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ABSTRACT

The academic achievement of Native American students in the United States has consistently been the lowest in the nation. This study examined the school performance, involvement of Native parents in the school life of their children, and assimilation patterns of a specific group of Native Americans who have lived in Barstow, California, for at least three generations. The case study approach used participant observation, ethnographic interview, and documentary analysis. Analysis of norm-referenced test data indicated that Native American students (K-12) in Barstow Unified School District (BUSD) scored as well as, or better than, the BUSD mean percentile scores for the total student population and the Caucasian subpopulation in all areas except second-grade reading in 1992 and third-grade reading in 1993. Between 1991 and 1993, the dropout rate for Native American students was only 10 percent, and the honor roll rate was 30 percent. At least 36 percent of Native students who attended BUSD between 1988 and 1993 continued their education past high school. The strongest link between educational opportunities and Native student achievement was found in the involvement of parents in the design and implementation of programs. The Native American families in Barstow are the descendants of Navajo and Pueblo railroad workers who chose to come to Barstow (thus assuming "immigrant" characteristics). Full assimilation into the majority culture occurred over three generations. Thus, the strongest elements contributing to Native student achievement were parental involvement and family acculturation patterns. The findings suggest that Ogbu's categories of immigrant and nonimmigrant minorities are not static, and that nonimmigrant minorities may not be bound to their castelike status. (KS)

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Cultural and Parental Influences on Achievement Among Native American Students in Barstow Unified School District

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ABSTRACT

The academic achievement of Native American students in the United States has consistently been the lowest in the nation. This qualitative study examined the academic achievement of a group of Native American students in a specific setting.

The study determined the academic achievement of a specific group of Native students and explored the relationships between their achievement and a. school programs, b. parental involvement, and c. acculturation and assimilation patterns.

Contrary to the achievement patters of Native American students nationally, these Native students were achieving as well as or better than their non-Native peers. The strongest elements which contributed to Native student achievement in this case were: a. parental involvement and b. the acculturation and assimilation patterns of the Native families across four generations. The findings suggest that Ogbu's (1987) categories (immigrant and non-immigrant minorities) are not static: non-immigrant minorities in the U.S. may not be bound to their castelike status.

"Many times my father has said, 'They (the whites) have come and we have to learn their ways. We have to learn to deal with them.' He always felt like we needed to be equal with them. That has probably been an underlying theme all of my life: You are going to have to learn to deal with this. You're going to have to go to school." (R. Vallo, Personal Communication, March 9, 1992)

Background

In 1990 there were 1.9 million American Indians and Alaskan Natives in the United States; between 300,000 and 400,000 of them were of school age. This total represented about one percent of the total school population in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Education, 1991).

The history of educational goals and opportunities for Native American students has mirrored the activities of the federal government in addressing what Wax, Wax, and Dumont (1989) term "the Indian problem:" the persistence of the existence of Native cultures. Education has played a prominent role in governmental efforts to assimilate Native Americans into the majority culture (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973). For the most part, however, the efforts have been "antagonistic" (Wolcott, 1974, p. 137).

The purpose of schooling for Native Americans has been one-way acculturation into the dominant majority (Kickingbird & Charleston, 1991; Prucha, 1985). The pattern of Indian/white relations in the U.S. has been that of forced assimilation with education serving as a major vehicle to accomplish the task. Most Native Americans today have

been educated in an educational system which did not value diversity (Warner & Hastings, 1991).

A recent report of the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force (1991), commissioned by the United States Department of Education, indicated that the academic success of Native American students when compared to other minority groups and to the nation's students as a whole fell alarmingly below that of all other groups. Native American students had the highest dropout rate in the nation. Although the scores of Native Americans have been improving slightly on standardized tests such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and the American College Testing Program (ACT), Native Americans still score substantially below the scores of all other student subpopulations (Hillabrant et al., 1992).

The academic achievement of minority groups, generally, has been less than that of dominant groups in modern industrial societies (Ogbu, 1987). A disaggregation of the data, however, indicated that for some minority groups the difference in achievement was large and persistent, while for other groups the difference was considerably less and lasted for a shorter period of time. Ogbu (1987) explained this difference by dividing minorities into two sub-groups: immigrants and non-immigrants. Immigrants, who come to a new place by choice, may experience initial academic difficulty, but they do adjust and their academic achievement improves over time as they learn the new language and new cultural behaviors. Non-immigrants, defined as "castelike" by Ogbu, have entered a society involuntarily and permanently through slavery, conquest, or colonization. Non-immigrant groups exhibit lower academic

performance which continues across generations. Native Americans in the U.S. have castelike minority status according to Ogbu's definition.

The status of Native Americans as castelike minorities and as members of societies whose cultural backgrounds were traditional (Bodley, 1975; Inkeles & Smith, 1987; & Sorkin, 1978) created strong potential barriers to academic achievement in a system of schooling in which one-way acculturation had been the rule and assimilation the intended outcome.

This study examined the school performance, the involvement of Native parents in the school life of their children, and the acculturation and assimilation patterns of a specific group of Native Americans who have lived in Barstow, California for at least three generations.

The study had two basic purposes: 1. To examine the academic achievement of Native American students (K-12) in Barstow Unified School District (BUSD), and 2. To examine the relationships between these achievement patterns and: a. the educational opportunities being provided for them by BUSD; b. the role of Native parents in the education of their children. and c. the patterns of acculturation and assimilation of these Native families across three to four generations.

The Setting

BUSD, a rural district of just over 7,000 students, is located approximately 75 miles east of San Bernardino in Southern California. Barstow residents are mostly middle class, multi-ethnic (majority: white), blue collar workers. The district is

considered to be remote in its desert setting by the San Bernardino County Superintendent of School's Office.

One hundred twenty Native American students attended school in the district during the 1991-92 school year, representing just under 2 percent of the total population. School records and personal interviews indicated that the families of most of these students had moved to Barstow from three reservations in New Mexico and/or Arizona: Laguna and Acoma Pueblos and the Navajo reservation.

Most of the families migrated to Barstow during the Indian relocation period (1940's and 1950's). Major U.S. companies, in cooperation with the federal government, offered jobs to Native Americans in off reservation centers. The Santa Fe Railroad, which had maintained a long term relationship with Southwestern tribes since the 1880's, offered jobs to Native American workers at rail centers along the Santa Fe track (Personal Communication, M. Martin, June 28, 1993). Almost all of the Native students in BUSD were second, third, and fourth generation descendants of these Santa Fe employees.

Methodology This two year study examined three major questions using a case study approach and employed the qualitative techniques of participant observation, ethnographic interview, and documentary analysis.

1. What was the academic achievement of BUSD's Native American students as measured by (a) norm referenced tests, (b) dropout and graduation rates, (c) honor roll information, and (d) postsecondary career or continuing education choices. How

did the achievement of these students compare with that of the district as a whole and with the Caucasian majority within the district?

2. What regular and special educational opportunities were provided for Native American students in BUSD? How did parents influence the content and direction of these opportunities? How did the opportunities influence the academic achievement of the Native students?

3. As patterns of cultural change for Barstow's Native American families evolved across three to four generations, how did they influence the academic achievement of the Native students? How did these patterns influence the way in which the educational system was received and modified by Native American parents and the local Native American community?

The study evolved through three major phases. During phase one the setting was examined broadly with a focus on Native students at the elementary level, their families, school staff, and the specific educational programs which were provided by BUSD. Phase two focused on Native students at the secondary level, with special attention to their career goals and the postsecondary achievements of recent graduates. By phase three of the study, the unique, positive patterns of academic achievement exhibited by this group of Native American students were known. The research then centered on identifying the relationships which contributed to the achievement evidenced. The foci for phase three were the role of parents, acculturation and assimilation patterns across three generations, and the study of Native students at the middle school level.

Observations of students, teachers, administrators, and parents were conducted in classrooms, supplementary program settings, and playgrounds at three elementary schools, two middle schools, and the high school; at meetings; and in the homes of key informant families. Observational data were extended and triangulated through interviews with students, teachers, administrators, parents, and other community members. Written documents, such as the Indian Education Act, Title V Plan for BUSD, student assessment data, cumulative record folders of Native students, local census data, and historical records provided additional information and triangulation of findings.

Selected Findings

Student Achievement

Despite the bleak history of efforts to provide educational opportunities for Native American students in the U.S. and the fact that the academic achievement of Native students has remained significantly below that of their non-Native peers, findings from this study have shown that Native students in BUSD have demonstrated levels of academic achievement comparable to those of students in the district as a whole and to the Caucasian student subgroup.

For the purposes of this study, students' academic achievement was evaluated through an examination of four indicators: norm referenced achievement test results, dropout/graduation rates, student honor roll, post-secondary and continuing education choices.

Norm Referenced Achievement Test Results. Norm referenced achievement test results, as measured by (CAS)2 (Curriculum Alignment System: Comprehensive Assessment System developed by School Research and Service Corporation, Mission Viejo, California, for standardized achievement assessment in California) was examined over a three year period (1991, 1992, and 1993). The data indicated that, at all grade levels and across the three areas assessed (reading, written language, and mathematics) Native American students in BUSD scored close to or above the district averages.

When compared to the total district student population, the number of Native American students was small. In order to determine whether or not the difference in scores between the district mean percentile student scores and mean percentile scores of the subpopulation of Native American students was significant, a two tailed *t* Test was performed with the level of significance set at .05 and .10.

Sufficient data for subgroups of the total student populations were available for 1992 and 1993 so that *t* Tests of significance could be conducted. Such data was not available for 1991.

Statistically significant positive or negative differences between the mean percentile scores of Native American students and the mean percentile scores of the district's students as a whole or that of other subpopulations of the total district student population would indicate that the Native American students were performing significantly better or significantly worse than their non-Native peers. National trends have led to reasonable predictions that the scores of Native American students would

be significantly below that of their non-Native student peers (Glass, 1972; Hillabrandt et al., 1991; Phillips, 1993; Spindler, 1987; Wax, Wax, & Dumont, 1989; Wolcott, 1989).

Results of no significant difference would indicate that the scores of Native American students were found to be no different from those of the total BUSD student population. This in itself would represent a significant departure from the academic achievement patterns of Native American students across the U.S.

t Tests comparing mean percentile scores of Native American students in grades one through eight in reading with the mean percentile scores of total district population and the mean percentile scores for the Caucasian subpopulation for both 1992 and 1993 indicated that there were no significant differences between the scores of the Native American students, the total district population, and the Caucasian subpopulation except in the following areas. The mean percentile scores of the Native American student subpopulation were significantly below: (a) the mean percentile scores of the total district student population at grade two at the .10 level of significance for 1992, (b) the mean percentile scores of the Caucasian student subpopulation at grade two at both the .05 and .10 level of significance for 1992, and (c) the mean percentile scores for the Caucasian student subpopulation at grade three at the .10 level of significance for 1993.

The significantly lower performance of Native students in reading at grade two in 1992 and at grade three in 1993 was influenced by the unusually low scores of three of the seventeen Native students at those grade levels. These students were enrolled in

special education, a program designed to serve the special needs of students who have been identified as learning handicapped according to State and Federal criteria.

[Tests comparing the mean percentile scores of Native American students in grades one through eight in written language with the mean percentile scores of the total district student population and the Caucasian subpopulation have indicated that there were no significant differences at any grade level in either 1992 or 1993.

In mathematics, [Tests comparing the mean percentile scores of Native American students in grades one through eight with the mean percentile scores of the total district student population and with the Caucasian student subpopulation for 1992 and 1993 have indicated that there were no significant differences between the scores except in the following areas. The mean percentile scores of the Native American student subpopulation were significantly above (a) the mean percentile scores of the total district student population at grades one, seven, and eight at the .10 level of significance in 1992, and (b) the mean percentile scores of the Caucasian student subpopulation at grade one at the .10 level of significance and at grade eight at the .05 and .10 levels of significance in 1992.

This data analysis has indicated that Native American students in BUSD have scored as well as, or better than, the BUSD mean percentile scores for the total district student population and the Caucasian subpopulation in all areas except second grade reading in 1992 and third grade reading in 1993. Native American students in BUSD have demonstrated levels of academic achievement on a standardized measure which was above the levels which might have been reasonably predicted from the literature.

High School Dropout and Graduation Rates. Native American students have had the highest dropout rate in the nation (U.S. Department of Education, 1991). In 1980, an average of 36% of all Native tenth grade students dropped out of school. In some locations, the dropout rate for Native American students was 50 to 60% (U.S. Department of Education, 1991).

Although neither dropout nor graduation statistics by ethnic group were maintained by BUSD, the size of the Native population enabled the progress of individual students to be monitored during their high school years. Native students were followed from their sophomore through senior years for the graduating classes of 1991, 1992, and 1993 (Table 1). Tracking the school progress of these students has indicated that 90% of all Native students in BUSD graduated from high school between 1991 and 1993. Two of a total of twenty Native students dropped out of high school between 1991 and 1993 or 10%.

A compilation of similar data for the total student population in BUSD indicated that between thirty and thirty-three percent of all sophomores were no longer enrolled in the district by their senior year. Data available from BUSD for the total student population did not enable the researcher to identify which students moved out of the district and which students actually dropped out of school. For this reason, accurate dropout/graduation percentages were not available for the total student population.

The Native student population of BUSD was small, but their ten percent dropout rate, when compared with the national average of 36% for Natives, has shown that Native students in Barstow have performed markedly better than their Native peers

TABLE 1
DROPOUT/GRADUATION DATA FOR NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS
BARSTOW HIGH SCHOOL
BARSTOW UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
1988 - 1993

1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-1993
Student A	Student A	Student A - Graduated CHS		
Student B	Moved	--------		
Student C	Student C - Transferred CHS	Student C - Did not graduate		
Student D	Student D	Student D - Graduated BHS		
Student E	Student E	Student E - Graduated CHS		
Student F	Moved	--------		
Student G	Student G	Student G - Graduated BHS		
	Student H	Student H	Student H - Graduated BHS	
	Student I	Student I	Student I - Graduated BHS	
	Student J	Student J	Student J - Graduated BHS	
	Student K	Student K - Transferred CHS	Student K - Graduated CHS	
	Student L	Student L	Student L - Graduated BHS	
		Student M	Student M	Student M-Graduated BHS
		Student N	Student N	Student N-Graduated BHS
		Student O	Student O	Student O-Graduated BHS
		Student P	Student P - Transferred CHS	Student P-Graduated CHS
		Student Q	Student Q	Student Q-Graduated BHS
		Student R	Student R	Student R-Graduated BHS
		Student S	Student S	Student S-Graduated BHS
		Student T	Dropped	--------
		Student U	Student U	Student U-Graduated BHS
		Student V	Student V	Student V-Graduated BHS

LEGEND:BHS = Barstow High School CHS = Central High School (Continuation/Alternative High School)
All students were monitored beginning with their sophomore year at BHS.

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nationwide. The limited data available from BUSD indicated that the dropout rate for Native American students may be less than that of the total school average rate.

Secondary Native American Students on Honor Roll. The third indicator of student achievement, honor roll, represented the day-to-day, semester by semester performance of Native students in the classroom at the secondary level as measured by semester grades. Graduation rates indicated that students met graduation standards; honor roll data provided some indication of how well students were meeting their coursework requirements.

A review of the honor roll data, which was maintained by the Title V Parent Advisory Council (PAC), indicated that approximately 30% of all Native students from grades six through twelve in BUSD earned honor roll status based upon a grade point average (GPA) of 3.0 or better during 1991-1993 (Tables 2 and 3). Comparative data for the total district student population or other subgroups of the population was not available.

Postsecondary Career and/or Education Choices. Although national statistics have shown a gradual rise in the number of Native American students in attendance at postsecondary schools since 1981, the number of Native students who have chosen to continue their education has remained small when compared with other student subpopulations (U.S. Department of Education, 1991).

Information regarding the postsecondary career and educational choices of the Native American students at BUSD was obtained through the Career Center at the high school, personal interviews with students, and information shared at Title V PAC meetings.

TABLE 2
NATIVE AMERICAN HONOR ROLL STUDENTS
BARSTOW UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
1991-92 SCHOOL YEAR

Grade	Total Native Students	Natives on Honor Roll	Percent
6	14	5	36%
7	8	2	25%
8	8	3	37%
9	8	-0-	-0-
10	3	-0-	-0-
11	8	1	12%
12	4	3	75%
Totals	53	14	26%

TABLE 3
NATIVE AMERICAN HONOR ROLL STUDENTS
BARSTOW UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
1992-93 SCHOOL YEAR

Grade	Total Native Students	Natives on Honor Roll	Percent
6	15	6	40%
7	14	6	43%
8	6	3	50%
9	7	3	37%
10	8	-0-	-0-
11	3	-0-	-0-
12	8	2	25%
Totals	61	20	33%

A summary of actual postsecondary career and educational activities for graduates from 1991 through 1993 indicated that the Native students attending BUSD have career aspirations which mirror those of students in the majority society (Table 4). The data have also indicated that continuing education past high school was the choice made by at least 36 percent of the students who attended BUSD between 1988 and 1993.

Summary. The academic achievement of Native American students in BUSD was found to be comparatively higher than the academic achievement patterns of Native students nationally. The balance of the study sought to identify key factors which influenced these patterns of achievement.

Educational Opportunities for Native American Students in BUSD. Data regarding the regular school program in BUSD, which was available for all students, and special programs provided for Native American students through Federal Indian Education Act, Title V funds were gathered from January 1992 through October 1993.

Findings regarding regular school opportunities for Native American students in BUSD included the following: (a) The regular school program provided for all students in BUSD was the same as the program provided for Native students. (b) There was no observable difference in the interactions between teachers, aides, and administration and Native students and the interaction between teachers, aides, and administration and non-Native students. (c) The behavior, dress, and mannerisms of Native students in BUSD were not distinguishable from those of their non-Native peers. (d) The

primary language for all Native students in BUSD was English: none of the Native students spoke their tribal language.

TABLE 4
POST-SECONDARY CAREER AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES
FOR BUSD NATIVE AMERICAN GRADUATES
1991 - 1993

Student	Career/Educational Activity
A	Employed - Jay's Bike Shop
B	Moved/Unknown
C	Moved to Arizona
D	Married/1 child
E	Unknown
F	Moved/Unkown
G	Unknown
H	Employed in Barstow
I	Attending College: UNLV
J	Attending college
K	Unknown
L	Attending college
M	Attending college
N	Barstow Community College
O	Attending college
P	Unwed mother
Q	Employed - K-Mart
R	Attending college
S	Employed - McDonald's
T	Unknown
U	Attending Riverside Community College
V	Military: U.S. Air Force

Special programs were provided to meet the special needs of Native American students in BUSD through the use of Federal Indian Education Act, Title V funds. The special needs and the content of the programs were defined by the PAC, which included parents, teachers, and administrators. Parents were the majority members of the PAC with teachers and administrators serving in more of an advisory capacity to the group.

Title V programs funded were both academic and cultural. Academic programs included a program located at one of the elementary schools which pulled Native students out of their regular classrooms for enrichment activities, primarily the use of computer software and/or arts and crafts activities; an after school tutoring program; and access to the Career Center at the high school for all Native high school students. No evaluation of any of the programs had been conducted by the district, but concerns had been raised about the effectiveness of each of them by both school staff and parents.

The cultural programs included a Kindergarten through grade three Cultural Fair, an Annual Powwow, an Annual Family Campout, and an annual field trip for students in grades four through twelve related to Native culture and heritage. In general, the cultural programs had been designed by the parents and received their strong support.

The strongest relationship between the educational opportunities provided and Native student achievement was found, not in the opportunities themselves, but in the involvement of parents in the design and implementation of the programs. No strong links could be identified between regular or special Title V programs and the unique findings of positive student achievement. All students were receiving the same regular classroom program, yet Native students were performing above predicted levels. The Title V academic programs were either poorly designed or poorly attended by Native students. The impact of these programs on student achievement, although not formally measured, was seen as being slight by both parents and school officials.

The importance of the involvement of parents in the school life of their children has been identified by Butterfield and Pepper: "...parent participation in any form improves parent attitudes and behavior, as well as student achievement, attendance, motivation, self-esteem, and behavior" (1991, p. 1). Historically, Native parents have been excluded from the school life of their children. Education had been "used by the federal government as a weapon to estrange Indian children from their culture, their parents, their people" (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991, p. 4).

The parents of the Native American students in BUSD exercised strong influence on the content and direction of the Title V programs; and, through

their active membership in the PAC, maintained close communication with the district, generally, regarding the educational programs provided for their children.

The Title V cultural activities, developed by the parents and sponsored by the district, positively identified Native students as Native Americans and assisted parents in recapturing and redefining what it meant to be a Native American in an off reservation setting for themselves and for their children. Since the cultural ties most of the Native parents in Barstow had with their tribes were weak, the cultural components of the Title V program served to use the school as a vehicle to formally introduce aspects of Native cultures to Native students. Through the Title V programs, grandparents, great-grandparents, and other elders shared remnants of the Native cultures with parents and the children. The cultural components provided students and parents with an identificational tie with their Native roots in a Pan-Indian setting.

The Processes of Cultural Change and the Academic Achievement of Native American Students in BUSD

Background. Kneller (1965, p. 4) defined culture as "the learned and shared behavior (thoughts, acts, feelings) of a certain people together with their artifacts." Children learn the cultural codes of behavior of their first culture through the process of enculturation (Kneller, 1965). This learning process

occurs formally through education and training and informally through daily interactions and processes of living within the particular culture. The purpose of child training and education is the development of a personality structure which corresponds to the major values and institutions of the culture being learned (Kneller, 1965).

Aboriginal Native American cultures were highly integrated and the enculturation processes were highly defined and ritualized (Dozier, 1970). The way of life of the Native peoples was traditional, rather than modern (Inkeles & Smith, 1974) and relied upon the muscular energy of the group in order to survive, rather than upon extrapersonal energy (industrialism) (Cohen, 1974). This more traditional lifestyle required strict compliance with highly defined cultural behavior patterns in order to insure the survival of the tribal group.

Traditional tribal economies were designed to satisfy the basic subsistence needs of the group and these needs were assumed to be fixed (Bodley, 1975). Native societies sought to live in harmony with nature. Typical behavior patterns for these groups stressed sharing, voluntary cooperation, equality, and solidarity. The good of the whole superseded the good of the individual.

Modern societies, such as the majority society in the U.S., have been based on continual economic growth and the exploitation of resources. Typical

behavior patterns have included the value of individual aspirations, striving for personal success and gain, consumerism, and personal power (Inkeles & Smith, 1974).

The meeting of the two types of cultures began an acculturation process in which changes in the original cultural patterns of one or both of the cultures would occur as a result of their interactions (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Historically, the acculturative interactions between Native American tribes and the Anglo majority in the U.S. have included the full range of Gordon's (1991) models of intergroup relations. The general direction of the interactions has been that of forced or antagonistic assimilation of Natives into the Anglo majority by virtue of the position of relative power held by the majority. Because of their status as conquered peoples, Native Americans have had little choice in the direction or the content of the acculturative interactions.

The Native American families in Barstow were the descendants of several of the conquered Native American tribes of the Southwest. These families moved to Barstow as a result of a long term relationship between the Laguna, Acoma, and Navajo tribes and U.S. railroad companies.

Although many Native workers lived and worked away from their tribal homelands as a result of the agreements with the railroad, the first permanent

colony of Laguna workers moved to Barstow in 1942. A permanent colony of Acoma workers was established in Barstow at the same time (Personal Communication, K. Garcia, December 14, 1992). The Laguna colony was originally made up of twelve men who agreed to the transfer to Barstow. These workers lived in a work camp on the Santa Fe property which had been previously used by Chinese workers.

The camp provided a setting similar to that on the Pueblo reservations, where tribal members lived closely together. According to Michael Martin, Public Relations Director for the Santa Fe Railroad (Personal Communication, June 29, 1993), when work with the Railroad required that Native men move away from their tribal homelands, the Santa Fe would move whole crews and attempted to replicate the lifestyle of the tribe in the work camp location. Life in the Indian camp served as a bridge between life on the reservation and life outside of the reservation. "In the Indian camp, we could still have our tribal identity. We could maintain a closeness with one another. The Laguna camp had a large opening in the center, like a plaza, so we could have all kinds of activities in there as a tribe. We even had some of our ceremonials in there" (Personal Communication, L. Garcia, December 10, 1992).

The early Navajo steel gangs lived a different life as they worked for the railroad. The track workers were always on the move, repairing track as they

went. As a result of the nature of this work, the Navajo workers and their families lived in boxcars and moved with the trains (Personal Communication, C. Martinez-Tucker, June 28, 1993). Navajo workers who moved to Barstow, however, became laborers and machinists for the Santa Fe Railroad and found housing in Barstow or in small rail towns such as Amboy or Ludlow, California (Personal Communication, G. Yazzie, June 30, 1993).

By the middle of the 1960's, the City of Barstow Health Department condemned the Indian camps. The structures were old and were becoming unsafe. Railroad officials worked with Native families and local agencies to assist these workers in finding homes in Barstow to rent or to secure financial loans which would enable them to purchase homes in the area (Personal Communications, L. Garcia, December 10, 1992; M. Martin, June 28, 1993).

The children who were attending BUSD at the time this study was completed were the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the workers who came to Barstow to work for the railroad in the 1940's.

In order to identify cultural changes across generations, extensive life history interviews were conducted with three Native families across three to four generations. Gordon's (1964) stages of assimilation were used to identify the types of assimilative behavior which occurred in each family within each of the four generations interviewed. Informal discussions and interviews with other

Native parents/grandparents at PAC meetings or during Title V activities served to support the in-depth intergenerational life histories. Findings regarding the patterns of cultural change across three to four generations included the following.

The immigration from the reservation to take up permanent residence in Barstow was a positive and voluntary choice for the Native American families in Barstow.

The parents of the school-aged children of the Native American families in Barstow were acculturated and had assimilated into the majority culture. The Native American children of school age in Barstow were not being acculturated into the dominant majority in the schools; they were being enculturated into the majority culture as their first culture, for the culture of their homes was that of the dominant majority.

As a result of having experienced the economic and social benefits of schooling in the majority society, Native American families exhibited strong support for the goals, purposes, and values of the school. They actively encouraged their children to do well in school and supported the children in their efforts through their involvement in school organizations and activities.

Although parents and grandparents attempted to help their children maintain some sense of their Native cultural identity through the cultural

components of the Title V program, attendance at Powwows, and visits to their reservations, it was evident that the Native Americans in Barstow had assumed the values and goals of the majority society.

Cultural identity, for at least the third and fourth generations of Native Americans in Barstow was symbolic (Gans, 1991). The Natives in Barstow had acculturated and assimilated to such a degree that they truly did compete in the workplace as equals. Tribal cultural identity was less ascriptive and more a voluntary choice for them. They chose to identify with aspects of their tribal culture and played tribal cultural roles along with the other roles they played in the larger society. Life was lived in the majority culture; identificational expressions of ethnicity were special events and not practiced day to day by most.

Conclusions

In the case of the Native American students in BUSD, a specific set of elements (which related to acculturation and assimilation patterns in the lives of their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents) when taken together, influenced the academic achievement of these students. This set of elements enabled full assimilation, using Gordon's (1965) stages, to occur over three generations for this group of residents in Barstow.

The first of these elements was the element of choice. The grandparents and great-grandparents of the BUSD students chose to move to Barstow in order to work for the Santa Fe Railroad. Those who continued to live and work in Barstow chose to do so. The element of choice served to change the identity of this particular group of people from a conquered, castelike minority to an immigrant minority, by Ogbu's (1978) definitions. Each individual could choose to return to the reservation, move to another location, or remain in Barstow. For three to four generations, this group of Native families chose to remain in Barstow.

The second element related to the history of the Native group in Barstow. The Santa Fe Railroad's provision for a specific type of housing for the pioneer immigrants of the group, which enabled them to retain aspects of other Native culture when they first moved to Barstow, provided a secure bridge between life on the reservation and life in Barstow. The housing situation enabled first and second generation families to adjust to life in Barstow gradually and to retain aspects of their Native culture, such as language and religion, with relative ease.

The Indian Camps also provided an opportunity for intertribal communication and the beginnings of a Pan-Indian culture among the tribal groups who settled in Barstow.

As families moved off of the Santa Fe land and into the Barstow community, their employment status enabled them to be economically secure, to find comfortable housing outside of the Indian Camps, and to eventually purchase homes of their own.

Economic security and a desire for a better way of life was the third element. The Native immigrants who moved to Barstow came because they had jobs (Personal Communications, K. &. L. Garcia, December 14, 1992; F. Vallo, July 19, 1993; R. Vallo, March 9, 1992). Agreements between the Acoma, Laguna, and Navajo tribes and the Santa Fe Railroad guaranteed jobs to the initial immigrants and to their sons and grandsons. When asked what they wanted for their children, Native families interviewed throughout the study indicated that they wanted their children to have a better life. They equated this better life with the measures of success of the majority society. When parents and grandparents were asked if they would return to their reservations when they retired, almost all indicated that they would not.

The fourth element was the relative size of this subpopulation. Native Americans in Barstow constituted less than two percent of the total population. Such small numbers did not constitute a threat to the majority population and thus, discrimination or prejudicial treatment of the members of this group was

rare in Barstow (Personal Communications, F. Vallo, July 19, 1993; G. Yazzie, June 30, 1993).

Stone (1980) defined what he termed the ten percent rule: if a minority group is only ten to fifteen percent of the total population, the threat presented by this group to the majority group is minimal; therefore, making discrimination unnecessary. Since Native Americans in Barstow constitute only about two percent of the total population, Stone's rule may appear to explain the phenomenon; however, the Native American population of the U.S. is now and has always been less than ten percent of the total population. Since Native Americans have not constituted a numerical threat to the majority in the U.S., explaining the lack of discriminatory treatment evident in Barstow by using the ten percent rule falls short.

The small number of Native Americans in Barstow may be a contributing factor, but only when linked to the other six elements.

Marital assimilation was the fifth element present in the setting. By the third generation few Native Americans in Barstow had married within their tribe. Many had married non-Natives. This pattern of intertribal and interethnic marriage further weakened the cultural ties Native Americans in Barstow had to their tribes, encouraged the development of a more Pan-Indian identity, and led to full assimilation into the majority culture.

The sixth element was the involvement and support of Native parents in the education of their children. Over the two years during which the study was conducted, the influence of parents caused changes in the way in which not only the cultural components of the Title V programs were implemented, but the way in which the academic components were implemented as well.

Native parents in this study felt as though they could influence the content and the direction of the educational opportunities provided for their children. Their involvement led to a greater sense of empowerment and thus, a greater sense of ownership in the goals and purposes of the educational processes for their children. These goals and purposes, shared among the Pan-Indian community and congruent with those of the majority, led to greater support on the part of Native parents for the schools. Through the PAC, the gap between what was important to parents and the school life of students was bridged.

These six elements, when taken together, enabled the grandparents and great-grandparents of the school aged children in Barstow to achieve success as defined by the dominant majority. As a result, the parents of the children had become acculturated into the culture of the majority and the children had been enculturated into the majority culture.

If this particular set of elements were present for a specific minority group in a setting, the chance that the academic achievement of their children would be higher than the achievement levels of members of the same minority group for which these elements were not present would be high.

This is not to say that the elements present in Barstow should be replicated for other subpopulations in order to assimilate minority groups into the majority. What can be learned from the elements present in the Barstow setting, however, is that if a group chooses to assimilate, the six elements in the Barstow model would support assimilation over three generations.

General Recommendations

Three important variables were present in the Barstow setting which contributed to the academic success of these Native students: a. This group of Native Americans had become immigrant minorities and were no longer castelike minorities by virtue of their choice to establish permanent residence in Barstow, b. Native Americans in Barstow were experiencing equality of post-school opportunity, and c. Parental involvement led to ownership and commitment to the goals and purposes of the school by this group of Native Americans. The importance of these variables extends beyond Native Americans and beyond the Barstow setting. Based on the findings and conclusions of this study, the following recommendations concerning each of

these three variables have been made.

The first variable, the change from castelike to immigrant status via choice, suggests that Ogbu's categories of immigrant and castelike minorities are not static: castelike minorities in the U.S. may not be bound to their castelike status. The key element for Native Americans in Barstow was choice. This group chose to leave their reservations and to live in the majority society. They have thus become immigrants by Ogbu's definition (1978). Immigrant minorities usually assimilate by the third generation; these Native Americans had assimilated by the third generation.

When the groups of Native Americans described in this study first moved to Barstow, they lived in Indian Camps in tribal groups. This lifestyle provided a sense of security and personal identity which enabled the group to adapt to changes more readily over time. The Pan-Indian culture which developed in the setting represented a next step in the assimilation process.

Minority group students in school settings are no different from these immigrant Natives. The links made with the known can make cultural and/or linguistic adaptations more meaningful and more successful for these students, whether or not they or their families choose to assimilate. The words of Gilbert Vigil, the Governor of Tesuque Pueblo, could be applied to the education of all minority groups: "No program, no matter how well funded or staffed, can

succeed if it fails to incorporate and reflect the values of its community. American Indians fail to see their own values reflected in the majority education system and until they do, they will continue to drop out" (Skinner, 1991, p. 19).

Since not all minority groups choose assimilation, Wolcott's (1989, p. 146) "teaching stance" perhaps best describes the role of the teacher in the education of minority students. Wolcott stated that the teacher must dwell more on the already known in the way of life of students rather than on what students did not know of the way of life of the teacher.

The second element, equality of post-school opportunity, echoed conclusions drawn by Ogbu (1978) and Wilson (1987): A key determinant of school performance was what children and their parents expected to gain from their education in adult life. Native American families in Barstow "have seen that education works" (Personal Communication, F. Vallo, July 19, 1993). The children and grandchildren of the original Native immigrants to Barstow have experienced equality of post-school opportunity. Adult Native Americans living in Barstow were all gainfully employed. "You will not see a drunken Indian or an Indian on welfare in Barstow. We all have jobs and we are all looking forward to an even better job future for our children and grandchildren because of the educational opportunities they have" (Personal Communication, K. Garcia, December 14, 1992).

For minority groups whose post-school opportunities have been limited by job ceilings and other forms of differential treatment by the majority society, a disillusionment about the future and doubtful feelings about the value of schooling result (Ogbu, 1978). The elimination of castelike barriers to economic productivity through equal opportunity for employment could eventually change the educational attitudes and work habits of these groups and increase their competitive efforts (Ogbu, 1978). Wilson (1987) would add that the problem of inequality of post-school opportunity cannot be solved by isolating minority groups and working to achieve equality group by group. Equality of post-school opportunity must be achieved simultaneously for all.

Perhaps the recommendation for education in light of these statements would be: Begin with the end in mind. A re-examination of the goals and purposes of education and a re-directing of the resources available toward the achievement of those goals and purposes may be in order. Is the goal to sort and select or to move toward a success for all models? If the goals and purposes of education center around equality of postsecondary opportunity, educational systems may look quite different.

The importance and impact of parental involvement in the education of children was the third element underscored by the findings of this study. The findings and conclusions of the study would suggest that schools and district

should actively seek the participation of parents in planning and evaluating the educational opportunities which have been provided for their children. Participation, over time, led to feelings of ownership and commitment on the part of Native parents in BUSD. The Barstow study suggested that, when schools and parents work as a team toward shared goals, the academic achievement of students improves. Through parental involvement, the goals and purposes of the parents and the goals and purposes of the school were becoming aligned. This alignment created meaning and purpose for the school accomplishments of students.

Next Steps

This single case study opens questions for further study. The findings have indicated that a small group of Native Americans who came to Barstow from three major tribal reservations located in the Southwestern U.S. have assimilated into the majority culture within three generations. As a result, the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of these immigrants have exhibited academic achievement levels comparable to those of their peers in the setting. The major reason that assimilation was successful for this group was that they chose a particular way of life in a particular setting. They have chosen to become a part of the majority culture in Barstow.

Several concerns arise as a result of the findings and conclusions of this study. The academic success of the Native students in Barstow was related to the fact that they lived one cultural life: the life of the majority culture. Their Native ways were virtually lost. Must loss of culture be the price paid for academic success for Native Americans or any minority? Replication of this study in other settings, including reservation settings, would further clarify, support, or refute issues raised in this single study.

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