over a period of years while the second group of comparable youngsters had not been given this opportunity. Scott worked with data collected over a seven-year period from two groups of English-Canadian children, one which had become functionally bilingual in French during the time period through "immersion schooling" in French, while the second group had followed a conventional English-language education program. Scott focused on the possible effects that becoming bilingual might have on "divergent thinking," a special type of cognitive flexibility (see Guilford, 1950, 1956). Measures of divergent thinking provide the subject with a starting point for thought --"think of a paper clip"--and ask the subject to generate a whole series of permissible solutions--"tell me all the things one could do with it." Some researchers have considered divergent thinking as an index of creativity (e.g., Getzels and Jackson, 1962), or at least an index of a rich imagination and an ability to scan rapidly a host of possible solutions. The results, based on a multivariate analysis, showed that the functionally bilingual youngsters were, at grades 5 and 6, substantially higher scorers than the monolinguals with whom they had been equated for IQ and social class background at the first-grade level. Although the numbers of children in each group are small, this study supports the causal link between bilingualism and flexibility, with bilingualism apparently the factor that enhanced flexibility.

There is, then, an impressive array of evidence accumulating that argues plainly against the common sense notion that becoming bilingual--having two linguistic systems within one's brain--naturally divides a person's cognitive resources and reduces his efficiency of thought and/or language. Instead, one can now put forth a very strong argument that there are definite cognitive and language advantages to being bilingual. Only further research will tell us how this advantage, assuming it is a reliable phenomenon, actually works. Perhaps it is a matter of bilinguals being better able to store information; perhaps it is the greater separation of linguistic symbols from their referents or the ability to separate word meaning from word sound; perhaps it is the contrasts of linguistic systems that bilinguals continually make that aids them in the development of general conceptual thought, or whatever. My own working hypothesis is that bilingualism provides a person with a comparative, three-dimensional insight into language, a type of stereolinguistic optic on communication that the monolingual rarely experiences. Bilingualism also helps protect a person against "reification," the human tendency to attribute thing qualities to all non-things that happen to have names (like soul, spirit, kindness, etc.). The protection comes in the form of the bilingual person's better realization that names are essentially arbitrary assignments. This realization along with the distance bilinguals can keep between names and referents makes them better able to play with words and their meanings,

in other words to be creative. Whatever the ultimate explanation, this new trend in research should give second thoughts to those who have used the bilingual deficit notion as an argument for melting down ethnic groups. Hopefully, too, it will provide a new perspective for members of ethnolinguistic groups who may have been led to believe that bilingualism is nothing but a handicap.

Additive versus Subtractive Forms of Bilingualism

One feature of the studies just reviewed merits special attention. In each of the settings referred to (Singapore, South Africa, Switzerland, Israel, New York, Montreal) we are dealing with bilinguals for whom the two languages involved have social value and respect. Knowing Afrikaans and English in South Africa, Hebrew and English in New York and Israel, or French as well as English in Montreal, would in each case be adding a second, socially relevant language to one's repertory of skills. In none of these settings would the learning of the second language necessarily portend the slow replacement of the first or "home" language, as would be the case for most linguistic minority groups in North America who are pressured to develop high-level skills in English at the expense of their home languages. We refer to the former instances as examples of "additive" bilingualism and we draw a sharp contrast with the "subtractive" form of bilingualism experienced by ethnolinguistic minority groups, who, because of national educational policies and/or social pressures of various sorts, feel forced to put aside or subtract out their ethnic languages for a more necessary and prestigious national language (Lambert, 1974). In the subtractive case, one's degree of bilinguality at any point in time would likely reflect a state in the disuse of the ethnic home language and its associated cultural accompaniments and its replacement with another more "necessary" language. This form of bilingualism can be devastating because it usually places youngsters in a psycholinguistic limbo where neither language is useful as a tool of thought and expression, a type of "semi-lingualism," as Skutnegg-Kangas & Toukoma (1976) put it.

Factors Causing Failure in Bilingual Programs

It appears that programs which either implicitly or explicitly downplay the language background or culture of the student regularly show poor results. Small children who are made to feel that the language of the dominant culture is somehow superior to the one they grew up with tend to do poorly in school both in the home language and the school language. Such programs are "subtractive" in that the students are made to feel that, in order to gain the second language, they are compelled to give up their first language and the culture to which it relates. By contrast immersion schools and developmental bilingual programs carry to students the conviction that they are gaining a new way of communicating and a new

cultural outlook on the world. Thus, it appears that the term "bilingual education" covers everything from prestige immersion schooling to minimal-effort transitional programs in which the student is actively discouraged from using the home language. Thus, much remains to be done in the area of clarifying what bilingual education is and should be. In this regard the following summary by Troike seems appropriate:

Until we have better information on what conditions promote or retard achievement ... the general rubric "bilingual program" will not prove very helpful in efforts to determine why bilingual education has succeeded in some circumstances more than in others.

A recent study by two Finnish researchers on the achievement of Finnish immigrant children in Sweden may have revolutionary significance for the education of linguistic minorities. In a study for the Finnish UNESCO Commission, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976, 1977) found that if children immigrated to Sweden when they were of pre-school or primary-level age, they fell within the lower 10 percent of Swedish children in Swedish language skills. However, if they were 10 to 12 years of age when they immigrated, and had had five to six years of education in their native language in Finland, they were much more likely to approach the norm of Swedish students when both were tested in Swedish. In particular, achievement in math, chemistry, and physics correlated highly with Finnish language skills. Similar anecdotal observations have been made of children who immigrated to the United States from Mexico after grade six. It is a common experience that such students rather quickly acquire English and soon out-perform Chicano students who have been in United States schools since grade one.

The Finnish researchers present powerful evidence to suggest that if children are submersed in instruction in another language before the age of ten, it exerts a destabilizing effect on the development of their native language as a tool for cognitive organization, and they may fail to acquire the ability to use the second language for such purposes, with the result that they become semilingual, i.e., not fully competent to carry out complex cognitive operations in either language.

These findings, which indicate that the best educational solution might be to provide schooling entirely in the student's native language for the first five grades, appear, at least superficially, to contradict the well-known results of experiments in immersion programs for English speakers in Canada and the United States (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Cohen et al., 1975). In such programs, it has been demonstrated that students continue to achieve at grade level in English even though they have received no instruction in it. How can this contradiction be explained?

The most probable explanation derives from the fact that both the Finnish and Chicano children belong to dominated minorities. Such students, in beginning their education in a second language, are subjected to various forms of discrimination and devaluation of their language and culture during a critical developmental period, while students who have escaped this experience quickly overcome the language barrier and function successfully in their second language. The difference then, may be ascribed to what Lambert has called subtractive vs. additive bilingualism.

But at an even more fundamental level, the issue may not be one of language at all, but rather the relative social and cultural status of groups in the community. It is significant that the children who succeed so notably in immersion programs are for the most part middle-class children from supportive homes whose language and culture are in no way threatened or demeaned by their being taught in another language. In the Finnish research, on the other hand, it has been shown that children's competence in their native language declines sharply when they begin school in a second language. It is this latter situation that characterizes most linguistic minority groups in this country.

These considerations would suggest that the success of bilingual education in providing equal educational opportunity for subordinated minorities may rest on matters far deeper and more fundamental than the merely linguistic. That this is not simply a question of providing a "warm, accepting environment," however, or attempting to enhance the student's self-concept, is shown by the fact that programs that do both may still fail to produce any improvement in achievement. The whole issue, as with many others, is one that can be resolved only by much more basic--not just operational--research than we have at present.

Frank Grittner
September, 1981

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II. DISCUSSION OUTLINE ON VARIOUS TYPES OF PROGRAMS FOR MEETING THE NEEDS OF LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN

I. Bilingual/Bicultural Education

1. Staff

- a) There is a certified bilingual teacher who is from the target culture or who has lived in the target culture and who is fluent and literate in the language (both English and the home language).
- b) There is usually an aide or liaison person who is a native speaker and knows English; the educational background is at least equivalent to a high school education.
- c) There are often tutorial assistants (peers, ESL specialists, volunteer tutors, etc.) to work with individuals or small groups.
- d) Bilingual/bicultural guidance counselors are included in larger programs.

2. Program Characteristics

- a) Instruction in basic subjects is conducted in two languages.
- b) Students learn to read and write in English and in the native language.
- c) Students have access to the bilingual/bicultural program until they can function exclusively in English in the school program.
- d) There may be a Developmental Option (locally funded only). Developmental courses are in the student's home language. Examples:
 - 1) Spanish for Spanish speakers,
 - 2) Vietnamese literature,
 - 3) Hmong folktales,
 - 4) Puerto Rican history,
 - 5) Spanish typing and stenography.
- (e) There may be a program aimed at retrieval and maintenance of the home language and culture (Indian groups primarily are involved in such programs).
 - 1) The non-English language is taught like a foreign language.
 - 2) The customs and history of the group are part of the curriculum.
 - 3) Pride in one's heritage is emphasized throughout in order to help pupils build a better self-concept.

3. Materials

- a) There are parallel textbooks in both languages which reflect the local curriculum. Examples:
 - 1) Dual math books,
 - 2) Readers in both languages,
 - 3) Science texts and materials in both languages,
 - 4) History texts in both languages.
- b) Dual-language audiovisual materials are also available.

4. Goals (Depending on program type)

- a) Developmental or "maintenance" bilingual programs are designed to produce literate, fluent bilingual citizens who can function well in American society or in the society of the home language.
- b) Transitional bilingual programs are designed to bridge the student's progress into the English-speaking school system, so that he or she can function successfully in the school program exclusively in English. (No effort is made to preserve the home language.) Examples:
 - 1) No Spanish for Spanish speakers,
 - 2) No history or cultural courses about the home country taught in the foreign language. (However, American history would possibly be taught in either language.)
 - 3) Teaching of the home language as a second or foreign language would not be included.
- c) Retrieval programs are designed to revive the home language and culture, to develop an improved self-concept in pupils by giving a positive view of their language and culture, and develop a substantial supply of appropriate texts and materials.

5. Summary

- a) The term developmental involves full dual language and cultural goals; producing literate bilinguals is the desired outcome.
- b) The term transitional equals "phase out" of the non-English language from the school setting. The home language is used only in the interim period.
- c) The terms FSL (English as a Second Language) or TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) call for learning through English only.

Transitional and ESL programs require:

- 1) Entrance criteria proving limited English proficiency (L.E.P.) and linking low school achievement to L.E.P.

- 2) Exit criteria showing that the student can function in English and no longer needs the support of the home language.

NOTE: State and federal programs are virtually all transitional in nature. However, local schools have sometimes opted for developmental components at local expense.

B. Legal Aspects -- Non-compliance

1. Federal Regulations

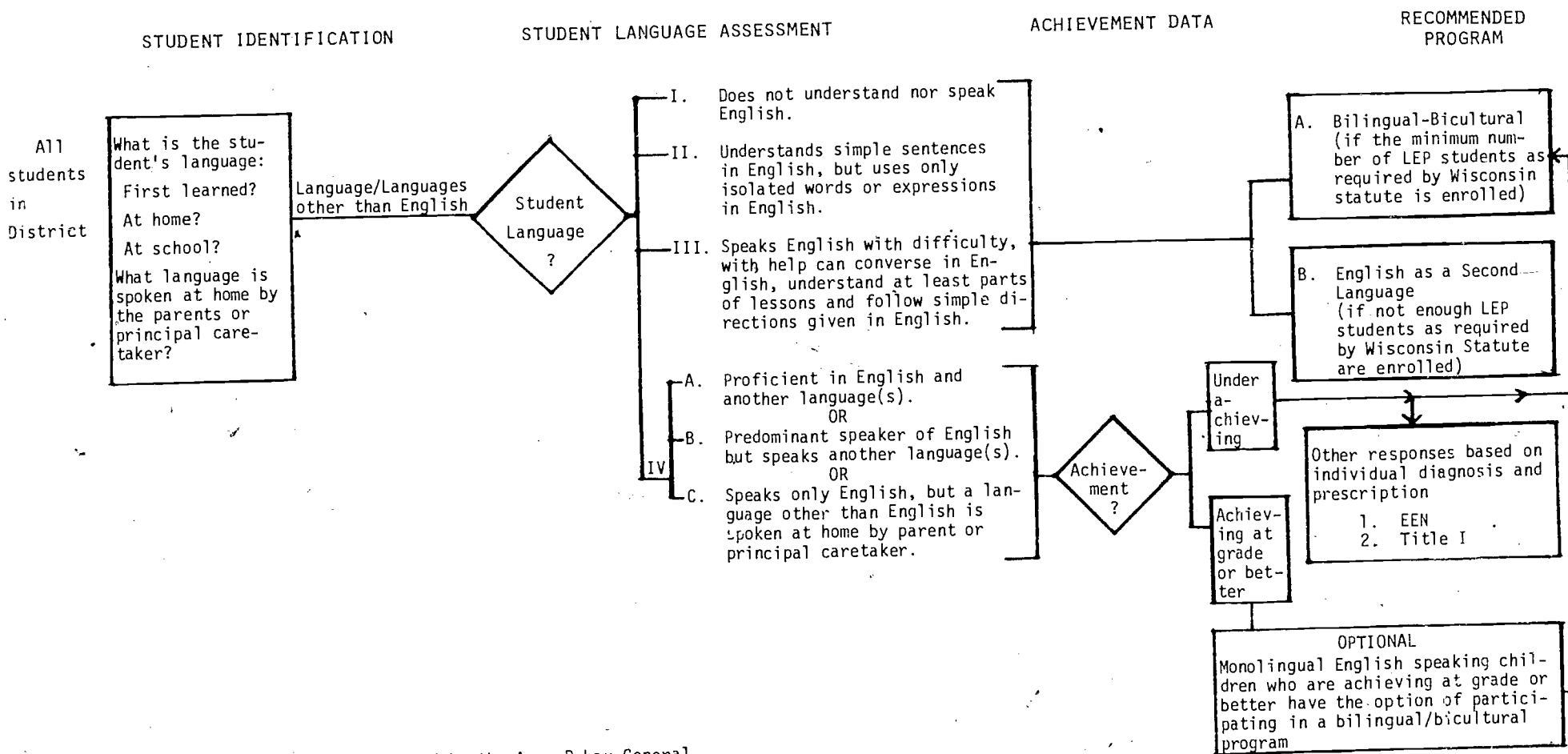
- a) Lau-Nichols decision: There were 1,800 Chinese-speaking children in San Francisco. A Supreme Court decision was that it is not sufficient to teach L.E.P. children solely by means of English. In fact, to do so constitutes a violation of their civil rights. There must be a special program for L.E.P. children.
- b) There was the Shirley Hufstedler ruling mandating bilingual education as the sole remedy. Terrel Bell threw this out as a federal regulation. Schools can use bilingual education, but such programs cannot be mandated from federal level. HOWEVER, many states -- including Wisconsin -- still mandate transitional bilingual programs if large L.E.P. concentrations exist.

2. State Program - Chapter 115, Subchapter VII, Wisconsin Statutes

- a) Each year in March, schools must count the number of limited English speaking ability (LESA) students and submit the results to DPI.
- b) A program is mandated if certain numbers of students are present at certain grade levels in a single school building. The school district must have a bilingual program if --
 - in grades K-3, there are 10 or more students of a given language background.
 - in grades 4-8, there are 20 or more students of the same language background.
 - in grades 9-12, there are 20 or more students of the same language background.
- c) For schools that qualify, up to 70 percent of the cost of the program is reimbursed by the state.
- d) In order to qualify, the district must have certified bilingual teachers or special DPI approval.

Frank M. Grittner

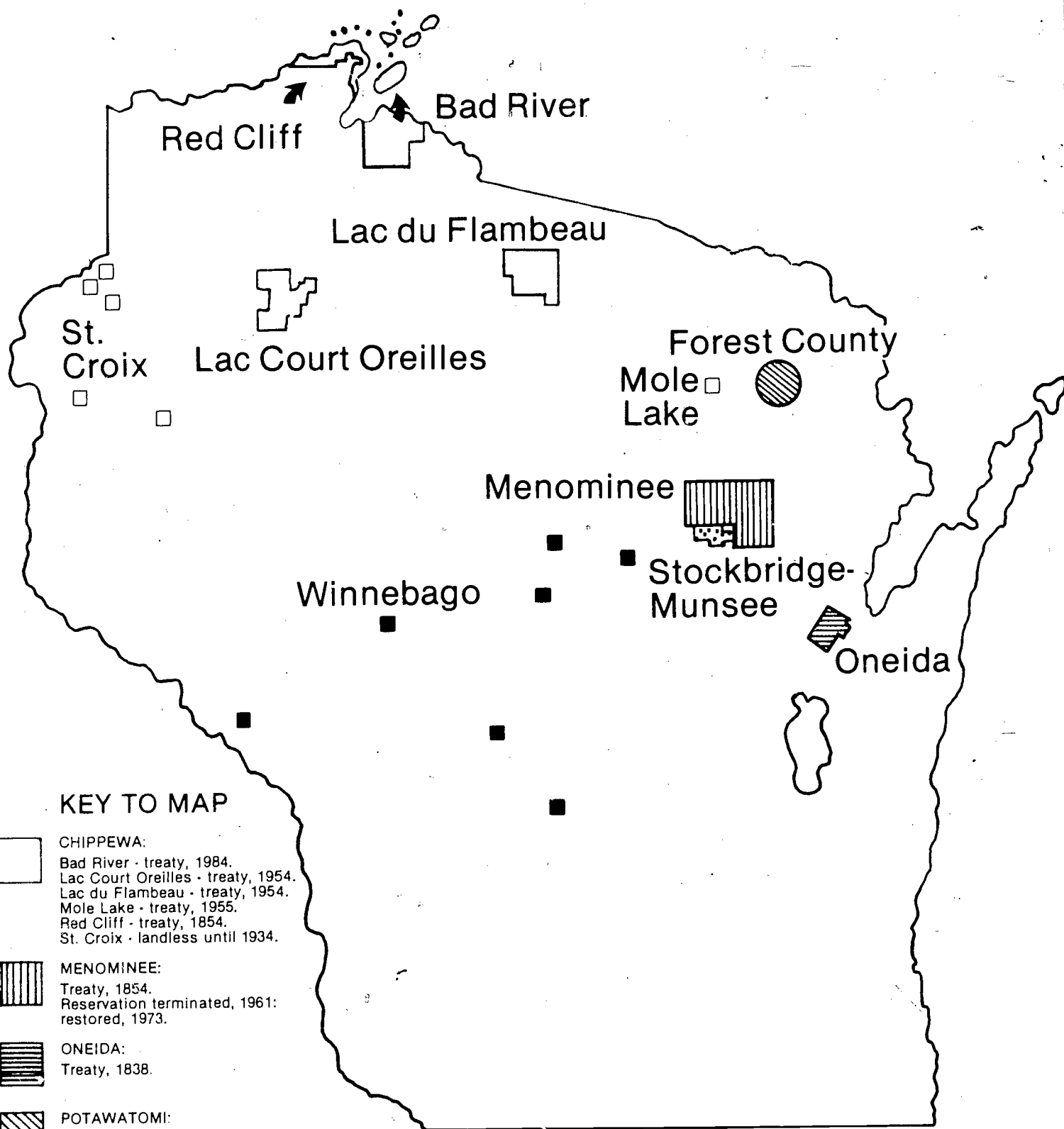
IDENTIFICATION AND ASSESSMENT OF LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT STUDENTS*



* Adapted from a diagram developed by the Area D Lau General Assistance Center - Alexander & Nava



III. NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN: MENOMINEE AND ONEIDA



KEY TO MAP

CHIPPEWA:
 Bad River - treaty, 1984.
 Lac Court Oreilles - treaty, 1954.
 Lac du Flambeau - treaty, 1954.
 Mole Lake - treaty, 1955.
 Red Cliff - treaty, 1854.
 St. Croix - landless until 1934.

MENOMINEE:
 Treaty, 1854.
 Reservation terminated, 1961:
 restored, 1973.

ONEIDA:
 Treaty, 1838.

POTAWATOMI:
 Forest County -
 landless until 1913

STOCKBRIDGE - MUNSEE:
 Treaty, 1856.

WINNEBAGO:
 Settlements and scattered households.
 Tribal lands at Wisconsin Dells and
 Black River Falls.

17. Reservations and other Indian settlements in Wisconsin at the present. Only a small part of Wisconsin belongs to Indians today. *Copyright, 1977. Iconographic Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.*

A. CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF MENOMINEE STUDENTS

1. General Information On American Indians

Like most tribal groups around the world, the American Indians consider family life very important. However, because of policies set by the Federal Government and various religious groups, the family structure has been eroded to the point where it is sometimes difficult to recognize. Basically, the close family structure is still maintained as in the early history but this is often seen, by non-Indians, as detrimental rather than supportive.

Education of the children has always been an important factor among Indian groups. However, from the time the treaties were signed, the education was taken over by the Federal Government or by some church group. From the very beginning these schools placed undue pressure on the children to forget their "pagan" ways and become "good citizens" like everyone else.

Because of the pressure, mostly in the form of punishment, many of this generation refused to teach the next generation their language and culture. They were trying to protect the children from the punishment they had received. Consequently, today's American Indian children are products of several generations of contradictory thought regarding their culture and language. This is compounded by the non-Indians' almost total lack of knowledge regarding American Indians today.

Before anyone can begin to understand Indian children, s/he should have a basic knowledge of several general terms about American Indians. Lack of understanding or sometimes misunderstanding of these generalities has led to much of the stereotyping that has been harmful to the Indian children. Below is a list of the most common of these terms followed by a short discussion of each one. These are words that many people use with very little idea of what they actually mean.

- a. American Indian
- b. "Indian" Culture
- c. Speaking "Indian"
- d. Reservation

a. American Indian - This term is continually being misused. Most people use it in a relative way. That is, they do not realize that each tribe is an individual group of people like the "Orientals." There are many groups of people who fall under this category but each group is certainly different.

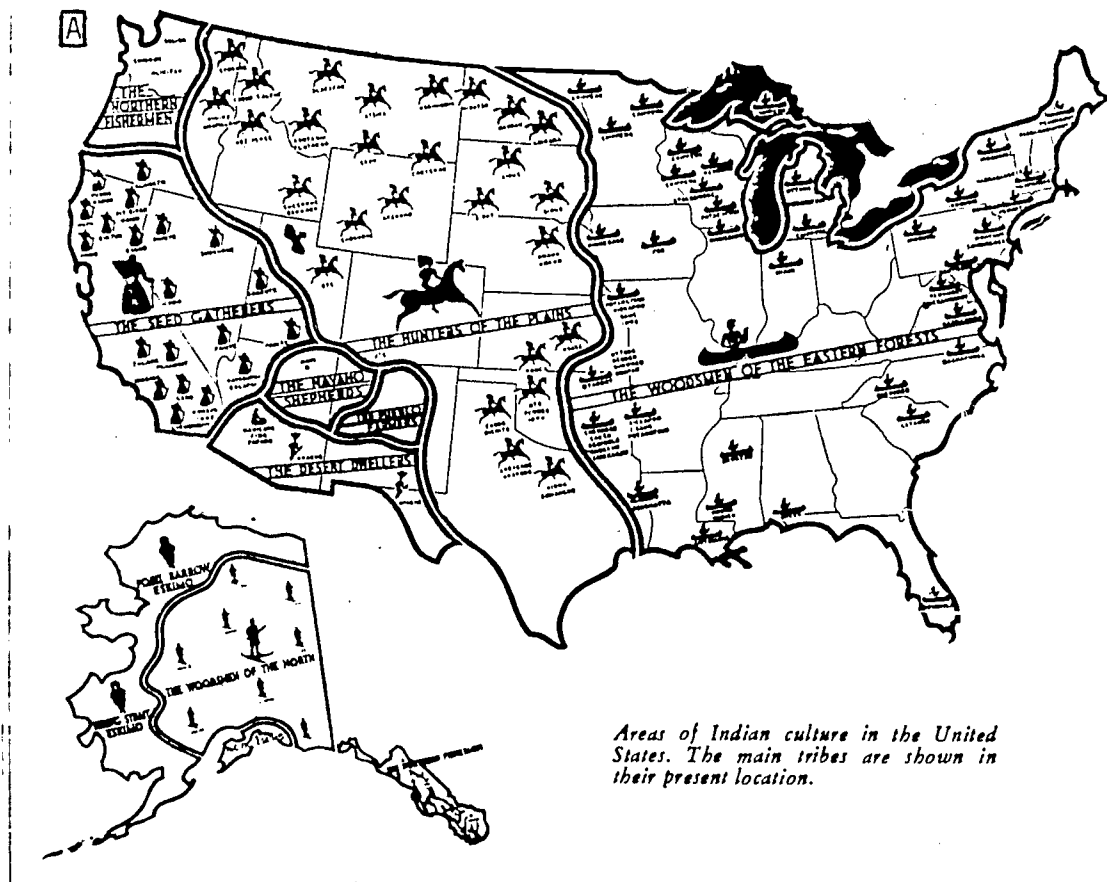
Within this group called American Indian, there are approximately 300 tribal groups still in existence today. This is the number that is accepted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). However, the exact

number of distinct tribal groups depends on which Federal Agency is doing the counting. Each agency has its own way of defining who an Indian is -- which is many times different from the way that the Indian people define themselves. This number (300) includes only those tribes living in the United States. Even though these individual tribes have adopted the material culture of the non-Indian, they are still very tribally oriented. Many of them are very ethno-centric and view their first allegiance to the Tribe rather than to the United States.

b. Indian Culture - The Indian tribes in the United States were divided into very distinct culture groups. There is no such thing as "Indian" culture. The map below depicts the different culture areas in the U.S. The tribes in these culture areas maintained a unique life style, which was based on their environment. They utilized what was available to them to subsist on. These were the culture areas prior to the coming of the Europeans.

These cultures were not stagnant but were changing in the same manner cultures change around the world. The so-called "Indian" culture that is generally taught in the schools is representative of only a particular period of time. Also, due to the lack of knowledge of most teachers, the information given to children is generally a "mish mash" of all Indian cultures rolled into one.

Although the material culture has changed, Indians are still in some degree divided by language, custom and tradition.



Areas of Indian culture in the United States. The main tribes are shown in their present location.

c. Speaking "Indian" - Another way of dividing tribal groups is by language. There are approximately 14 language families. However, this number also depends on who is classifying them.

This is another stereotypic generality that people make. They seem to think that one speaks "Indian." There is no such language unless you are perhaps talking about people from India. On the next page, you will find a breakdown of the language families and approximately where they are located (see map B).

Within each language family, one finds many dialects. There are enough differences in words and phrases to make each tribal language unique. For instance, Chippewa, Menominee and Potawatomi are all dialects of the Algonquian family. But, if you know the languages, you can readily recognize which one is being spoken.

Different language groups lived in the same culture area. Their life styles were the same but their languages were totally different. This was particularly true in the Woodland Culture area in the northern section east of the Mississippi.

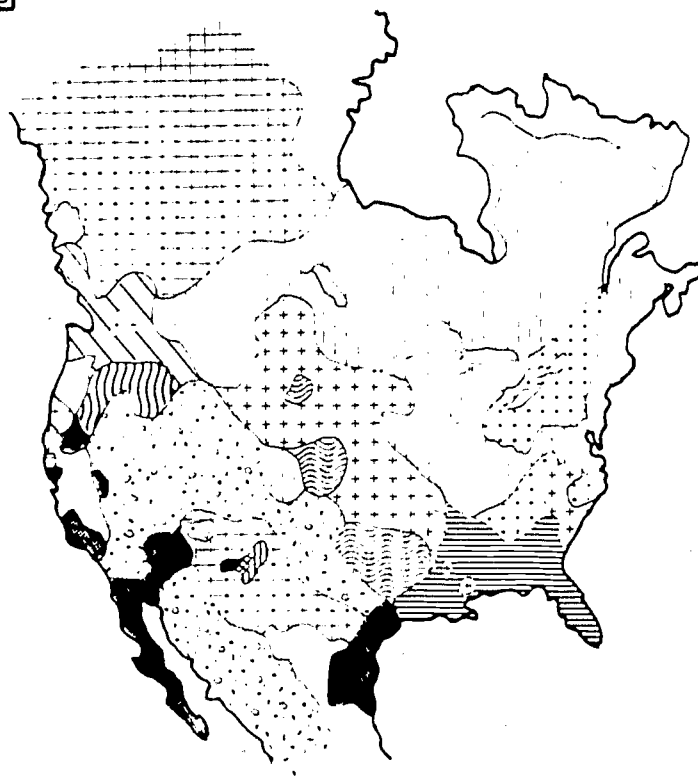
Contrary to belief, the vast majority of languages are still spoken today. Many Indian children grow up in families hearing these languages spoken around them but never to them. Unfortunately, the adults have been led to believe that speaking the native language to the children is detrimental to their growth. One of the consequences of this way of thinking is that the children do not have a grasp of either of the languages, English or the native.















d. Reservations - This term is one of the most misunderstood when applied to Indians. A reservation is simply a piece of land that is under Federal Trust where a given tribe resides. The name comes from the early days of Indian-White relationships when Indians relinquished land through treaty, reserving a portion for their own use. These lands were not given to the tribes but were negotiated separately by each tribe. These tribes often gave up huge tracts of land for the small area they ended up with. Reservations have been created by treaties, Congressional acts, Executive Orders and Agreements.

2. Wisconsin Indians

In the state of Wisconsin, there are six Indian tribes: Menominee, Oneida, Winnebago, Chippewa, Potawatomi and Stockbridge/Munsee. At one time there were seven tribes. A small group called Brotherton Indians came from the east with the Stockbridge/Munsee. But they have inter-married with the other tribes and have ceased to exist as a distinct group by themselves.

B



-  Athabaskan
-  Algonquian
-  Iroquoian
-  Siouan
-  Muskagean
-  Caddoan
-  Masonic
-  Sahaptin
-  Penutian
-  Hakan
-  Uto-Aztecan
-  Keresan
-  Tanoan
-  Zuñi

LANGUAGE FAMILIES

Tribes and Language Families

Many attempts have been made to classify Indian languages into related families, but no one has yet devised a system of classification that is entirely successful. The following list of major Indian tribes grouped in language families is based on a classification system that is familiar and widely accepted.

Athabaskan

Beaver
Carrier
Chipewyan
Haida
Hare
Hupa
Kutchin
Navajo
Sarsi
Sekani
Slave
Tlingit

Algonquian

Abnaki
Algonquin
Arapaho
Blackfoot
Blood
Cheyenne
Conestoga
Cree
Delaware
Fox
Gros Ventres
Kickapoo
Massachusetts
Menominee
Miami
Micmac
Mohegan
Ojibwa (Chippewa)
Ottawa

Penobscot
Peoria
Pequot
Piegan
Potawatomi
Powhatan
Sauk
Shawnee
Susquehanna
Wampanoag
Yurok

Hokan

Havasupai
Karankawa
Mojave
Pomo
Tonkawa
Walapai
Yavapai
Yumá

Iroquoian

Cayuga
Cherokee
Erie
Huron
Iroquois
Mohawk
Oneida
Onondaga
Seneca
Tuscarora

Siouan

Assiniboin
Chiwere
Crow
Dakota (Sioux)
Hidatsa
Iowa
Kansa
Mandan
Minitari
Missouri
Omaha
Osage
Oto
Ponca
Winnebago

Mosanic

Coeur d'Alene
Colville
Flathead
Kalispel
Kwakiutl
Nootka
Salish

Muskogean

Calusa
Chickasaw
Choctaw
Creek
Natchez
Seminole
Timacua

Caddoan

Arikara
Caddo
Pawnee
Wichita

Sahaptin

Cayuse
Nez Perce
Wallawalla
Yakima

Penutian

Chinook
Maidu
Tsimshian

Uto-Aztecan

Comanche
Hopi
Kiowa
Paiute
Papago
Pima
Ute

Zuni

Three of the language families are represented in the Wisconsin tribes: Algonquian -- Menominee, Chippewa, Potawatomi and Stockbridge/Munsee; Siouan -- Winnebago; and Iroquoian -- Oneida.

The map on the following page indicates where the tribal groups reside in Wisconsin. There are eight Reservations -- five Chippewa, one Menominee, one Oneida and one Stockbridge/Munsee. Two tribes, the Winnebago and Potawatomi, and one Chippewa group, St. Crouix, live in small scattered communities. The land is still Federal Trust land, but these areas are not reservations like the others (see map D).

All six tribal groups living in Wisconsin were a part of the Woodland Culture. The material culture of the Wisconsin Indians has certainly changed. The outward appearance is the same as the general population, but the tribes still maintain very close tribal relationships. Most still adhere to the communal ownership of land instead of individual ownership.

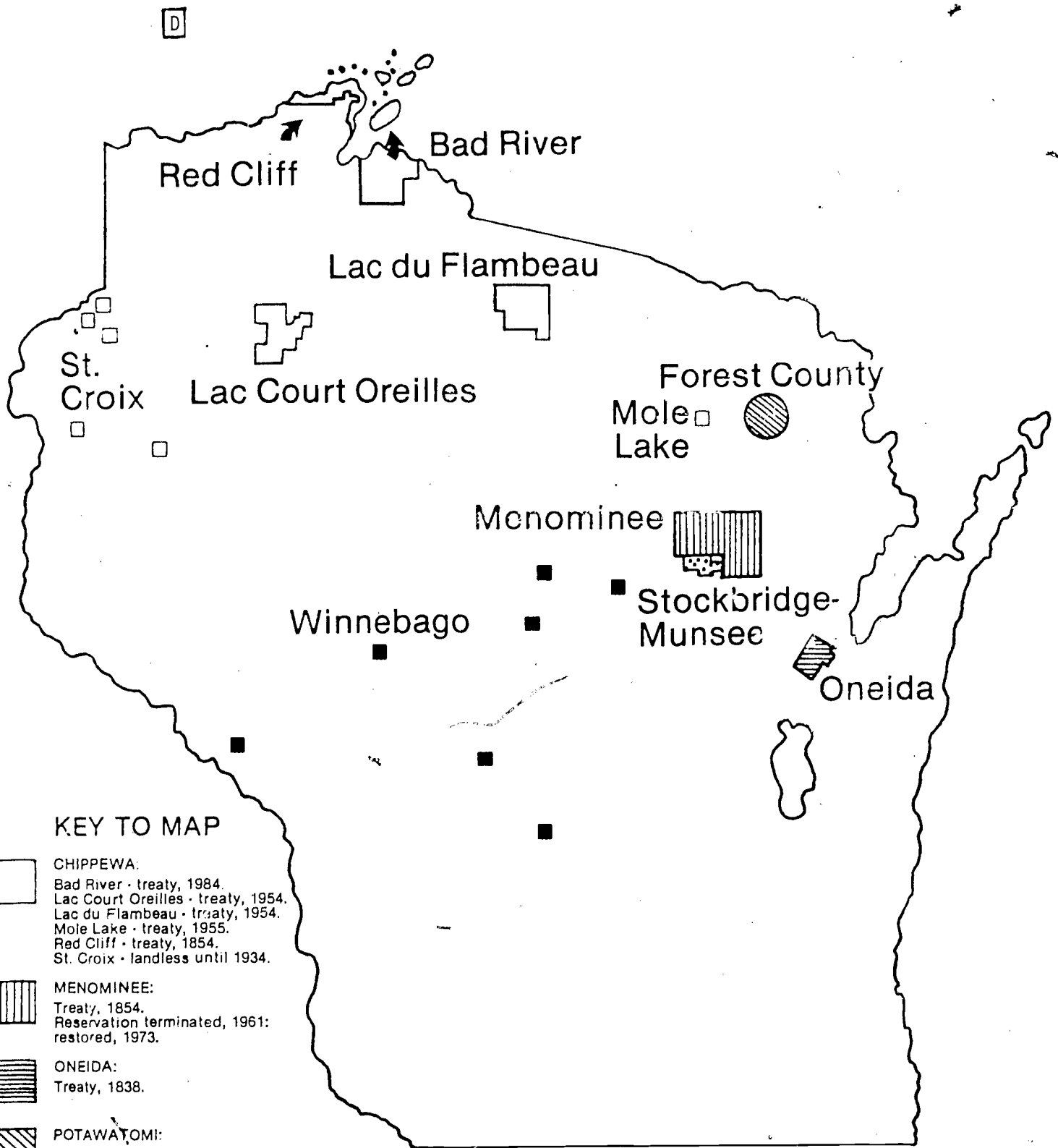
3. Menominee Tribe

a. Prehistoric - The Menominees are one of two tribes who claim Wisconsin as their ancestral home land. According to archeological findings, the Menominee and Winnebago tribes have always lived in this area while the other tribal groups were moved here by the Federal government.


In prehistoric times, the main village of the Menominee was located at the mouth of the Menominee River, the present site of Marinette, Wis. and Menominee, Mich. However, the tribe was divided into small bands that were located in an unknown number of villages on or near the shores of "The Bay" from the Menominee River south to the present city of Green Bay. Like other groups of people, the Menominees had special names for each of the villages or campsites. Some of these places still carry the old Menominee names: Oconto, Little and Big Suamica, Peshtigo, Kaukauna, etc.


Not too much is known about the kind of government the old Menominees had. There was a council of Elders for general everyday matters. There were also special leaders during wars and religious affairs. The people lived in villages and didn't move around as much as other tribes (e.g., the Sioux). Each village had a head man who advised the people on what to do.


The material culture of the early Menominee resembled that of other tribes who derived their subsistence economy from the forest. For all intent and purposes, they belonged to the Woodland culture and spoke a dialect of the Algonquian language. However, because of their isolation from the other members of this language family, their language is somewhat different and their dependence on wild rice and fish was much greater than other tribes.





KEY TO MAP


 **CHIPPEWA:**
 Bad River - treaty, 1884.
 Lac Court Oreilles - treaty, 1954.
 Lac du Flambeau - treaty, 1954.
 Mole Lake - treaty, 1955.
 Red Cliff - treaty, 1854.
 St. Croix - landless until 1934.

 **MENOMINEE:**
 Treaty, 1854.
 Reservation terminated, 1961;
 restored, 1973.

 **ONEIDA:**
 Treaty, 1838.

 **POTAWATOMI:**
 Forest County -
 landless until 1913

 **STOCKBRIDGE - MUNSEE:**
 Treaty, 1856.

 **WINNEBAGO:**
 Settlements and scattered households.
 Tribal lands at Wisconsin Dells and
 Black River Falls.

17. Reservations and other Indian settlements in Wisconsin at the present. Only a small part of Wisconsin belongs to Indians today. Copyright, 1977. Iconographic Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The Menominees did very little farming, which is not surprising, considering the area they lived in. This section is cut up by many streams and lakes, making it very swampy and sandy. The main vegetable that was cultivated was corn. Others could be obtained from the Winnebago who lived in the rich farm area around Lake Winnebago. This forest environment influenced not only what they ate but also what they wore, the houses they lived in, their mode of transportation, their art, and everything else about their lives.

b. Historic - The first known Europeans came to the Green Bay area in the early 1600's. For some two hundred years, the Great Lakes tribes were under the influence of governments (France and Britain) whose main interest in the area was the fur bearing animals. In particular, they sought fur pelts that were in great demand in Europe.

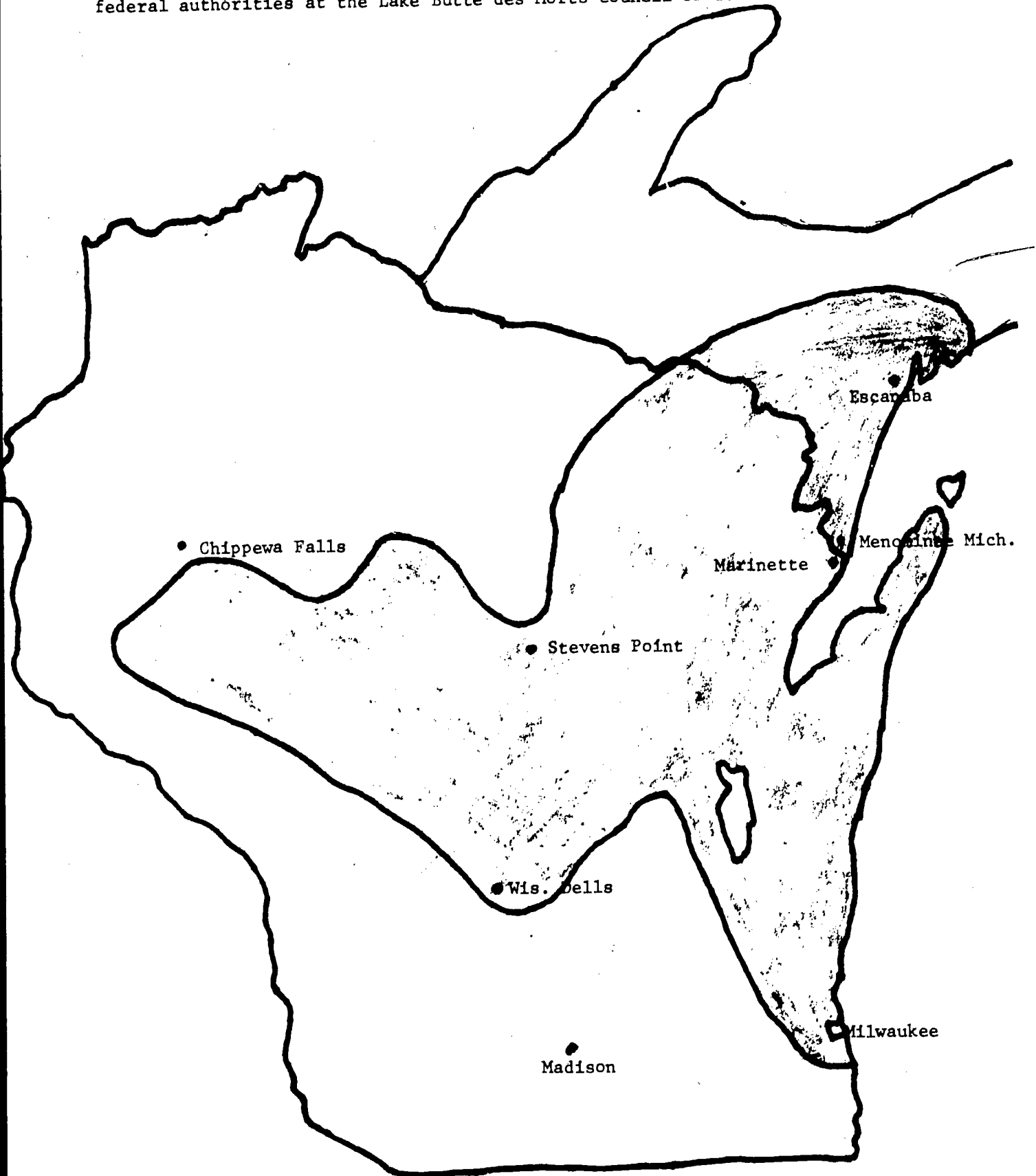
From that time on, the Menominee way of life changed. They moved from a sedentary village life to a nomadic one in search of the desired fur pelts. This continued until the United States became a reality.

During this period of time, the most important change that occurred with the Menominees was in their material culture. They became dependent on the trade items that were used by the fur traders. They moved from a subsistence economy to one of trading. Other aspects of their life remained the same, such as their communal ownership of land. Whatever cultural elements were taken from the non-Indian were fitted into patterns of thought and living that remained essentially Menominee.

When the United States assumed control of the Menominee lands, drastic changes began to take place. The French and British only wanted the fur pelts but the new government wanted the land. Within two decades after the U. S. government took over, all Menominee lands were ceded except for a small portion that became their reservation. After several negotiations and a threat of removal to Minnesota, they signed a treaty in 1854, which "allowed" the Menominees to keep 276,480 acres of their former homeland, a stony swampland that no one else wanted. In 1854, the Menominees moved to the present site of their Reservation. Two years later the government found it necessary to move the Stockbridge/Munsee tribes. In a treaty of February, 1856, the Menominee agreed to cede two of the Southwestern townships for the use of these two tribes. The Menominees ended up with 232,400 acres which they held in common for a little over 100 years. Within this period of time, the Menominees returned to their old subsistence economy but their leaders realized this could not continue for a long period because of the confined area. After farming failed, the Tribe adopted a sustained yield method of forestry, set up their own lumber mill, and began the process of taking care of all tribal needs with very little assistance from the government. This system worked quite well for the Menominees until 1954 -- when the government decided to try another experiment.

ⓔ

The shaded area is the Menominee boundaries as established by federal authorities at the Lake Butte des Morts council of 1827.



c. Menominee Today - Approximately 50 miles east of Green Bay is the Menominee Reservation, which is also Menominee County. The County was created in 1961, when the government terminated its trust relationship with the Tribe. Termination was another of the never ending experiments of Congress to rid themselves of the "Indian problem." This one resulted in disastrous socio-economic consequences. Basically "termination" dissolved the Reservation status and supposedly gave first class citizenship to all Menominees.

In 1961, when the President signed the Termination Act, the Menominees refused to sell the land. Instead they incorporated their holdings and turned them into a Tribal Enterprise and still held much of their land in common. The state of Wisconsin, not knowing what to do with the corporation, allowed the area to become the 72nd county. The tribal enterprise tried for ten years to make ends meet but were over-burdened with state taxes and were on the verge of losing the land. The Menominees, refusing to give up their land, organized a massive lobbying effort to get Congress to rescind the Termination Act. They were again successful in keeping their land. In 1973, Federal trust status was restored when the President signed the Restoration Act into law, and the Menominee Reservation was re-established.

Prior to 1961, the entire reservation of 232,400 acres was held as tribal land. It was diminished by several thousand acres during the ten years termination was in effect, and now includes both Indian and white-owned taxable property as well as tribal land again held in common. A particular distinction of the Menominee is that they are the oldest known continuous residents in Wisconsin. They remain exclusively a Wisconsin tribe, and still occupy a portion of their original homeland.

4. Menominee Language and Values

In spite of the outside pressures from both the government and churches, the Menominees have resisted losing their native language. Although it is not spoken by every family, a good percentage of the adults do use it when speaking to one another. Also the percentage of children who learn it by hearing the language at home has been enough to keep the language alive.

When the Menominee Indian School District was created, in 1976, it provided the vehicle ensuring the continuation of the language. After gaining control of their children's education, the Menominee parents requested that a curriculum be developed to include the Menominee language and culture, which they consider extremely important. When the curriculum and proper materials are completed and the training of the staff finalized, the Menominee language will be taught in the School District K-12. At present, children in grades K-8 are learning Menominee.

The Menominee traditional value system still plays an integral part in their lives. However, this is another area that is misunderstood by most non-Indians. The problem appears to be in the manner which the Non-Indian describes the values. For instance, there have been a number of lists developed comparing the Indian value system with the non-Indian.

<u>Indian</u>	<u>Non-Indian</u>
present oriented	future oriented
etc.	etc.

There are many gross errors propagated by this type of simplistic approach to an extremely complex part of an individual's life. The above example is generally described in terms of money. That is, American Indians have a tendency to enjoy their money "now" rather than put it in a bank for someone else to enjoy later. This may be true. On the other hand, if one considers how an Indian feels about the land, the above is not true. A prime example of this is when the Menominee tribe influenced Congress to rescind the Termination Act. The main reason behind this was so that future generations would have a part of their original homeland to live on. In this aspect, the Menominees were certainly thinking of the future.

The value system of the Menominees like other American Indians is complex and intricately woven into their daily lives. It would be a very involved process trying to explain this area. The best thing to do is to try to understand and accept the fact that all people do not view the world as you do and they probably have no intentions of changing.

5. Classroom Implications

- a. Because the majority of elementary teachers have at least one unit on American Indians, they should have a basic background on American Indian history in order to provide their students with factual information.
- b. Teachers need to provide factual and positive information about the material culture of American Indians. For instance, Woodland Indian groups did not wear feathered headdresses nor did they live in teepees.
- c. When doing a unit on Indians stick to one culture area, not bits and pieces of each one.
- d. Indians are still living today on reservations. Updated information should be provided about Indian groups. They should not be left living in the 18th century.

- e. If there are Indian children in the school, do not expect them to be experts on Indian culture, history and values. They are in the process of learning, like other children.
- f. Teachers should be prepared to clear up stereotypic information such as:
 - 1) All Indians don't pay taxes.
 - 2) All Indians get handouts from the government.
(The money they receive is usually generated from resources found on the Reservation, such as from oil, timber, etc.)

6. Language Needs

- a. Indian children need more opportunities to use the English language (speaking, writing and reading) than an "average" student. This is because the adult Indians do not always have a good grasp of the English language to give them reinforcement at home.

Also, Indian children spend the vast majority of their leisure time with other children. Therefore, they do not have the good role models for speaking English. Because of this, they also have very limited vocabularies and need a structured program in this area. Many of the younger children are not familiar with the names of common things such as fruits, furniture, etc., let alone technical terms like computers.

- b. The children need encouragement in reading good literature. Their parents very seldom had this encouragement, so do not know how to pass this on to their children.

7. Values

As was stated earlier, the value system of any group of people is very complex and difficult to describe. However, listed below are a couple things to remember that may be helpful.

- a. Indian children are many times treated as equals by the adults in areas concerning themselves. E.g., parents will get a child ready for school but if the child does not make it there, the parents do not necessarily view this as their problem. The child is expected to get where she/he is supposed to be. Many times this appears as permissiveness on the part of the parents.

- b. Children are encouraged to get involved in areas such as sports, but not necessarily to compete for the sake of competing and winning. They are encouraged to join for the enjoyment of the sport and are given a tremendous amount of support when they do become involved.
- c. A child is left to choose his/her own path in life. Very seldom is there any pressure placed on them to make decisions before they are finished with school. On the other hand, whatever choice a child makes is accepted by the parents.

B. CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF ONEIDA STUDENTS

In this discussion, I will begin by noting some of the over-all issues which face the Native American. I will explore some aspects of the Indian experience, including a look at tribal governments and legal status. Particular attention will be focused on the history of the Oneidas of Wisconsin, on their approaches to education, and on their concern for culture and language. Final thoughts and summary comments relate to educational implications for the Oneidas and for those who teach Oneidas or teach about them.

1. Definition of Native Americans and Indian Nations

Certainly a major factor to consider is, "Who are we talking about?" when we discuss Native Americans. But then, "Everyone knows who Indians, are--don't they?" That question is not easily answered. Although the status of Native Americans is based in treaty--and therefore has a legal rather than racial status--the means by which the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, chooses to recognize "Indian" is based on blood quantum: tribal members, one-quarter degree Indian blood, are to be registered (enrolled) with their respective tribe. The Federal Census Bureau allows for self-identification. Other agencies lie somewhere in between. It is anticipated that there may be a strong push within the Reagan Administration to develop a uniform definition that will be required for use by all federal offices.

Beyond the federal government's definitions lie the tribal-specific ones. Because of retained rights (i.e., rights that have not been specifically forfeited through treaty), Indian nations can identify their own membership. Employing methods prescribed by the individual nations, the definitions may include, for example, only full-bloods or anyone of tribal descent, adopted members, members of matrilineal ancestry, patrilineal ancestry, etc. Defining "Indian" from the generic perspective is not easy.

Maybe this problem of categorization all began with the name, Indian? It has been suggested that Columbus errantly referred to the people who discovered him as Indians because he initially thought that he had come ashore in India. Another theory contends that "Indian" is a corruption of the Spanish "In Dios," figuratively translated as "children of God" (owing to their peaceable and giving nature). This uncertainty of the etymology seems totally consistent with the contemporary bewilderment. Perhaps the "bottom line" to this digression is that Indian people know who they are. Through recognition of one of the aforementioned definitions, through cultural adherence and practice, through personal and intangible and indescribable feelings---they know.

Indian nations retain a unique relationship with the federal government. The status of their nationhood has been shaped and altered through legislation and continuing jurisprudence but it cannot be denied. Their status

is based on law and not by race or by mollification. The Constitution of the United States speaks to the interaction and agreements between Indian nations and the federal government. Further, it states that treaties are the highest law of the land. If the treaties were made in good faith and were valid when half a continent was at the bargaining table, shouldn't they be valid now?

Indicative of the continued federal recognition and status is the existence of tribal governments. With hereditary or elected composition, these bodies continue to represent their people. Historically this was no small task, and the job does not seem to be getting any easier. Jerome Buckanaga, in 1978, stated that there were 5,000 statutes, 2,000 regulations, 389 treaties, 2,000 federal court decisions and 500 Attorney General opinions affecting Indian nations. Functioning in a melange of "red tape," more regulated than the airways, these leaders persevere.

The point to be made in this regard is that Indian nations are not past tense phenomena. Their federally recognized governments continue to exist and their very existence illustrates that these indigenous peoples are more than "another American minority." Their goals and aspirations often do not parallel "minority" positions; frequently, they digress from the majority value orientation as well. The underpinnings and tenets which provide their operation are noted historically, but their function is in the present and their responsibility is to posterity.

Having established that Indian nations exist and that there are major distinctions between them and other groups usually referred to as minorities we must also point out that this does not preclude American Indians from minority consideration. In 1924, Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act. That action, less than 60 years ago, made Indians American citizens. However, if one considers that Indians comprise one-half of one percent of the total population of the United States, it is obvious that, even though they are citizens, they are a distinct numeric minority.

Minority status is also appropriate in other ways. Perennially, Indians are among the lowest in life expectancy, educational attainment, per capita income, etc. These factors serve to provide common ground with other minority groups. The caution to educators and others working with Native Americans is that Indians may well devise their own particular approaches, objectives, and goals in life which reflect Indian cultural ideologies. One should not infer that because the problems of Native Americans are similar to other minorities that the solutions to working with them will be the same.

2. Overview of the History of the Oneida Nation

Having discussed the variety of experiences and definitions of "self" which face and shape Native Americans, let us now see how one of the nation

the Oneida, came to be in their present situation. A brief look will be taken at some of the contributing historical events. It is appropriate to note that each Indian nation would provide its own unique chronology. The following addresses the Oneida nation in Wisconsin, and, as one might suspect, covering six hundred years in a few pages, it will not comprise a consummate representation. The purpose is to provide the reader, uninitiated in Oneida-specific history, with a base for reflection and for further study.

Oneida Landmarks

- 1300's The Iroquois League of Nations was established. This confederation originally included the Oneida, Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca nations. The establishment of the League marked the end of internecine warfare and resulted in a governmental structure and practice which recognized individual rights and national integrity.
- 1532 Fr. Franciscus de Victoria (sometimes referred to as Francisco de Vitoria) proffered the position that the Indians were true owners of the New World. His recommendation to the Spanish crown set the stage for the recognition of Indian nations and the treaty process.
- 1760's Benjamin Franklin's understanding of the Iroquois League provided "new" ideas of freedom and governmental structure which became internalized in the founding documents of America.
- 1770's Oneidas and the Tuscaroras, who joined the league ca. 1720, broke from the confederacy to fight on behalf of the colonies. George Washington stated that, without the aid of the Indians, the Revolutionary War would have been lost. Oneida land in New York State was supposedly protected forever.
- 1820's Unratified (and therefore illegal) treaties with New York State, and direction from Christian leader, Eleazer Williams, resulted in Oneidas leaving their homeland and seeking residence in Wisconsin.
- 1892 The Dawes Allotment Act was used on the Oneidas even though the Oneidas held their land in fee simple. The allotting of the land into individual parcels--subject to taxation and vulnerable to fraud--resulted in the questionable exchange of nearly all Oneida landholdings.
- 1934 The Indian Reorganization Act established a new form of government. Funds were also provided for the reacquisition of some lost tribal lands. The Oneidas repurchased approximately two thousand acres. Educationally, this period saw Oneida students attending "government" schools. Many were away for years at a time in environments where they were punished for speaking their language or participating in cultural activities.

- 1960's Public schools which had been established on the reservation were closed. This necessitated busing Oneida students to four different school districts.
- 1971 The Home-School Coordinators first embarked on the scene. Functioning as educators and facilitators, these people helped provide a bond between the schools, parents, and students.
- 1974 The Oneida tribe established the Oneida Language Program. The program was designed specifically to record, preserve, and strengthen the language in the community. The program became diversified and began a comprehensive approach which included curriculum development, teacher training, and instruction in the public schools.
- 1975 With the passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act, the Oneidas began contracting and developing educational programs for their constituency.
- 1979 At last, the opening of the Oneida Tribal School. The desire of generations of Oneidas became a reality. With Oneida teachers who had completed dual certifications in Oneida language and elementary education, and other Indian and non-Indian teachers who were sympathetic and willing to begin the monumental task of developing new curricula, techniques, and approaches, the school, Onxyo?tea.ka tsi? thuwatilihunyanita opened its doors to 120 students.

This year also marked a transition from sole approaches to save the language to approaches to address the needs of another target group: those whose English skills were negatively affected by language interference. The Oneida Bilingual/Bicultural Program began a process of curriculum development and instruction.

- 1981 The Oneidas continue on the path of self-determined educational growth. Educational opportunities in the Tribal School reflect awareness of two cultures and attempt to provide options to the students which perhaps can be made nowhere else.

Imagine that you are an Oneida. You are the heir of this impressive heritage. What do you know about yourself? Depending upon the degree of traditionalism practiced by your parents, depending upon whether you were raised in an urban or reservation environment, depending upon whether you are first or third generation away from the reservation, you may be filled and directed by the culture and history, or you may know nothing of yourself. There is undoubtedly a need within you to know more about who you are. How will you find out?

Oneidas have always had an oral tradition for handing down historical knowledge and cultural values of their nation. The government schools' punishments, experienced by the grandparents and great grandparents of

today's Oneida students, nearly dealt a fatal blow to that medium. Because the 1970's brought recognition of the value of bilingual/bicultural education, there are now desperate attempts to revive and restore the language before the wisdom of the culture is lost. By drawing on the memories and oral teaching of the elders, by teaching the Oneida language to the young, and by incorporating Oneida history and values into the curriculum of our tribal school, we hope to answer the Oneida children's needs to find out more about who they are.

3. Oneida Approaches to Education

The Oneidas of Wisconsin take pride in their achievements in education. When they encounter the American educational models and approaches, they are quick to point out that they have their own approaches as well. Certainly the Iroquois people have interacted with the American educational scheme for some time. The following is illustrative. When Virginia colonists extended an offer to educate six Iroquois youth at William and Mary College in 1774, the response was as follows:

We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges... But you, who are wise, must know that different nations have different conceptions of things; and you will, therefore, not take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours... We are, however, not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them.

Contemporary Wisconsin Oneidas can point to the fact that they were the first to contract Home-School Coordinators. They were the first to develop a certification track for an Indian language in the State of Wisconsin. They contract and provide services in adult basic education, vocational education, early childhood education, and higher education. They work in conjunction with four school districts vis-a-vis Indian education, Johnson O'Malley, and Impact Aid. They operate a regional Educational Opportunity Center, a bilingual education program, and a tribal school. This ably demonstrates the extent of their commitment to education.

Because analysis or even review of all of the Oneida undertakings would be beyond the scope and purpose of this discourse, the efforts of the language program and the tribal school will be primarily addressed. In many ways the success or failure of these endeavors will shape the future of the Oneidas of Wisconsin.

These two efforts, working cooperatively, provide a bridge to nearly all components of the community. The elders and traditional people recognize that the culture can be preserved. The parents and teachers see the value of the bilingual approach from both the cultural and academic points of view. In essence, these two efforts cooperatively bring together the elders and the youth, the Indian reality with the American reality. Perhaps it is best summed up in the mission statement of the Oneida Tribal School.

The mission...

The mission of Oneida education is to illustrate and reflect the world as it is, as it has been and as it can be in the natural presence of Mother Earth and all living and non-living inhabitants. To provide a more harmonious way of life for our most cherished responsibility: the education of our children. We want to renew and revitalize the dignity of and the harmony amongst Oneida people. We feel this will provide guidance in strengthening the relationships amongst our elders, our families, and our youth. We feel this will also provide us with the vision and purpose for contributing more effectively to the betterment of mankind.

Each student should:

- be able to set his Oneida heritage in perspective with the open educational community.
- be able to develop patterns of thinking and of meanings which will help Oneida students plan for and design the future life in which the Oneida way is reflected and cherished.
- be able to implement the necessary leadership for the exercise of Oneida sovereignty.

This is the approach of one nation, the Oneida. It speaks to past and present, young and old. It represents the future for its progeny. But what of those in public schools and the innumerable non-Oneidas who could benefit from the knowledge of this proud people?

4. Challenge to Teachers and Administrators

America has never totally forgotten the Native American, but the question is, "What has been remembered?" Although there are recent innovations, the academic preparation for most of today's American teachers contained little if any information about the Indians, and, much accurate and factual information remained unavailable until the late 1960's. What have the schools taught about the Indians? What will the students remember?

Of equal significance is the concern for what has not been taught: the depth of the Indian cultures, the greatness of Native American leaders and orators, the sophistication of their governments, the extent of their contributions to American history and culture. How will the Indian and non-Indian students of America ever learn about these topics without exposure? How will education change in light of the new information?

The moniker, "Plight of the Redman," took on new dimensions as authors like Dee Brown and Vine Deloria Jr., exploded myths and historical fallacies, and vividly brought issues of Native American experience into the twentieth century. This new awareness prompted calls for justice and accuracy in the classroom, and resulted in the development of numerous texts and multi-media offerings. The ensuing flurry of development, and the haste with which many institutions purchased diverse materials, may well have provided teachers and students alike with puzzling images of this continent's indigenous peoples.

Many of the materials probably appeared contradictory. The diversity undoubtedly presented problems for the conscientious teacher trying to make comprehensive adjustments to his or her curriculum. Were the Indians matrilineal or patrilineal, matrilocal or patrilocal? Did they live underground, above ground, in teepees or hogans or longhouses? Are their cultures intact, segmented, lost? Did they have governments with jurisdictions? Do they now? Yes! But obviously not all the tribes experienced all of the above.

Native Americans differ extensively from one another. E.g., Oneidas are Iroquoian in language and culture, Menominees are Algonkian, Winnebagos are Siouan, etc. One would not expect that all Europeans are the same. One should not assume that all Indians are the same. There are still hundreds of different Indian languages spoken in this country, and despite the generic term "Indian," nations which fall within that term retain their unique world-view and priorities.

America has not stood still for the last two hundred years; Indian nations have not stood still either. Certainly it is important to look to the history of these people and let the history books reflect accurate portrayals of Indian/non-Indian interaction. To date the majority of what has been taught has revolved around these interactions rather than around Indian cultures. But the essence of who these people were and are will not be found in a review of historical interactions. Their cultures are alive and dynamic. Indians are not solely historical phenomena. They continue to adjust, react, and deal with twentieth century America--from an Indian perspective and posture. As William Hodge, in the 1975 Wisconsin Blue Book, stated so eloquently:

Indians today want above all else to remain Indians living a hallowed way of life, sanctioned by tradition and nurtured by the hope of an indefinite perpetuation.

The form and content of Indian life has varied through the years but it remains, first, last, and always Indian.

There are, of course, exceptions to the rule. Prejudicial situations, past governmental and educational policies which prohibited practice of language and culture, the lack of job opportunities on reservations, the media blitz which presents the image of America's majority but little that the Indian can identify with, etc., all contribute to incredible pressures to become assimilated.

The sad truth is that even for those who have been assimilated, the majority of America still sees an Indian as an "Indian;" the stereotypes linger. The noble savage, the drunken Indian, the Hollywood renegade, are all images which fill the heads of America's youth. One need only speak with first grade students for verification. Questions like, "Do you live in a teepee?", "Where are your feathers?", or "Are you going to dance?", indicate the mindset which has already been inculcated. With today's youth so indoctrinated, what is the likelihood of future change?

The educational system must begin the change, for it will probably not begin anywhere else. The hackneyed phrase, "Today's students are tomorrow's leaders," is more than a cliché. It should serve to remind us educators of the enormous responsibility and task that must be undertaken if Indian and non-Indian students are to be able to appreciate and understand the diversity and contribution of America's first Americans.

C. SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. CULTURAL DIFFERENCES ARE IMPORTANT

Cultural differences can easily interfere with classroom learning particularly when actions of minority group students are misinterpreted as negative behavior. Below are 12 common errors made by teachers in working with Indian children. They are used in orienting new teachers at the Indian Community School in Milwaukee.

a. Praising publicly

Many Indian children find this extremely embarrassing because they were reared to believe that the "right" thing is the expected "human way" and one does not praise someone for doing the "natural" thing.

b. Scolding publicly

Embarrassment and resentment may result because Indian culture uses teasing interplay or private consultation for correction.

c. Expecting an Indian child to look you in the eye. (In his/her tradition, lowered eyes and head show respect.)

d. Revealing information gained in private conversation in a public manner.

e. Making promises one cannot fulfill.

f. Assuming a child's natural parents are caring for him/her.

g. Staring at Indian children (many consider this impolite).

h. Assuming the child understands your meaning when s/he knows words.

Example: "Come here" said to an Indian child may leave a question in his/her mind. Should one person respond, or two or more? Now or later? Sometimes the request is predicated on understanding of non-Indian social forms and thus is unclear.

i. Expecting Indians to tell you if they do not understand.

Indian culture stresses observation rather than trial and error. Thus asking questions—a form of trial, is often dangerous. Indeed, asking questions may be viewed by the Indian child's social milieu as an admission of incompetence in observation skills.

j. Expecting Indian children to respond individually in initial sessions.

They respond better in groups and progress gradually toward individual responses.

- k. Using out-dated expressions which have no meaning for children.
- l. Expecting the same type of discipline from Indian parents as from non-Indian middle class parents.

According to many Indian parents, one should not frustrate children by "corrective" measures.

2. NATIVE AMERICANS: WHAT NOT TO TEACH ABOUT THEM

June Sark Heinrich

June Sark Heinrich recently directed an alternative school for Native American children in Chicago. Her experiences there revealed many inadequacies in the way teachers present the history and heritage of Native peoples in the classroom. She offers the following pointers to aid elementary school teachers in correcting the most common errors made in presenting Native American subject matter.

- a. Don't use alphabet cards that say A is for apple, B is for ball, I is for Indian.

The matter may seem to be a trivial one, but if you want your students to develop respect for Native Americans don't start them out in kindergarten equating Indians with things like apples and balls. Other short "i" words (ice, ink or ivory) could be used, so stay away from I-is-for-Indian in your alphabet teaching.

- b. Don't talk about Indians as though they belong to the past.

Books and filmstrips often have titles like "How the Indians Lived," as though there aren't any living today. The fact is that about 800,000 Native Americans live in what is now the United States, many on reservations and many in cities and towns. They are in all kinds of neighborhoods and schools and are in all walks of life. Too many Native Americans live in conditions of poverty and powerlessness, but they are very much a part of the modern world. If the people who write books and filmstrips mean "How (particular groups of) Native Americans Lived Long Ago," then they should say so.

- c. Don't talk about "them" and "us."

A "them" and "us" approach reflects extreme insensitivity, as well as a misconception of historical facts. "They" are more truly "us" than anyone else. Native peoples are the original Americans and are the only indigenous Americans in the sense that all of their ancestors were born on this land. Everybody else in this country came from some other place originally.

- d. Don't lump all Native Americans together.

There were no "Indians" before the Europeans came to America—that is, no peoples called themselves "Indians." They are Navajo or Seminole or

Menominee, etc. The hundreds of Native groups scattered throughout the U.S. are separate peoples, separate nations. They have separate languages and cultures and names. Native Americans of one nation were and are as different from Native Americans of another nation as Italians are from Swedes, Hungarians from the Irish or the English from the Spanish. When referring to and teaching about Native Americans, use the word "Indian" - or even "Native American" - as little as possible. Don't "study the Indians." Study the Hopi, the Sioux, the Nisqually, or the Apache.

e. Don't expect Native Americans to look like Hollywood movie "Indians."

Some Native Americans tell a story about a white "American" woman who visited a reservation. She stopped and stared at a young man, then said to him, "Are you a real Indian? You don't look Indian."

Whatever it is that people expect Native Americans to look like, many do not fit those images. Since they come from different nations, their physical features, body structure and skin colors vary a great deal - and none has red skin. Of course, Native and non-Native Americans have intermarried so that many Native Americans today have European, African or other ancestry. Therefore, don't expect all Native Americans to look alike, any more than all Europeans look alike.

f. Don't let TV stereotypes go unchallenged.

Unfortunately for both Native and non-Native American children, TV programs still show the savage warrior or occasionally the noble savage stereotypes. Discuss with children the TV programs they watch. Help them understand the meaning of the word "stereotype." Help them understand that, from the Native American point of view, Columbus and other Europeans who came to this land were invaders. Even so, Native Americans originally welcomed and helped the European settlers. When they fought, they were no more "savage" than the Europeans and were often less so. Help children understand that atrocities are a part of any war. In fact, war itself is atrocious. At least, the Native Americans were defending land they had lived on for thousands of years. If Native Americans were not "savage warriors," neither were they "noble savages." They were no more nor less noble than the rest of humanity.

Another common stereotype is the portrayal of the "Indian" as a person of few words, mostly "ugh." The fact is that early European settlers were aware of and commented specifically on the brilliance of Native American oratory and the beauty of their languages.

Stereotypes are sneaky. They influence the way we talk and live and play, sometimes without our knowing it. Don't say to your students,

"You act like a bunch of wild Indians." Don't encourage or even allow children to play "cowboys and Indians." Be sensitive to stereotypes in everything you say and do.

- g. Don't let students get the impression that a few "brave" Europeans defeated millions of "Indian savages" in battle.

How could a few Europeans take away the land of Native Americans and kill off millions of them? This did not all happen in battle. Historians tell us that considering the number of people involved in the "Indian" wars, the number actually killed on both sides was small. What really defeated Native Americans were the diseases brought to this continent by the Europeans. Since Native Americans had never been exposed to smallpox, measles, tuberculosis, syphilis and other diseases that plagued the Old World, they had no immunity and were, thus, ravaged. Between 1492 and 1910, the Native population in the U.S. area declined to about 200,000. Help your students understand that it was germs and disease, not Europeans' "superior" brains and bravery, that defeated the Native peoples.

- h. Don't teach that Native Americans are just like other ethnic and racial minorities.

Ethnic and racial groups in the U.S. share in common discrimination, unemployment, poverty, poor education, etc. But they are not all alike. The problems these groups encounter are not all the same, nor are their solutions. Perhaps the biggest difference between Native Americans and other U.S. minorities is that Native peoples didn't come from some other land. This land has always been their home.

Although dispossessed of most of their land, Native peoples didn't lose all of it. According to U.S. law, Native American reservations are nations within the United States. U.S. government and business interests persist in trying to take away Native land - especially land containing oil or other valuable resources. However, the fact is that Native Americans - by treaty rights - own their own lands. No other minority within the United States is in a similar legal position. Native peoples view themselves as separate nations within a nation. And though often ignored and/or violated, U.S. laws and treaties, officially endorsed by U.S. presidents and the Congress, attest to those claims.

- i. Don't assume that Native American children are well acquainted with their heritage.

If you have Native American children in your class, you may expect that they will be good resource persons for your "unit on Indians."

Today, it is not unlikely that such children will be proud of being Native American. Some may participate in traditional activities of their cultures. In general, however, Native American children have much in common with other children in the U.S. in that they know far more about TV programs than about their own national ways of life. They eat junk food and want all of the things most children in our society want. If lost in a forest, they would not necessarily be able to manage any better than other children would. Like other children in the U.S., Native American children need to be taught about their heritage which, in a very real sense, is the heritage of everybody living in the U.S. today.

- j. Don't let students think that Native ways of life have no meaning today.

Native arts have long commanded worldwide interest and admiration. But far more important for human and ecological survival are Native American philosophies of life. Respect for the land; love of every form of life, human and non-human; harmony between humans and nature rather than conquest and destruction of nature - these are vital characteristics of Native ways of life. All peoples in the U.S. can and must learn to live in harmony with the natural world, and that is one of the most significant lessons you should teach your students about "the Indians."

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3.

IS THE AMERICAN INDIAN EQUAL?

Roger R. Philbrick

a. By Definition:

Who is the American Indian? Native American
First American
Original Inhabitant
Red

- 1) What do you call them? Why?
- 2) How do you relate to them?
- 3) How do you appreciate them?
- 4) How do you respect them?

b. By Some Standards:

1) Some Commonalities

- a) Values - competition, color, basic as love, etc....
- b) Health - most diseases, pestilence, starvation, and plagues.
- c) Education - similar potentialities as individuals with learning capacities.
- d) Law & Order - federal, state, city, county and other local ordinances.
- e) Religion - Christian churches, belief in one God, brotherhood.
- f) Language - English.
- g) Music - some English songs, instrumentations, prose, verse.

2) Some Differences

- a) Values - naturalness, things of Nature, natural order of life.
- b) Health - poorest health conditions in the U.S.
- c) Education - highest dropout rate and lowest educational level in U.S.
- d) Law & Order - no policemen in some Indian communities and subject to tribal laws.
- e) Religion - Native American Church, Medicine Lodge, clans, societies.
- f) Language - 150 different Indian languages.
- a) Music - different songs, chants, and musical instruments vary with the respective Indian languages.

- h) Art - use of some material and synthetic art forms and function.
- i) Clothes - similar if bought in a store.
- j) Food - same basic foods.
- k) History - somewhat similar since U.S. citizenship.
- l) Government - federal, state, local and other ordinances as they may pertain to English Common and Roman civil origins.
- h) Art - use of more natural elements and that everything has a purpose and is not to be thrown away.
- 1) Clothes - more use of long lasting materials of a more colorful nature.
- j) Food - more use of quick whole-some foods, dried foods and not as much use of real expensive foods.
- k) History - tribal, legends, creation, evolution and purpose of existence is different and does parallel other people's histories.
- 1) Government - tribal councils, chieftainship, inter-tribal councils, confederations, societal, and clanships with historical and religious origins.

4. THERE'S NOBODY TO CORRECT PLIGHT OF AMERICAN INDIAN

Arthur Siddon (Chicago Tribune)
Wisconsin State Journal, Thursday, November 19, 1981

If a state or city were suffering 60-percent unemployment and if its elementary schools were slated for closing or consolidation, the outcry in Congress might stimulate immediate action.

But that is what is expected to happen next year on Indian reservations because of federal budget cuts, and nobody is doing anything.

"The American Indian is among the poorest of the poor, and he is the last to complain," a Senate staff aide said. "That is the problem. He has no congressman and no senator to look out for him."

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is supposed to look after the Indians' welfare, is recommending the cuts to meet President Reagan's budget goals.

It is impossible to say how much the Indian is going to suffer as a result of budget cuts. About 650,000 of the nation's 1.4 million Indians live on reservations.

American Indian groups estimate that at least half of the 750,000 Indians who live off the reservation receive federal aid in the form of welfare, food stamps or educational assistance.

It is difficult to determine how much federal aid those who live on reservations will lose, because, in addition to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, at least five federal departments have programs to aid Indians.

What is certain is that all those programs are slated for cuts, the exact figures of which will be worked out in Congress when it gives final approval to the 1982 appropriation bills.

The latest budget cuts recommended by Reagan would reduce spending by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1982 to \$774.6 million, Kenneth Smith, assistant interior secretary for Indian affairs, said.

"That's really not that bad," Smith said. "We took only a 7-percent cut in the president's first budget recommendation and an additional 12 percent in October. Interior's overall budget cut was 18 percent in March and an additional 12 percent in October."

Smith, a Wasco Indian from Oregon, admitted that some programs were hit harder than others. "I had to give up certain programs to save others," he said. "Elementary and secondary education has to stay there, and health care has to stay there."

Some reservation schools will have to be closed, and adult education may come to a close on some reservations, but Smith insisted that the overall impact on education will be slight.

Smith chose to take much of the money out of development of the reservations, a move that has led Indian groups to charge that he is promoting unemployment.

The cuts in development and the cuts in the Comprehensive Education and Training Act could almost double the unemployment rate running at an average of 37 percent on most reservations, Ken Black of the National Tribal Chairmen's Association said. The unemployment on Indian reservations under Reagan's budget will reach 60 percent, he predicted.

"He might be right, but we hope not," an aide to Smith said. "It depends to some extent upon who you count when you put together unemployment figures."

The biggest cut for reservation Indians will come in the elimination of the Indian House Program. No new money will be appropriated for the program, although housing under construction will be completed.

"A century ago, this government took away our lands and put us on the worst land available," a spokesman for the Native American Rights Fund said. "Now the government is trying to tell us we're getting too much help in education, housing and health care. It's saying we should do more for ourselves. How do we do that?"

The irony of the budget cuts is that they could drive some Indians back to the reservations.

"The reservation Indians come out of this better than the urban Indians," a Senate aide said. "Programs such as welfare, food stamps and health services for urban Indians are in worse shape than reservation programs. The administration, for example, wants to do away entirely with health centers for urban Indian."

5. STEREOTYPING LESSON

(A Diagnostic Activity to assess your students' present image of Native American people)

- a. Ask your students to "Draw an Indian and the house the Indian lives in." (Should any of the students ask if you mean today or in the past - an excellent question - suggest that they draw whatever comes to mind first.)
- b. Ask the class to name those aspects of their drawings that identify the person as an "Indian." Write their responses on the board. (Chances are they'll also mention things not included in their drawings. In any case encourage them - after their initial responses - to think of additional things that they identify with "Indians.") Many - if not most - of the responses will be stereotypic and will reflect aspects of the white-created "Indian" caricature. Some students may disagree with the typical responses, and you can open discussion around such disagreement. The responses and discussion can help you determine which of the following activities will be helpful.

(Activities for Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes)

- 1) Ask the students if they have ever met an "Indian" person in real life. (Some may have, and may talk about that person, or those persons, they met.) Ask those children who never met an "Indian" how they knew the way to draw a picture of an Indian person. Where have they seen "Indians" if they haven't met any? (Responses such as TV, movies and books can be expected.) Talk about the fact that most movies and TV programs showing "Indians" usually have white actors pretending to be "Indians." How does someone pretend to be an "Indian?" What does that person wear?
- 2) Introduce the word, "stereotype." You might explain it as a mistaken idea about how a whole group of people behave, or think, or dress. Discuss why all stereotypes are wrong and dehumanizing, since different people in any group behave, think and look different from one another. Give, as one possible example, "A person knows two bullies who have blue eyes and brown hair. If that person decides that anyone with blue eyes and brown hair is a bully, then that person has created an untrue stereotype."
- 3) Explain that while some Indian people wear feathers for special occasions, like ceremonies, most do not usually wear them. But a lot of people think that all Indian people wear feathers all the time. That's a stereotype.
- 4) Ask the children to identify some repeated stereotypes, using some of the illustrations discussed in the article on page 5: feathers, tipis, dancing, fierceness, etc. Explain that these stereotypes

were used by the artists who drew the illustrations in order to identify the figures as "Indians." Then look at some contemporary photographs of Native peoples such as those found in Native Americans: 500 Years After by Michael Dorris. How many are wearing feathers? If they do wear feathers, what are they doing? How many are carrying tomahawks? How many are living in tipis? This exercise can help to break down the image of Native Americans as people of the past, as well as the image that "Indian" people of today wear feathers and buckskins and live in tipis.

- 5) Ask the class what a European person is? What is a Dutch person? An Italian? A French person? How are they different? Yet note that with all these differences, Dutch, Italian and French people are still Europeans - living on the European continent. Do all European people wear wooden shoes or do only the people of one European nation? Do all Europeans live in windmills? Note that just because the Dutch are Europeans, it doesn't mean that all Europeans do what the Dutch people do.

Ask if all Dutch people of today wear wooden shoes and live in windmills? Note that while a few still live in windmills and some wear wooden shoes, most live in other types of buildings and wear contemporary clothing. But even though their dress and housing are similar to that of other Europeans, they are still Dutch, still speak Dutch, still have cultural differences from other Europeans.

- 6) Make the comparison with Native Americans. "Native American" or "American Indian" are terms like "European," that are used to identify many different groups of people living on this continent. Just as there are distinct nations and cultures among Europeans, there are also different nations and cultures among Native Americans (Navajo, Sioux, Mohawk, Cherokee, etc.). All Native American peoples didn't live in tipis and wear headdresses. Tipis and headdress (of the type usually seen in children's books) were found only among Native groups in the Plains area. Other nations in other areas of this continent had other forms of housing and different forms of dress. Pictures of various forms of housing are relatively easy to locate and you can show the students tipis, longhouses, wigwams, hogans, etc., discussing the various cultures which use them and the environment they were designed for. Finally the point should be made that just as most Dutch people no longer live and dress as they once did - yet are still Dutch - so Native people no longer live and dress as they did in the past, but their diversity remains and their cultures continue.

- 7) Ask students to look for examples of similar stereotyped images on TV, on food packages, in comic books, on greeting cards or in games and toys. Encourage students to bring such examples to class or to report what they have seen and to explain why they are stereotypes.

A Teaching Unit for Elementary Teachers and Children's Librarians.
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D. LIST OF AVAILABLE VIDEOTAPES AND SUGGESTED READINGS REGARDING NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS - Constance K. Knop

1. Videotapes

- a. Menominee Indians: Living with Tradition and Ancestors Yet Unborn (Tape #7397), 30 minutes.

This tape combines highlights from two separate videotapes (each one 30 minutes long) that are aired on Educational Channel 38 in Green Bay every year. Copies of both tapes may be obtained by sending a request and a blank cassette tape to: Carol Dodge, Menominee Indian School District, P.O. Box 399, Keshena, WI, 54135 (phone 715-799-3824).

The segment from Living with Tradition deals primarily with an explanation of a pow-wow, how the Menominees view it, and why it is important to them. Menominee natives discuss how they feel about their traditional culture, heritage, and language and the importance of passing all of this on to the children.

In the second part, Ancestors Yet Unborn, native Menominees talk about their feelings about their land and reservation, about saving what little they have left for future generations, and about sharing what they have with all the tribal members.

- b. Oneida Indians: To Keep a Heritage Alive (Tape #6537), and Preserving Our Language and Our Culture (Tape #6538), each 1 hour.

To Keep a Heritage Alive traces the history of Oneida Indians and their attempts to maintain their independence, their way of life, and their language.

In Preserving Our Language and Our Culture, a panel of Oneida natives gives an up-dated view of their attitudes, experiences and feelings about the importance of preserving their heritage through maintaining their language, values, and traditions.

2. Suggested Readings regarding Native American Students

- a. The following materials were drawn together by the American Indian Education Project Southeastern Wisconsin, Ramona Tecumseh Sandoval, Project Consultant:

1) American Indian periodical literature

- a) Wassaja/Indian Historian - a fully professional, national quarterly of Indian America, with news reports, original works about Indian history and culture, literature and arts, poetry and book reviews. Available from: The Indian Historian, 1451 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94117.

- b) American Indian Libraries Newsletter - is published periodically by the ALA OLSD Committee on Library Service for Indian People; Virginia Mathews (Osage), chairperson. The newsletter is sent free of charge. Available from: Jean E. Coleman, Director, OLSD, American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611. Telephone: (312) 944-6780.
- c) OHOYO - a bulletin of American Indian/Alaska native women, published quarterly and sent free of charge by the OHOYO Resource Center. The Choctaw language provided the name for a state of the U.S.: Oklahoma. Translated, it is "humma, red," "okla, people." The name of this quarterly OHOYO translates to woman in the Choctaw language. Available from: OHOYO, 2301 Midwestern Parkway No. 214, Wichita Falls, Texas 76308. Telephone: (817) 692-3841.
- d) Meeting Ground - published by the Center for the History of the American Indian/The Newberry Library. Contains news of American Indian historical significance. Published for the Newberry Library by Indiana University Press. Available from: Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

2) Publications of the Native American - Philanthropic News Service

- a) The Exchange - a Journal of Native American - Philanthropic News, which provides information on Indian Affairs, projects, grantsmanship, legislation, publications and grants to Native Americans. Issued quarterly. \$20.00/year.
- b) The Roundup - a compilation of newsbriefs on a variety of resource opportunities. Issued bimonthly. \$15.00/year.

A full subscription to these publications is at the reduced rate of \$30.00 a year.

- c) D.C. Directory of Native American Federal and Private Programs - lists over 100 entries relating to Native American interests located in Metropolitan Washington, D.C. and nearby areas. Includes contact name, title, address (street and mail) and telephone numbers for United States Congress, United States Government, organizations, business and professional groups, arts and crafts sources, research sources, publications and general information. Bound in a 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " size. Revised twice annually. Available by subscription including supplementary information, \$25.00/year. Single copies \$5.00. Bulk rates available. Full NAPS subscribers, \$18.00/year - Single copies \$4.00. Available from: American Indian Program, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1029 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Telephone: (202) 638-7066.

- b. D.W. Davids and R.A. Gudinas, Packet of Teacher Materials (Madison, Wisconsin: Center for Community Leadership Development, University of Wisconsin-Madison Extension, 1976).
- c. Dell Hymes, In Vain I Tried to Tell You--Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).
- d. Indian Historian Press, 1451 Masonic Ave., San Francisco, California, 94117 (415-626-5235) offers a variety of materials, including the following:
- 1) American Indian Historical Press, Index to Literature on the American Indian.
 - 2) American Indian Historical Society, Textbooks and the American Indian.
 - 3) Rupert Casto, The American Indian Reader - History.
 - 4) Rupert Casto and Jeannette Henry, Indian Treaties: Two Centuries of Dishonor.
 - 5) Donald A. Grinde, Jr., The Iroquois and the Founding of the Nation.
 - 6) Jeannette Henry, Editor, The American Indian Reader - Education.
 - 7) Jeannette Henry, Editor, The American Indian Reader - Literature.
 - 8) Jeannette Henry, Editor, The American Indian Reader - Anthropology.
 - 9) Jeannette Henry and Rupert Casto, eds., Textbooks and the American Indian.
- e. The Indian Reading Series: Stories and Legends of the Northwest. Series I, II, III (Beaverton, Oregon: Educational Systems Inc., 1980).
- f. Institute of Indian Services and Research, Bibliography of Nonprint Instructional Materials on the American Indian (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1972).
- g. J.W. Marken, The Indians and the Eskimos of North America: A Bibliography of Books in Press Through 1972 (Vermilion, S.D.: Dakota Press, 1973).
- h. Mary Radke, Native American Sovereignty. This is a teaching unit with teacher resource sheets and student worksheets based on the film, Treaties Made, Treaties Broken, number NNSD 3408, 18 mins., color, 1970 (available through Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction, 1327 University Ave., Madison, WI., 53706). To obtain the unit, contact Ms. Radke at 2117 Winnebago St., Madison, WI., 53704.

- i. Patricia Ramsey, "Beyond 'Ten Little Indians' and Turkeys Alternative Approaches to Thanksgiving," Young Children, vol, 34, no. 6 (1979), 28-52.
- j. V. Schmidt and E. McNeil, Cultural Awareness: A Resource Bibliography (Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1978).
- k. F.W. Turner, III, ed., North American Indian Reader (New York: Viking Press, 1974).