CONGRUENCY BETWEEN PARENTAL AND

TEACHER GOALS AND VALUES

FOR PRESCHOOL CHEROKEE

CHILDREN

By

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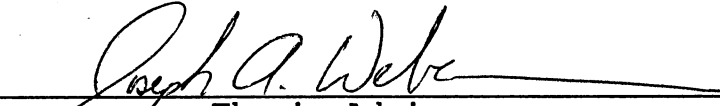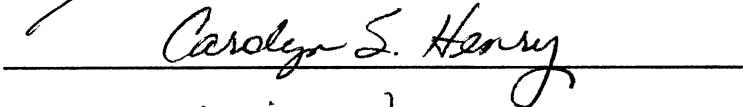
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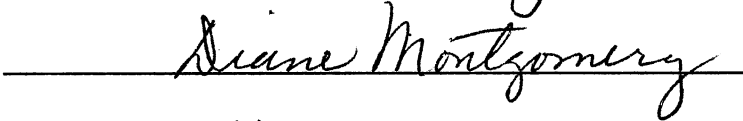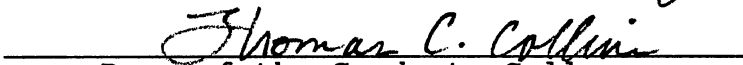the Degree of
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Native Americans comprise 8% of the population in
Oklahoma according to the 1990 Census (Bureau of the
Census, 1991). Over sixty different tribal groups reside
in Oklahoma (Milligan, 1985). Oklahoma has the second
largest percentage of Native Americans in the continental
United States. The Native American population in Oklahoma
has grown 49% in the last ten years to 252,420 (Bureau of
the Census, 1991). This growth is due to both actual
growth and an increased willingness to be identified as
Native American (Bureau of the Census, 1991). Of the
Native American population in Oklahoma, approximately one-
third are registered on the Cherokee Tribal Enrollment
(Council of Energy Resource Tribes, 1989). Cherokee
children comprise approximately one quarter of the total
students in the public school system in the fourteen
counties in northeastern Oklahoma which fall under the
jurisdiction of the Cherokee Nation.

The high dropout rate of Cherokee students indicates
that school systems are not adequately meeting the needs
of these students and many children are at-risk for school
failure. The percentage of Cherokees 25 years of age or

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older who had completed high school in Oklahoma rose between 1970 (28.3%) and 1980 (47.1%). In 1980, only 7.9 percent of the total Cherokee population attended college (Council of Energy Resource Tribes, 1989). Native American dropout rates reflect the plight of other minorities whose needs are not adequately addressed by schools.

It is unclear what factors make Native American children at-risk for high school completion. Previous research suggests that differences in values and family structure may impact the success of Native American children in the public school system (Brown, 1980; Foerster & Little Soldier, 1978; Little Soldier, 1985; Locust, 1988; O'Malley, 1982; Pepper, 1976; Red Horse, 1980; Sanders, 1987; Thomas & Wahrhaftig, 1971; Tyon, 1989; Yates, 1987). Misunderstanding arising from an ignorance of cultural values in the family context may prevent teachers from building on the strengths of Native American children (John, 1972; Leary & Steigelbauer, 1985; Locust, 1988). Teachers' expectations of Native American students may also impact students' dropout rate (Cooper, 1983; Cooper & Good, 1983; Cooper & Tom, 1984; Leacock, 1982; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Rosenthal & Rubin, 1971; Smith, 1980). Those expectations may be based on biases that have little to do with actual achievement potential (Denbo, 1988). In most of these studies, teachers are Anglo-American or of other non-Native American races.

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An important variable operating in the family context that is related to school success is the educational goals parents hold for their children. These goals will be reflected in their childrearing practices (LeVine, 1974, 1977; LeVine, Miller & West, 1988; Rogoff, 1990; Whiting, 1974, 1980; Whiting & Edwards, 1988; Whiting & Whiting, 1975). It is hypothesized that parents who value education will encourage the acquisition of skills required by school. Parent childrearing strategies are adaptive to the roles their children will play in adult life (Leary & Stiegelbauer, 1985; Ogbu, 1978, 1982; Rogoff, 1990). Parents who see school as an important factor in their childrens' future success will be more likely to value and support public education.

Statement of the Problem

It is assumed among members of the majority culture that parents value education for their children because of the opportunities it affords them in adulthood in the United States. Education is associated with an avenue for upward social mobility (Blau & Duncan, 1967; D'Amato, 1988; Duncan & Hodge, 1963; Jencks, Crouse, & Muesser, 1983; Sewell & Hauser, 1975). For Native American parents, education can mean something very different than for Anglo-American parents. It can mean turning away from traditional values and beliefs. Assuming all parents

value education in the same way can lead to teaching practices that conflict with cultural and family values.

The Cherokee Nation has a unique history in regard to education. Sequoyah developed a written syllabary for the Cherokee language in 1821. This made it possible to communicate in written form in Cherokee. A myriad of newspapers and publications in the mid- to late 1800's were published. The Cherokees operated some of the first institutions of higher learning in Oklahoma. When Oklahoma was granted statehood in 1907, the control of schools was given to the state government and taken away from the Cherokee tribe (Zeleny, 1987).

The Cherokee have a tribal history in Oklahoma of valuing education. The Cherokee Nation operates and administers 14 Head Start centers and 11 home-based programs within the counties under their jurisdiction (Cherokee Nation Head Start Program, 1991). All teachers working in their program are required to have a high school diploma. They also must have a CDA certificate (a nationally-recognized credential awarded by the Council for Early Childhood Professional Recognition) or be in the process of attaining one. The degree of Indian blood is taken into consideration when teachers are screened for hiring. Teachers in the Head Start system have been exposed to an exceptional amount of education compared to most Cherokee parents. What are teacher expectations and goals affecting the children attending the Head Start

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program? How does this compare to the educational goals Cherokee parents have for their preschool-aged child?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the similarities and differences in educational goals that Cherokee parents in eastern Oklahoma have for their children as compared to the goals of their children's Head Start teachers. Theoretically, congruency between parental educational goals and teacher educational goals for children is important because the children receive the same messages in both settings. Incongruities are associated with decreased achievement in school (Leary & Stiegelbauer, 1985; Ogbu, 1978, 1982) and can result in confusion or dysfunction in learning adult roles (Leary & Stiegelbauer, 1985).

The teachers in the Head Start schools are 99% Cherokee and 98% of the students are Cherokee. Because teachers have been exposed to Head Start training and early childhood research, it was postulated that incongruities exist between their educational goals for children and that of the parents. This influences the child's educational environment in the areas of language usage, structure of time, communication style, social interaction, belief systems, and motivation (Cooper & Tom, 1984; Leary & Steigelbauer, 1985; Locust, 1988; Uguroglu & Walberg, 1979).

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The educational goals for children are rooted in the cultural setting. Ecocultural theory is used as the framework in which the relation between the family and school environments will be conceptualized (Gallimore, Weisner, Kaufman, & Bernheimer, 1989). Although it has been used to look at the activity settings of the child, it has not been used in specific research with Native Americans.

The information from this study will provide a better understanding of the interrelationships between the family network and the school setting in the Head Start program as it is administered by the Cherokee Nation. The research will be used to recognize and facilitate change of some of the incongruities and understand some of the congruities between parental and teacher goals and values.

Theoretical Issues Underlying Study

The following issues were addressed in this study:

1. In what areas are parental educational goals congruent with or different from teacher educational goals for Cherokee Head Start children?

2. Does parental educational level and prior educational experience (boarding school vs. public school, level of schooling) impact the educational goals for their child?

3. What qualitative factors are considered indicators of success, admiration and personal well-being for

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Cherokee parents? To what extent are these congruent
with qualities considered important for success,
admiration and personal well-being by Head Start
teachers?

4. How are Cherokee parents and Head Start teachers the
    same or different regarding what they consider as the
    purpose of school? How closely do their answers
    resemble the stated objectives of Head Start?

5. How do Cherokee families (traditional vs. assimilated)
    view education in Oklahoma today?

Research Questions

The following research questions were the focus of
this study. The interview question(s) associated with
each focus are indicated after each.

The interview produced a range of parental
educational goals for children which were compared with
teacher educational goals for children. Similarities and
differences were discussed in the analysis of the data.
The interview questions were: What is the purpose of Head
Start? Looking into the future, how much education should
your child have? How will education help your child? How
important is it to send a child to school? Answers to
other interview questions shed light on this theoretical
issue as well.

The second theoretical issue examined whether
parental educational level and prior educational

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experience impacted parents' educational goals for children. Some of the possible relationships in reference to this issue were as follows:

(1) The more years of school that parents have completed, the higher the number of years of school they wish their child to complete. The interview question was: Looking into the future, how much education should your child have?

(2) A boarding school experience of the parent will be negatively associated with future education for their child. Interview questions were: Tell me about your school experience. Looking into the future, how much education should your child have?

In addressing the issue of what qualitative factors are considered indicators of success, admiration and well-being for Cherokee parents and teachers, the following tenants were explored:

(1) Teachers will emphasize economic attainment while parents will emphasize quality of life factors. Interview questions were: What are your dreams for your child (students)? Thinking about people around you, what do you think "success in life" is?

(2) Personal qualities in others such as honesty, cleanliness, and responsibility for oneself and others may be admired by both teachers and parents, but given different emphases in the two samples. The interview

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question was: What qualities do you admire in people around you?

In relation to how parents and teachers are the same or different in what they regard as the purpose of school, it was hypothesized that teachers would score a higher positive score on the rank-ordered list which assesses how well the program meets Head Start objectives. The answers of teachers would more closely resemble Head Start objectives than those of parents. The interview question was: What is the purpose of Head Start?

In examining how Cherokee families in Oklahoma view education today, it was hypothesized that assimilated families would view education for their child more positively than traditional families. Interview questions were: On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being very traditional and 1 being very assimilated, where is your family? How will education help your child? How important is it to send a child to school?

Summary

Cherokee children comprise a significant proportion of students in eastern Oklahoma. The high dropout rate in Oklahoma schools suggests that there are forces that interfere with children's early school experiences in such a way that completion of high school is difficult for Cherokee students. The home environment was explored to ascertain the degree of similarity or difference between

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factors in the belief systems of family members regarding school and the goals of the teachers in the school setting. This may shed light on potential incongruities between the home and school environments throughout the child's school years. Congruities between the two environments may also be suggested that can be maximized in the educational setting.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The nature of this study provides a unique blending
of the fields of developmental psychology, anthropology,
education, family science and child development. This
study explored the congruency between the educational
goals and values of traditional Cherokee families and
Cherokee Head Start teachers and identified some of the
forces operating on preschool-aged children enrolled in
the Head Start program. Culture in both family and
educational contexts is often treated as a packaged
variable--a single factor without variation. Beatrice
Whiting (1976) discussed the importance of unwrapping
packaged variables. Packaged variables are independent
variables that include several clusters of traits or
experiences. This study used the activity settings of
home and school to begin to identify selected processes
active in the education of preschool-aged Cherokee
children. The theoretical framework for this study was
ecocultural theory (Gallimore, Weisner, Kaufman, &
Bernheimer, 1989; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Weisner &
Gallimore, 1985), derived from the psychocultural model
developed by Whiting, Whiting and their colleagues

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(LeVine, 1977; Munroe, Munroe, & Whiting, 1981; Nerlove &

Snipper, 1981; Super & Harkness, 1980, 1986; Weisner,

1984; Weisner & Gallimore, 1985; B. Whiting, 1976; B.

Whiting & Edwards, 1988; B. Whiting & J. Whiting, 1975).

The word "ecocultural" is a combination of the prefix

"eco", meaning "of the environment", and "cultural",

referring to human behavior and the ways in which human

beings carry out the activities involved in daily living

(Barnhart & Barnhart, 1987). Ecocultural theory proposes

that ecological effects are mediated through the activity

settings of the daily routine (Gallimore, Weisner,

Kaufman, & Bernheimer, 1989; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988;

Weisner & Gallimore, 1985). Families construct

ecocultural niches by their everyday patterns of family

life. These reflect their personal values and material

resources. Families, however, do more than simply

transmit cultural norms. Individually and collectively,

families modify and counteract social and economic forces.

A researcher-developed model is presented in Figure 1.
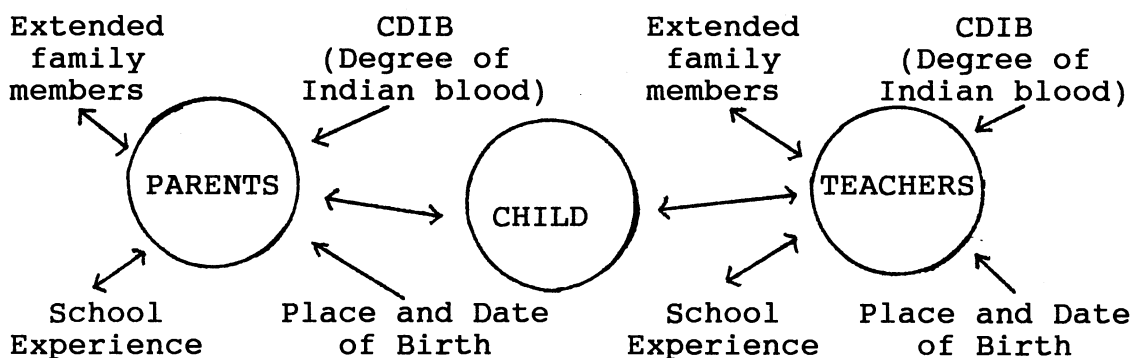
Figure 1. Factors Affecting Parental and Teacher
  Educational Goals for Children.

The ecocultural niche where children and culture interface is not static but dynamic in nature (Super & Harkness, 1980, 1986). Broad cultural-historical forces continue to evolve and act upon individual family units. At the household level, families shape their own ecocultural niches by accommodation. They construct and maintain a daily routine for themselves and their children. Gallimore et al. (1989) applied this theory to families with developmentally-delayed children. The deliberateness of constructing an ecocultural niche may not be as predominant a feature for families with normal children in the dominant Anglo culture. However, constructing an ecocultural niche may be a salient and very deliberate part of the survival concerns of traditional Native American families.

Rogoff (1990) uses the concept of guided participation in activity settings to focus attention on the way that individual efforts, social interaction and the cultural context are bound together in the development of children. As stated by Gallimore et al. (1989), "activity settings are composed of five components: who is present, their values and goals, what tasks are being performed, why are they being performed (the motives and feelings surrounding action), and what scripts govern interactions, including those that shape and constrain the child's participation" (p. 217). Whiting (1980) also

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includes a physically defined space in her discussion of activity settings.

The above factors work together to facilitate the child's entry into the society as a skilled participant (Rogoff, 1990) or as a socially competent person (Baumrind, 1972, 1978; Peterson & Rollins, 1987; Rollins & Thomas, 1979). In the United States, achieving a high educational level is one of the goals that is considered important by the dominant culture in order to experience success. Cultural goals for childrens' development must be interpreted within the context of that society. One of the underlying assumptions in this study was that Cherokee society is different from the dominant Anglo-American society in the United States. Education may be seen as serving different goals within Cherokee society. Education may be valued differently from other segments of the population. "Interpreting the activity of people without regard for their goals renders the observations meaningless" (Rogoff, 1990, p. 117). This study explored the congruency of goals Cherokee parents and Head Start teachers hold for the children in their care.

The first section of this review includes cross-cultural studies that focus on parental goals for children. The next section will focus on Native American goals for children. The third section deals with discontinuities between the classroom climate and the home, and the final section explores ways that teacher

expectations operate in the classroom. The review of
literature highlights some of the possible sources for
both congruency and a lack of congruency between the home
and school settings.

Parental Goals for Children

Parents' goals for their children shape their
childrearing practices. LeVine (1974, 1977; LeVine,
Miller, & West, 1988) asserts that cultures develop
practices that ensure their infants' and children's
survival. These goals fit into three categories: (1) the
physical survival and health of the child, (2) the
development of the child's behavioral capacity for
economic self-maintenance in maturity, and (3) the
development of the child's behavioral capacities for
maximizing other cultural values like morality, prestige,
and intellectual achievement. LeVine (LeVine, 1974, 1977,
LeVine, Miller, & West, 1988) suggests these goals operate
in a hierarchical structure with the physical survival and
health of the child taking precedence over the other two
if survival is threatened.

Folk wisdom may also be related to parental goals and
childrearing practices (Whiting, B., 1974; Whiting &
Whiting, 1975). Numerous studies (LeVine, Miller, & West,
1988; Whiting, B., 1974; Whiting & Edwards, 1988; Whiting
& Whiting, 1975) suggest that a culture's folk wisdom is
tested over time by its success in ensuring childrens'

survival and enhancing their chances to reproduce.
Whiting notes that the power of parents and other
socializing agents is in their assignment of children to
specific settings (Whiting, 1980; Whiting & Edwards, 1988;
Whiting & Whiting, 1975). For example, differences
observed in childrens' social behavior can be attributed
to the settings they frequent, the people they interact
with in those settings, and the tasks they are expected to
perform. Parents determine those settings, often acting
in accordance with culturally regulated customs.

Sigel and McGillicuddy-deLisi investigated the
relationship between parental beliefs and child outcomes
(McGillicuddy-deLisi, 1980, 1982a, 1982b, 1985;
McGillicuddy-deLisi, Sigel, & Johnson, 1979; Sigel, 1982,
1985, 1986). They examined the effect of parental beliefs
and parental educational level on children's level of
representational competence. Representational competence
was measured by a series of seven tasks designed to assess
the child's level of thinking with regard to the physical
and social world. The tasks included a memory task, a
conservation task, a categorization task, an interpersonal
problem-solving task, and interview questions about
conceptions of friendship and knowledge of rules and
conventions. Their research indicated that parental
beliefs directly affected the child's representational
competence and guided parental practices. Parental
educational level affected the representational competence

of the child. A higher parental educational level resulted in a higher child competence level. Sigel and McGillicuddy-deLisi hypothesized that higher educational levels of parents resulted in more sophisticated parental beliefs.

Sigel (1985) elaborated on the sources of parental beliefs, graphing out a myriad of factors as he develops the idea of a parental belief system. He leaves culture as a "packaged variable" without attempting to sort out its various factors and names education as one of the possible change agents for parents (see Figure 2 in Appendix A). Thus, educational success for parents impacts their belief system and has an indirect effect on their children according to this model. This may be a factor in the subsequent educational success of children.

Achievement in school can also be seen as an outcome variable of social competence. After reviewing the parent-child literature, Rollins and Thomas (1979) concluded that the empirical research supported the proposition that the greater the amount of parental support, the greater the amount of children's social competence. Social competence is a complex of child outcomes concerned with the child's relative ability to function effectively within long-term reciprocal role relationships (Peterson & Rollins, 1987). Such child-outcome variables as self-esteem, conformity to significant others, moral development, independence,

achievement and internality in locus of control are
included as areas of social competence (Peterson &
Rollins, 1987). All of these qualities tend to be
consistent with mainstream American values (Baumrind,
1972, 1978; Rollins & Thomas, 1979). Research concerning
the effects of socialization practices such as that in the
area of social competence needs to take into account
variations found in other cultures to find what behaviors
are considered appropriate in a mature person in those
cultures (Baumrind, 1978).

According to Rogoff (1990), the goals of development
vary across cultures. Her assumption is that thinking and
learning are functional efforts by individuals to solve
specific problems of importance in their culture. Rogoff
agrees with Baumrind that outcomes of development must be
defined from within a culture. Beliefs are assumed to
have some universality across cultures. Some beliefs that
are unique to Native American parents provide a framework
by highlighting the outcomes for children that are
important to those parents.

<center>Native American Parental Beliefs</center>

There is little research on Native American parental
beliefs. What is available is stated in generalized
terms, drawing out the similarities across differing
tribes. Some of this literature is presented to give some
possibilities of the ways Native American parental beliefs

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may differ from those of the dominant Anglo-American culture.

Native American parental beliefs and goals were examined by Kalyan-Masih (1972) who interviewed 89 parents from three Nebraska reservations from the Omaha, Winnebago, and Santee Sioux tribes. Seventy-eight percent of the responses to a question about which aspects of Indian culture should be taught to children reflected values relating to Indian culture and heritage. Almost half of those emphasized the teaching of native language. Other values referred to traditional religion, the history of the tribe, stories of great chiefs, and Indian dancing, music, dress and crafts. These results suggest that Native American values and beliefs may differ from those of the dominant culture in the United States. The American Indian Education Handbook (O'Malley, 1982) lists twenty-seven values, attitudes and behaviors that can be generalized across most Native American tribes that are in contrast to the dominant society. Some of these are: cooperation, group harmony, modesty, respect for an individual's dignity and autonomy, patience, generosity, indifference to ownership, indifference to saving, indifference to the work ethic, careful listening and observation, permissive childrearing, orientation to the present, respect for the aged, respect for nature, spirituality, discipline and moderation in speech. A

caution is added, however, that these values will vary somewhat from tribe to tribe (O'Malley, 1982).

Another way Native Americans differ from the surrounding culture may be in their kinship structure. Where Anglo-American culture is typically thought of as being characterized by the nuclear family, the traditional Native American family is characterized by the extended family. Tafoya (1982) represented the Native American family by ever-widening spheres of influence (Figure 3, Appendix A). Children, siblings, and cousins of the same generation are placed on the innermost circle with paternal and maternal grandparents on the next circle out. Grandparents are seen as providers of training and discipline (Tafoya, 1982). The grandparent role also includes other relations such as grand aunts and uncles and even godparents. The biological mother and father are on the outermost circle along with aunts and uncles.

Red Horse (1980) presented a complementary view of the extended family network of Native American families. He presented a curvilinear model that illustrates periods of self-reliance balanced with mutual interdependence. The state of being a child and being an elder are marked by dependence on others with adolescence and adulthood being periods of relative self-reliance. This is contrasted with a linear model of the nuclear family system, where increasing independence is emphasized throughout the life span. Red Horse (1980) theorized that

the family development of Native American families can be portrayed by the use of three major life-span phases: (1) being cared for, (2) preparing to care for, and (3) assuming care of. The above models illustrate the importance of interdependence in Native American families.

The family context in which a child is raised may influence school success or failure. School in Western society functions as a socializing institution (Wax & Wax, 1971; Thomas & Wahrhaftig, 1971). Education should prepare children to fit successfully into the internal environment of the community of their upbringing and into the larger external environment in which they live (Thomas & Wahrhaftig, 1971).

The goals and values of teachers may stand in marked contrast to those encountered by the child in the context of the family. The values inherent in the classroom climate may be a source of discontinuity for Native American students.

Discontinuities Between the Classroom
Climate and the Home

The impact of the school setting in the process of socialization has received very little attention in research literature. As American society becomes more complex, the institution of school becomes an arena for a dialogue concerning the expression of cultural differences (Leary & Stiegelbauer, 1985). A primary goal of the

educational setting in the United States is inculcating
children into the values of the dominant culture.
Minority students, therefore, often face the challenge of
learning the skills necessary for economic self-
maintenance in an educational setting that is embedded in
values that may be quite different from the values found
in the context of their family.

Sanders (1987) compiled a list of comparisons of
Native American and Anglo-American values and discussed
how the conflicts between these two sets of values affects
classroom performance. These misunderstandings between
values may cause Anglo-American teachers to view behaviors
by Native Americans as rude or insulting. For example,
Native American children are taught to avoid looking at a
speaker and not to interrupt. Anglo-Americans address
speakers directly and interrupt frequently. Consideration
of group needs as being more important than individual
needs leads to an emphasis on cooperation among Native
Americans. Competition and the importance of achieving
personal goals are emphasized in Anglo-American values.
Thus for Anglo-Americans, school and home have a cultural
continuity. For many Native American students, school is
an experience that runs contrary to the social norms,
self-perceptions and expected behaviors they have learned
at home (Sanders, 1987).

Leary and Stiegelbauer (1985) also discussed possible
areas of discontinuity between the home and school

settings. Among those they mentioned are: language use, structure of time, social interaction and communication style. Discontinuities between home and school can result in confusion or dysfunction in learning adult roles for society.

Locust (1988) examined ten beliefs that can be applied to many Native American tribes and related them to educational practices. She explored belief systems as a source of discontinuities between home and school. For example, the belief by Native Americans that unwellness is disharmony in body, mind, and spirit may cause a student to remove themselves from a disharmonious school situation in an effort to avoid disharmony in their own lives. Parents may choose not to be involved in the disharmonious situation at school. They may choose instead to counsel the child at home in a positive manner. These discontinuities between home and school may make it difficult for children to accept the structure of school.

If school success seems essential to children because of the possible future rewards for their life beyond school, they accept the structure of school with little resistance. D'Amato (1988) researched resistance to teachers over an eight-year period in 25 classrooms in Hawaii, ranging from preschool to third grade. In this setting Hawaiian children are a minority. One confounding variable was that the Hawaiian children also came from low-income families. Challenges to teacher authority were

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given the name "acting" by the children and fell into three general categories: playful versions of legitimate performances, playful clowning, and playful peer contention.

After analyzing the phenomena, D'Amato (1988) concluded that if school seemed significant to children for settings beyond school, the balance of power in the classroom remained in the hands of the teacher. Teachers were seen to control things that the children wanted and needed. If school is not seen as an avenue of social mobility or if the rewards for future settings do not seem to be persuasive, there is not a strong structural rationale for accepting school. The balance of power in classrooms lies in the hands of children, for the things teachers control are not things that the children must have. The children are free to confront the politics of the school directly and openly, developing strong norms of resistance to teachers. If Native Americans have a castelike minority status ascribed to other minority groups such as Hawaiian children (D'Amato, 1988) and blacks (Ogbu, 1978, 1982) as Leary and Stiegelbauer (1985) contended, their chances of upward social mobility based on individual or group effort are diminished. Further, the present time orientation in Native American culture encourages the possibility for strong resistance to the school setting. Further research needs to be done to adequately address the extent of resistance to teachers in

the classroom for Native Americans. How do teacher
expectations of students effect the climate in the
classroom?

Teacher Expectations in the Classroom

Coburn and Nelson (1989) surveyed Native American
high school graduates in the Pacific Northwest about their
high school experiences, focusing on how schools helped
students succeed. When students were asked to describe
the most important things that happened which motivated
them to finish high school, the responses fell into three
interrelated categories: people, events, and values. The
relationships with other people were most frequently
mentioned. Coburn and Nelson (1989) found that teachers
most often encouraged Native American students to succeed
in school, followed by friends and parents. Being
recognized for special talents and experiencing success in
self-fulfilling activities contributed to their completion
of high school. The five most frequently cited traits of
teachers that were considered most helpful were:
compliments when a student did well, showing respect for
students, caring, listening to students, and a positive
attitude (Coburn & Nelson, 1989). It seems, therefore,
that teachers can help Native American students succeed in
school by having a positive attitude about their
abilities.

The research reviewed by Leacock (1982) indicated that teachers may hold lower expectations for children of different economic and social classes. This area has not been well researched in relation to Native American children. Since many Native Americans have a lower socioeconomic status, the sources of lower teacher expectations for children are difficult to ascertain and needs further documentation.

In a sociological study done by Lortie (1975), teachers were asked to identify their ideal goals as a teacher. Their responses fell into three categories. They saw themselves: (1) as moral agents, (2) being responsible for connecting children to a love of school and learning, and (3) professing the importance of trying to reach all of the children in their charge. Teachers of children from lower socioeconomic status homes more frequently assumed that schools should supplement the moral influence of the family. Most allusions to moral outcomes stressed compliance and obedience. The tendency of teachers to try to instill "middle-class" attitudes in children from lower class families has been commented on by other sociologists (Havighurst & Neugarten, 1957). Again, the fact that the majority of Native Americans are lower-socioeconomic families makes the objectives of teachers difficult to analyze. Do teachers see themselves as moral agents more often in response to cultural differences or lower socioeconomic status?

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Literature about teachers' expectations of students in the classroom centers around the classic study by Rosenthal and Jacobson, <u>Pygmalion in the Classroom</u> (1968). They demonstrated that the expectations teachers held for student performance influenced student achievement. Rosenthal and Rubin (1971) and Smith (1980) reviewed the expectation literature and found the existence of expectation effects to be well established. Expectation effects can be self-fulfilling prophecies, where student achievement will match the expectation of the teacher, or sustaining expectation effects, where student performance is sustained at preexisting levels because of teacher expectations (Cooper, 1983; Cooper & Tom, 1984). Cooper and Good (1983) placed an emphasis on the importance student perceptions of teacher expectations play in achievement. Denbo (1988) suggested that teacher expectations are based on a variety of sources. Some of these biasing sources may be race, sex, cleanliness, socioeconomic status, appearance or use of standard English.

Research dealing with teacher expectations of Native American students in a classroom usually focuses on the conflict between learning styles or values. Little is known about Native American teacher philosophies and their sources. The ways in which Native American teacher education and experiences affect their teaching philosophies is an area of research which needs further

exploration. The ways in which these philosophies and expectations set the climate in the classroom are for the most part unknown.

Summary

The theoretical framework of an ecocultural perspective was used for this study. Parental goals for children and parental beliefs were examined from a cross-cultural perspective. There is limited research about Native American parental beliefs. There is also limited research about Native American teachers and their expectations in the classroom. Previous literature suggests that teacher expectations of student achievement do influence motivation and behavior. Most available literature concentrates on the discrepancies between the values of Anglo-American teachers and Native American students. Confounding this issue is the fact that cultural differences are accompanied by social class differences between teachers and Native American families. The literature shows the importance of congruencies between the home and school environment for achievement. Incongruities can lead to confusion or dysfunction in learning adult roles for society.

The premise that Native American culture differs from Anglo-American culture seems to be highlighted in most of the available literature. The behaviors children demonstrate in the classroom seem to be grounded in a

difference of values found in the family context. Exactly what experiences affect and contribute to those differences and the parental goals Native American parents have for their children was the concern of the current research. In this setting, teachers are of the same cultural background. It was theorized that there are still differences between the goals and values of Cherokee teachers as compared to Cherokee parents.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to obtain an
understanding of the degree of congruency between the
values children encounter in the family context and those
they encounter in the school setting. A review of the
literature suggests that one would expect discontinuities
between the home and school settings to occur for Native
American students and Anglo-American teachers. For
example, values about group harmony, cooperation, the work
ethic, childrearing, respect for nature, time orientation
and respect for elders are just a few of the possible
value differences between Native American students and
Anglo-American teachers (O'Malley, 1982). In this
setting, teachers, parents, and students were largely from
the same cultural background. There were similarities
between the home and school settings. It was theorized
that differences would also be present between the goals
and values of Cherokee teachers and parents. One of the
possible explanations for this is a higher educational
level for Cherokee teachers than for Cherokee parents. A
differing school experience and exposure to early
childhood research for Cherokee teachers may also serve as

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a source of incongruity between the educational goals

Cherokee teachers hold for Head Start children and the

educational goals Cherokee parents hold.

Type of Research

The concepts behind "grounded theory" (Glaser &

Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) were used in this

study to develop the methodology. Glaser & Strauss'

constant comparative method consists of jointly coding and

analyzing data to allow categories to emerge from it.

Grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from

the phenomena it represents (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

This method is useful in areas where research is beginning

to emerge (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This was particularly

true for the present study.

The strength of this method for the current study was

that it allowed the components of success for Cherokee

children to emerge from in-depth interviews with parents

and teachers. The researcher tried to overcome researcher

bias by observing parents and teachers in a Head Start

program in Tahlequah during the summer. Those

observations helped formulate the interview questions and

explored culturally appropriate ways to interact with

Cherokee parents and teachers. Time was spent visiting

Cherokee historical sites and reading historical documents

in museums in the Tahlequah area, where the Cherokee

tribal offices are located. Historical documents were

examined in libraries during the earlier literature search. When conducting the study, efforts were made at every point to question assumptions and to validate tentative conclusions by returning to the interviews and asking exploratory questions. Cherokee parents and teachers were listened to carefully as they expressed the components of their belief systems relating to preschool-aged children.

Sample Selection

The Cherokee Nation encompasses all or part of fourteen counties in northeastern Oklahoma. The tribal government has jurisdiction over the area even though it is not a reservation.

Contact with the Head Start staff was initiated through phone conversations with the administration in the Cherokee tribal offices. Two preliminary meetings took place to design the study and finalize the setting. Initial visits to the particular Head Start schools took place in late spring. Verna Thompson, Head Start Manager, approved the study and offered her full cooperation and that of her staff. Signed consent forms by the parents were on file at the Head Start office that gave the Head Start program permission to publish any information gathered for the program's purposes.

Since the Cherokee Nation encompasses a large geographical area, the researcher concentrated on the

towns of Salina and Kenwood, Oklahoma. These locations are considered to be culturally and traditionally traditional by the Head Start administration. Culturally and tribally traditional means that people live much as they have lived for the past several decades, practicing traditional Cherokee ways, with a high percentage speaking the Cherokee language. The sample consisted of 14 parents and one grandparent of students enrolled in Head Start and 7 teachers and aides who are teaching in the program. Parents and teachers were asked individually to participate in the study by the researcher.

Instrumentation

Interviews

An in-depth interview format was chosen to allow time to adequately explore underlying values and beliefs of parental and teacher educational goals. The semi-structured questions provided a frame of reference for the respondent while allowing for the flexibility to pursue factors or relationships which were too elusive or complex to be addressed by more straight-forward questions. The in-depth interview allows unexpected responses to surface which may reveal significant information not anticipated by the research design (Isaac & Michael, 1981). In-depth interviews make it possible to establish and maintain rapport with respondents. Observation notes were used to assess how well rapport had been established in each

interview, as well as to record the body language and comfort level of the respondent during the interview.

The interview consisted of 17 open-ended questions that were developed by the researcher. The questions were designed to focus attention on specific areas, with probes utilized to explore the values which underlie the topic being discussed. Areas of focus were: the family context (traditional versus assimilated, parent's educational experience, family constellation, importance and involvement of extended family members in the child's life, family values), the value parents and teachers place on education, the parent/teacher interaction, the purpose parents and teachers see Head Start schools serving, and future goals and dreams for the child.

Pilot Study

The interview procedure was piloted-tested with five respondents, all of whom lived in the Tahlequah area and worked for the Cherokee Nation. The subjects in the pilot had children enrolled in the Head Start program now or in the recent past. It was found that the initial questions dealing with demographic information (birth date, place of birth, marital status, number and ages of children) did not provide the richness of information desired and seemed to make some respondents uncomfortable. A couple of the questions did not elicit the information for which they were designed.

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It was decided after the pilot that the use of a genogram (McGoldrick & Gerson, 1985, 1988) might facilitate obtaining demographic information in a non-threatening way and provide an entry into the interview that more closely matched the style of the open-ended questions. Several questions in the interview were collapsed, and the order was slightly revised to shorten the interviewing time.

Genograms

A genogram was constructed with each respondent which recorded date and place of birth, Indian roll status, family constellation, number of persons living in the household and their relationship to the Head Start child. The information gathered in the genogram was used by the researcher to clarify relationships when transcribing the interviews. It generated information about family relationships, location of family members and indicated which family ties were considered close by the respondent. It produced a picture of the nature and scope of extended family relationships that contributed to the model developed during analysis of the data.

Purpose and Objectives

The researcher was available and active in parent involvement organizations at the two schools (Kenwood and Salina) to build a working relationship with parents in

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order to facilitate later participation in the study.
Volunteer time in the classroom by the researcher allowed
time to become acquainted with parents, children and
staff. Several months were spent in this first phase of
the project. Interviews were set up with parents in
person at the school or when the child was taken home on
the bus. The benefits of this method of recruitment was
that interviews were made personally and arose out of an
already established relationship with the parent or
teacher. This contributed to the validity of the results.
The teachers and aides were interviewed during their
planning time on Fridays or in the late afternoon after
children had gone home. The interview took anywhere from
one and a half hours to three hours to complete. The
interviews were tape recorded after requesting permission
from the respondent in order to enable accurate
transcription at a later time.

Interviews with parents were either conducted in
the home or at school. Subjects were allowed to choose
the place of the interview to allow them to be as
comfortable as possible with the setting. Observation
notes were recorded after each interview documenting
circumstances under which the interview took place,
comfort level of the respondent, nonverbal signals from
the respondent, interruptions or breaks in the interview,
additional background information about the respondent,

and the researcher's overall impressions of the person interviewed.

The transcribed interviews were content analyzed to highlight similarities and differences between the two groups of respondents. Descriptive statistical procedures such as means, standard deviations, and frequencies were calculated and presented in tables to summarize the data.

A grouped t-test was used with the rank-ordered questions at the end of the interview to determine differences in mean scores between parents and teachers. The questions identified 18 specific Head Start objectives. The mean, standard deviation, minimum, maximum, and number of cases for the demographic variables were calculated. Those variables included age of the respondent, CDIB value (percentage of Indian blood as represented by the Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood card), spouse's CDIB, number of siblings, spouse's number of siblings, and number of children.

Comparisons between parents and teachers were most often expressed in percentages. Direct quotes from transcribed material was used to illustrate these comparisons.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR PRESCHOOL CHILDREN:

CONGRUENCIES BETWEEN CHEROKEE PARENTS AND TEACHERS

MANUSCRIPT FOR PUBLICATION

CONGRUENCY BETWEEN PARENTAL AND TEACHER GOALS AND VALUES

FOR PRESCHOOL CHEROKEE CHILDREN

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine similarities and differences in educational goals between Cherokee parents and their children's Head Start teachers. Fifteen parents and seven teachers from the same cultural background were interviewed using an in-depth interview format. Parents emphasized children learning to get along in school while teachers emphasized the enriched learning environment offered. The more years of school that a parent had completed was not correlated with the number of years of school they expected their child to complete. In thinking about their child's future, parents focused on economic attainment while teachers talked about the importance of setting goals and other quality of life factors. A conceptual model emerged from the data relating variables such as economic conditions and an extended family network to parental educational goals. Support was also demonstrated for LeVine's model of childrearing goals.

Introduction

Parental educational goals and the underlying values and family structures that form a foundation for those goals are an area that has only recently become the focus of research. Examining parental educational goals for children as they enter the school system may provide some insights into the later dropout rate of Native Americans. Native Americans, as a group, experience a high dropout rate in the public school system in the United States (Pepper, 1976; Sanders, 1987; Zintz, 1960). The percentage of Cherokees who had completed high school in Oklahoma was 47.1% in 1980, with only 7.9% of the total Cherokee population attending college (Council of Energy Resource Tribes, 1989). Effective efforts of educators and counselors to work with "at-risk" children will be based on an awareness and knowledge of the cultural values and educational goals of parents and the various familial forces at work in the lives of children. Previous research has focused on the perceived conflict between Native American values and beliefs and that of the dominant Anglo-American culture. Most of these studies compare the values of Native American students with teachers outside of Native American culture (John, 1972; Little Soldier, 1985; Locust, 1988).

It is not surprising that vast differences exist. In order to begin narrowing the gap between what is known

about parental and teacher educational values and goals, it is necessary to research the topic within a particular cultural background. This study investigated a group of parents and teachers from the same cultural background to discern how parental and teacher educational values and goals for children may vary within the same cultural setting. Several variables such as the school experience and educational level of the parent and the degree of traditional Cherokee beliefs were examined to ascertain their effect on parental educational expectations. Parental educational goals in this study were found to be adaptive in the context of the values found in extended family structures and the economic area in which the parents reside.

Economic Conditions

The role of economic conditions on the educational goals of parents was found to be related to the perceived ability of children to achieve economic self-maintenance. This represents the second level of parental goals proposed by LeVine (1974, 1977; LeVine, Miller, & West, 1988). The role of economic conditions surfaced in the interviews in the context of family values, discussion of how education helps children, and what parents see as indicators of success. The construction of genograms (McGoldrick & Gerson, 1985, 1988) revealed the direction and extent of the ways families help each other

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financially. Further information was offered in casual conversations centering around employment and employment possibilities in the region. Values found in the context of family networks influenced parent educational values as well.

Family Networks

The construction of genograms with respondents revealed interesting patterns of family networks. Some of the information gathered in the genogram included siblings of the parent and where they lived, and how and when those family members interacted. The researcher asked specifically about adults other than parents who were important in the Head Start child's life and found that most often they were grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins. The interwoven nature of extended families was indicated by close geographical proximity and reports of frequent emotional as well as financial support for other family members. Most of the values parents and teachers held as important to teach to children centered around learning to get along with others. Personality traits which are important in social interaction were emphasized. Parents saw the Head Start program as enabling children to learn social interaction skills as well as preparing them for school.

Ecocultural Framework

The theoretical framework used for this study was ecocultural theory (Gallimore, Weisner, Kaufman, and Bernheimer 1989; Tharp and Gallimore 1988; Weisner and Gallimore 1985) derived from the psychocultural model developed by Whiting, Whiting and their colleagues (LeVine, 1977; Munroe, Munroe, & Whiting, 1981; Nerlove & Snipper, 1981; Super & Harkness, 1980, 1986; Weisner, 1984; Weisner & Gallimore, 1985; B. Whiting, 1976; B. Whiting & Edwards, 1988; B. Whiting & J. Whiting, 1975). Ecocultural theory was used as the framework in which the relation between the family and school environments was conceptualized. LeVine (1974, 1977; LeVine, Miller, & West, 1988) hypothesized that parental goals within a culture fall into a hierarchy of goals that shape parental childrearing practices. The first level of parental goals focuses on the physical survival of the child, with the second level being the development of the child's capacity for economic self-maintenance at maturity. Economic self-maintenance in the United States becomes linked with education, seen as one of the avenues for upward social mobility (Blau & Duncan, 1967; D'Amato, 1988; Duncan & Hodge, 1963; Jencks, Crouse, & Muesser, 1983; Sewell & Hauser, 1975). If school success seems essential to parents in terms of future economic goals for their children, parents' childrearing practices will be shaped by those goals. It is imperative to examine what those

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parental goals are regarding education and to compare that with teacher educational goals for children to determine congruencies or incongruencies in each.

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to examine the similarities and differences in educational goals that Cherokee parents have for their children as compared to the goals of their children's Head Start teachers. The findings demonstrated similarities and differences in parental and teacher educational goals and explored some of the factors that gave rise to those similarities and differences. In this study, teachers, parents, and students were from the same cultural background. Incongruencies across the settings of home and school are important to recognize because they are associated with decreased achievement in school (Leary & Stiegelbauer, 1985; Ogbu, 1978, 1982). It was predicted that teachers would hold differing educational goals for children because of their experience in higher education and that those differing goals would have consequences in the classroom.

A qualitative approach was used in this study to illuminate any newly emerging conceptual themes within this research area. A qualitative research method that used a systematic set of procedures based on the concepts of grounded theory helped develop an inductively derived

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set of principles about the congruency between parental

and teacher goals and values for preschool Cherokee

children (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

This allowed the researcher to systematically analyze

qualitative data without ignoring any important variables

that emerged during the course of conducting the in-depth

interviews.

Subjects

The Cherokee Nation operates and administers fourteen

Head Start centers in the fourteen counties in

northeastern Oklahoma under their jurisdiction. The

sample of parents and teachers were chosen from two

schools located ten miles apart in an area regarded as

culturally and tribally traditional by the Head Start

administration. Culturally and tribal traditional means

that people live much as they have lived for the past

several decades, practicing traditional Cherokee ways,

with a high percentage speaking the Cherokee language.

Fourteen parents and one grandparent of students

enrolled in Head Start and seven teachers who are teaching

in the program were interviewed. There were 3 males (all

parents) and 19 females in the sample.

Primary caregivers of the Head Start students had a

mean age of 27 (See Table 1). Teachers had a mean age of

37.7. Degree of Indian blood was assessed by recording

the percentage of Cherokee blood documented by the

Cherokee Nation (indicated by the Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood card issued to the person). The parent's CDIB percentage ranged from .02 to 1.00 (1/64 to 4/4), with a mean of .62 percent Cherokee blood. The teachers' CDIB percentage ranged from .25 to 1.00 (1/4 to 4/4), with a mean of .85. The degree of Cherokee Indian blood is considered high for both parents and teachers, because commonly official figures underrepresented what the respondent stated as their actual degree of Indian blood. This discrepancy is usually a result of difficulties experienced in tracing official documents of lineage.

Insert Table 1 About Here

Family structure was observed to be more commonly extended, including multiple generations living in the home. For example, one young couple and their preschool-aged child lived with her mother and stepfather and five step-brothers and sisters aged three to seven. Siblings and their families might live together in the same house or on the same piece of land. In one instance, three sisters who were all single parents and their children lived together, with a fourth sister's house a short distance away. One grandparent was interviewed as part of the parental sample because she had legal custody of the two grandchildren in the Head Start program that she was raising. Relationships of importance include parent's

siblings and their respective families as well as the siblings of the generation of the parent's parents. Parents' number of siblings ranged from 2 to 13, with a mean of 4.86. Teachers' number of siblings ranged from 1 to 10, with a mean of 6.43. The number of siblings of the spouse of the respondent was similar in both samples.

Fifty-seven (57%) percent of the parents had completed high school or had the equivalent of a high school education as indicated by a GED. All of the teachers had a high school diploma or its equivalent and a CDA certification. All but one teacher (86% of the teachers) had earned college hours or were currently taking college-level courses.

Among the parental sample, both parents of two couples were interviewed. Only one parent of a couple in the remainder of respondents was interviewed. Three parents interviewed were single parents. Four parental respondents (29%) had a job; the remainder did not work outside the home.

One part of the interview explored how the respondent would consider their family regarding traditional beliefs. Respondents were asked to place their family on a continuum of 1 to 10, with 10 being very traditional and 1 being very assimilated. The interviewer restated the question by asking, "In other words, are you more comfortable with Indian ways or white man's ways?" The responses to the question were not precise; however,

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except for one person, all subjects rated themselves as in the middle of the continuum or toward the end representing traditional beliefs.

Instrumentation

An interview schedule consisting of 17 open-ended questions was developed. The questions were designed to focus attention on specific areas, with probes utilized to explore the relevant ideas or values underlying the topic under discussion. Areas of focus were: the family context (traditional versus assimilated beliefs, parent's educational experience, family constellation, the importance and involvement of extended family members in the Head Start child's life, family values), the value placed on education, the parent/teacher interaction and its tone, the purpose the respondents perceived Head Start schools served, and future goals and aspirations for the child. Family constellation was mapped at the beginning of the interview using a genogram (McGoldrick and Gerson 1985, 1988) to provide a richness of data about family members. A series of statements evaluating the Head Start program's objectives was rank-ordered by respondents at the end of the interview.

The interview schedule was pilot-tested with five respondents, all of whom lived in the Tahlequah area and worked for the Cherokee Nation. The subjects in the pilot had children enrolled in the Head Start program now or in

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the recent past. The interview schedule was revised after
the pilot. A genogram was added at the beginning of the
interview to gather demographic and family information in
a less threatening manner. Several questions were
collapsed and the order of the questions was slightly
revised. Since the pilot was conducted in a different
location, it did not bias the data collection process of
the study.

An in-depth interview format was chosen to allow time
to adequately explore underlying values and beliefs of
parental and teacher educational goals. Interviews were
about two hours in length. Subjects were invited to
choose the place the interview took place (school, home),
allowing them to be as comfortable as possible during the
interview. Additional questions were used by the
interviewer as probes to gain insight into areas where
greater understanding of the respondent's perspective was
needed.

Data Collection

To enter the field in a trust-building manner, the
researcher began the project by volunteering in the
classroom at the Head Start schools in Kenwood and Salina,
Oklahoma. This work permitted an acquaintance with
students and their primary caregivers. The researcher
became active in the parent involvement organization at
the school in Kenwood from which respondents were

primarily recruited. Only after several months of

establishing a rapport with the community, did the

researcher approach individuals to recruit them to be

interviewed. Almost all interviews were set up in person,

as this appeared a preferred method and there are few

telephones in the area. The benefits of this method of

recruitment was that interviews were made personally and

arose out of an already established relationship with the

parent or teacher. This contributed to the validity of

the results. The interview took from one and a half hours

to three hours to complete. All interviews were tape

recorded and accurately transcribed for analysis.

Analysis and Findings

The study focused on four major research questions.

They are:

1. In what areas are parental educational goals congruent

    with or different from teacher educational goals for

    Cherokee Head Start children? How do Cherokee

    parents and Head Start teachers differ in what they

    consider as the purpose of school?

2. Does parental educational level and prior educational

    experience impact the educational goals for their

    child?

3. What qualitative factors (i.e. honesty, respect,

    caring for others) are considered indicators of

    success, admiration and personal well-being for

Cherokee parents? To what extent are these congruent with qualities considered important for success, admiration and personal well-being by Head Start teachers?

4. How do Cherokee families (traditional versus assimilated) view education in Oklahoma today?

To address Question #1, parents and teachers were asked about their educational goals for children and their views of the purpose of Head Start. Parents' and teachers' answers were compared. As shown in Table 2, parents and teachers linked education with getting a better job. Sixty-four (64%) percent of the parents linked education to being able to get a job or get a better job, while 43% of the teachers responded with that answer. Forty-three (43%) percent of the teachers expressed the opinion that a college education was becoming more important while only one parent commented on that. Two parents and one teacher specifically stated that they did not think education made any difference in obtaining the job they held or in the lives of people around them who had a high school diploma.

Insert Table 2 About Here

Almost half of the teachers (43%) stated that they wanted their own children to go to college. Most of the teachers (57%) hoped their students would finish high

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school and that some would go on to college or trade school. Only 14% of the parents stated they would definitely want their child to attend college, although 43% of the parents hoped their children would want to attend college. Fourteen percent (14%) of the parents expressed hope that their child would finish high school and 29% stated they wanted their child to go further in school than they did. Twenty-nine percent (29%) of the teachers were also unspecific about how much education they wanted their students to acquire.

Parents and teachers were asked what they thought was the purpose of Head Start (Table 3). Seventy-one percent (71%) of the parents and 86% of the teachers reported the Head Start program as a preparation for school. Teachers considered that preparation was important because the program offered a more enriched learning environment than what is generally available in the home. Parents emphasized learning specific skills such as counting numbers, knowing colors, and cutting with scissors. Teachers did not mention specific skills. Teachers focused on specific components of the Head Start program such as working with parents, health screenings, nutritious meals, and field trips. One parent did talk about parent involvement in the program. Almost half of the parents (43%) emphasized children learning to get along with others by attending school, while only 14% of the teachers did.

Insert Table 3 About Here

An grouped t-test was used with the rank-ordered
questions at the end of the interview to determine
differences in mean scores between parents and teachers
(Table 4). The questions identified 18 specific Head
Start objectives. Both groups ranked the objectives
highly on a 1 to 5 scale, with no significant differences
appearing in the means.

Insert Table 4 About Here

The teachers all said it was very important to send
children to school, whereas only 36% of the parents stated
specifically that they thought children's attendance in
school was "very important". However, they agreed that
children ought to be in school. Forty-three percent (43%)
of the teachers talked about how difficult it was for
children to make up what they missed when they were
absent.

In order to more fully explore the question, "How
important is it to send children to school?", the
interviewer set up a hypothetical situation, asking
parents how they would react if their child did not want
to go to school. Three parents (21%) indicated they would
definitely make their child go to school with one

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additional parent indicating that by kindergarten age, they would definitely make their child attend school. Another parent indicated that they did not think regular attendance was as important during the preschool years, while yet another felt strongly that school was just as important during the preschool years as later in life. Two parents (14%) expressed the wish that they had appreciated education more when they were going to school. They wished they had chosen to finish high school at the time. Two parents talked about situations where they had kept a child at home. One talked about letting her child stay home if she felt they were "doing the same things" at school. The other talked about a time when the older child was attempting to master writing letters. She said, "Sometimes she'll just . . . she'll practice writing. She just starts out and writes everything she's learned that week. I guess she just needs (to practice) . . . and I teach her, show her how to make letters." After the child felt more confident about her ability to make letters, it was reported that she stopped wanting to stay home from school as much.

The data demonstrates the educational goals of parents and teachers for children differ on many concepts. These differences will be examined in light of other factors in the discussion section.

The second research question sought to assess whether parental educational level and prior educational

experience impacted the parents' educational goals for their children. One hypothesis predicted that the more years of school that a parent had completed, the higher the number of years of school they would expect their child to complete. This was not supported by the data (See Table 5). Many parents and teachers seemed to realize that the chances that children in this area will graduate from high school are uncertain and few families have the resources to send children to school after high school.

Insert Table 5 About Here

The second hypothesis predicted that a boarding school experience of the respondent would be negatively associated with expectations for future education for the child. Five of the respondents or 24% (four parents, one teacher) had attended boarding schools. The teacher, whose age put her in a different generation, had been sent away at age 14 to attend an Indian boarding school in Kansas while her parents remained in California. She had a very positive experience and has next to the highest number of college hours among the teacher sample (and the only completed associate's degree). She and her husband are currently struggling to earn the money required to send their youngest son to college. The four parents who attended boarding school attended the school run by the

Cherokee Nation in Tahlequah (within a 45 mile vicinity of the study location). Most seemed to use it as an alternative to the high school they were attending. None graduated from high school. Their responses to the question on how much education they wanted their child to have were not different from the rest of the parental sample.

The third research question looked at what qualitative factors are considered indicators of success, admiration and personal well-being for both Cherokee parents and teachers. Answers in response to the question, "Thinking about people around you, what do you think 'success in life' is?" are presented in Table 6. Parents (50%) and teachers (43%) both emphasized raising a family or getting along with family members. Almost half (43%) of the parents mentioned owning or having a house of one's own. Eighty-six (86%) percent of the teachers talked about the importance of setting goals and striving to achieve them. Being happy or content with what you have was mentioned by 43% of the teachers and 21% of the parents. Twenty-nine (29%) of the parents also mentioned the importance of having a job.

Insert Table 6 About Here

It was hypothesized that teachers would emphasize economic attainment while parents would emphasize quality

of life factors. The opposite was found to be true. Teachers tended to emphasize the importance of setting goals, the importance of family and being happy while parents emphasized raising one's family, having a house and having a job.

Values about essential personality qualities were topics covered during the interviews in response to the third research question. Upon inspection of the transcripts, the interviewer was pacing, probing and leading respondents in several cases. Following is an example.

> Interviewer: What kind of qualities do you admire in people around you? (Silence) When you think about people that you kind of look up to, what are the things about them that you admire--maybe that you wish you had more of, or that you were more like that? (Long silence) Looking at it another way, are there things about other people that bug you?
>
> Respondent: I don't know. I guess try to be like other people, learn how to talk to people different. I guess just know what to say.

Toward the end of the interview, the questions were more abstract and this excerpt illustrates how this respondent became uncomfortable with her inability to think of answers to the questions. The interviewer stopped and reassured her just after this point.

Because the researcher bias' may have affected responses, comparisons between the two groups was difficult. Half of the parents (50%) liked people who respected others, and showed that by being nice or friendly. More than half of the teachers (57%) gave the same answer. For example, one respondent said in answer to the question, "What qualities do you admire in people around you?":

> Their personality and just how they are on the inside. How they treat me and how they are towards me. . . . When somebody I don't know doesn't smile at me, if I smile at them and they don't smile back, I just walk on. I don't say nothing.

Another said about her mother-in-law, "She's good . . . she can't find anything bad in anybody, no matter who they are. . . . She looks at the good side of everybody."

Just under half of the teachers (43%) talked about appreciating a sense of humor in others, many times specifically mentioning co-workers. Twenty-nine percent (29%) of the parents indicated they appreciated a sense of humor in others. A parent said, "Whenever I can [I like] to be around somebody that's happy or laughing around. . . When you're in a laughing mood, you can turn around and give it to somebody else, it seems like."

Twenty-nine percent (29%) of the parents and 14% of the teachers indicated they appreciated honesty in others.

Several also indicated honesty was an important value to teach to children. Particular responses by different parents included being smart, being able to speak one's mind, and taking responsibility for one's family. Other interesting responses by individual teachers were that they admired people who talked a lot, were patient, could be themselves around others, were caring and took responsibility for their family. Thus, the categories of responses between the two groups were not greatly different but the range of answers did differ.

The last research objective was to examine the differences in the way that Cherokee families view the educational system. The question which attempted to assess families on a traditional to assimilated values continuum did not always mesh with the tone of the interview, the interviewer's observations of the family, and the values that were also discussed in the interview. Some respondents discussed negative aspects of being traditional. An array of responses as to what constituted traditional was presented to the interviewer. The discussion was fruitful in the context of being combined with the other data, but did not serve to delineate families sufficiently to draw conclusions about how more traditional versus more assimilated families differed or were the same in their view of education.

To summarize the above results, parents and teachers were found to differ on many concepts regarding their

educational goals for children. The question on the purpose of the Head Start program, for example, produced differing responses by the two groups, although their evaluation of the program as contained in the rank-ordered questions did not differ. Parental educational level and prior educational experiences were not found to impact the educational goals for children in the ways that the hypotheses predicted. Indicators of success, admiration and personal well-being reflected cultural values that were much the same among parents and teachers. However, both groups emphasized different indicators of success. Difficulties in definitions of traditional and assimilated produced problems in classifying families and categorizing their view of education for comparison. Other variables indicating some of the forces operating in this setting may help explain some of the above findings.

Discussion

A possible way to show how the variables that emerged from the data influenced each other has been constructed in Figure 4. This diagram illustrates how economic conditions and the extended family network impact the educational goals of parents. Those educational goals are filtered through the school experience of the parent and the degree of traditional Cherokee orientation. This, in turn, effects the support of the educational system by the parent and how well the child's school attendance is

supported by family members. All of these factors play a part in whether the child completes high school.

Economic conditions emerged as an important variable in the study. There are few jobs available in this rural area of eastern Oklahoma. Most people who work drive 40 or 50 miles to Arkansas, Missouri or larger towns in Oklahoma. The industries where work is available are chicken-processing plants, fabric factories and businesses that employ Native Americans to ship products. In those industries, pay is considered high by the respondents ($5 to $6 per hour, starting wage) and a high school diploma is not required.

Perception of being able to achieve economic self-maintenance for oneself and one's children is closely related to the prevailing economic conditions. Most parents and teachers perceived that getting a better education was related to children being able to get a better job in the future. However, some parents did not feel a good education made any difference in obtaining a well-paying job due to the economic conditions discussed. Pressure to strive for economic self-maintenance was lessened by the availability of low-cost housing through the Cherokee Nation. Mortgages on these houses are figured on a sliding scale dependent on income. Government welfare programs are also available in the area, such as the distribution of commodities.

One of the most important factors in evaluating the values and goals of both parents and teachers is the family structure. It has been stated earlier that families tend to be large and extended. The mean number of children in the families of the Head Start parents was 2.4 children. The mean age of the parents was only 27, with many respondents being 20 and 21 years old. Several of the parents did not finish high school or had difficulty completing high school because of early pregnancies.

Many extended families had most of the members living in a small geographical area (usually a 10-mile radius or less). Several families lived in separate trailers and houses close together on a commonly-held piece of land. Socializing with family members was a high priority and occurred at hog fries, sports activities, at creeks in the summertime, and at other holidays and occasions.

One of the questions in the interview asked respondents how their family members helped one another. Almost half (43%) of the parents and more than half (57%) of the teachers indicated that financial help was one way they helped other family members. Loaning cars or giving rides, buying or taking food to others and caring for each other's children were indicated as areas of support. One person stated,

> [We] help each other out every which way that we
> can: watching your kid, borrowing your car,

borrowing money, keeping the kids overnight, always

helping each other out . . . taking somebody here,

letting somebody use your phone, we're just all [a]

real close family. When we all go the to the

hospital, it's just like (whoosh) a family reunion,

everybody's there.

Teachers indicated that Head Start was one of the few

places where children were in the care of adults other

than family members.

These interrelationships seem striking in assessing

the importance of an extended family structure and its

effect on the Cherokee parents and teachers in the sample.

The value placed on getting along with others and

respecting other people point to a cooperative family

network where family members support each other

financially as well as emotionally. These values and

beliefs keep families surviving economically in an area

where job opportunities are few.

The educational goals of parents were represented in

the responses to the interview question concerning how

much education parents would like for their children to

achieve. A tension seemed to exist between the

educational goals parents held and their support of the

educational system. The answers from the parents seemed

to range in a continuum. The two parents that only wanted

their child to graduate from high school made statements

like "I just hope she graduates [from high school]". The

parents that said they would like for their child to
graduate from high school and possibly go to college made
statements like "I'd like for her to go all the way
through school and I don't know if she'd like to go to
college or not. I'd like for her to". Some of the
parents who talked about their child possibly going to
college also made statements like "I might push them to
finish high school but college would be their own choice".
Only two parents out of the group indicated that they had
given practical thought to how their child might go to
college. One of those admitted that she was no more
likely to have the money to send a child to college by
that time than she did now. The statements of the parents
who did not specify how much education they wanted their
child to receive said in answer to the question "as much
as possible" or "I just hope he goes farther than I did".
Several parents talked about not pushing the child in
answer to this as well as other questions. One parent
seemed slightly offended by the question as she replied,
"I really can't say . . . just whatever they can teach him
and whatever he learns. I ain't gonna really force him. .
. . I ain't gonna push him into what he don't want to do."

Thus, there appeared to be little consistency in
parental responses, with answers ranging from wanting
their child to complete high school, to hoping they might
attend college and letting college be the child's choice,
to definitely wanting their child to attend college and

planning for that. Teachers also admitted that as much as they would like every child to have a chance at college, they knew that some children would not complete high school and few would actually go on to college.

The impact of the degree of traditional Cherokee orientation was addressed in the discussion generated by attempting to categorize families along a traditional to assimilated values continuum. Eight parents (57%) and 4 teachers (57%) classified themselves between a 5 and a 7 on the 1 to 10 scale (10 was comfortable with Indian ways, 1 was comfortable with white ways). Comments characteristic of these respondents were "You can't choose this side and this side" or "I'm comfortable in either situation". Fourteen percent (14%) of the parents and 43% of the teachers placed themselves between an 8 and a 10 on the continuum.

The attempt to have people place themselves on a traditional to assimilated values continuum did produce a fascinating discussion of what it meant to be Cherokee. Thirty-six percent (36%) of the parents and 43% of the teachers mentioned the Cherokee language in the context of this question. Some could speak it and some could not, but all seemed to identify speaking Cherokee as one component of traditional values. One teacher ran through a list of what she considered traditional Cherokee practices. They were: going to the medicine doctor, giving children Indian names as well as their commonly

used name, superstitions, and having hog fries for family get-togethers. Others mentioned going to pow wows or having arts and crafts skills in the family like beadwork. One parent relayed negative aspects of being traditional. She talked about wanting her boys to be able to talk to people instead of being "real Indians, we call them, stuck out in the country. . . . When you talk to them, they just hang their head and won't say nothing". A present time orientation is also a part of this tradition. One teacher commented on others' attitudes by illustrating it this way: "I'll just get by this month, ain't going to worry about next week. I ain't going to worry about what we're going to have for supper tomorrow. I'll just worry about today." Characteristics associated with being traditional produced a wide range of comments of which these are only a few.

The school experience of the parent seemed to impact the educational goals of the parent but the relationship was not clearly delineated by the data. Those parents that were providers for the family and did not finish high school themselves expressed a strong desire for their child to get a good education. However, others also reported a desire for their children to succeed in school. The sample was not large enough to clearly predict what impact the educational experience of the parent had on goals for their children.

There seems to be some tension between the educational goals parents hold for their children and their support of the school system. Some of this tension was exhibited in the opinions expressed about the importance of a child's daily attendance in school. It is hypothesized that, in the long run, this tension affects whether a child completes high school. If parents do not perceive the later benefits of education for economic self-maintenance as Ogbu (1974, 1982) suggests, it is unlikely that familial support will be present to help motivate a child to stay in school. It can be argued, however, that in this cultural setting, the educational goals Cherokee parents hold for their children are adaptive to the area in which they live. The results from this study seem to support LeVine's second level of parental goals. Parents educational goals are formed in response to the prevailing economic conditions surrounding them. Using this model of the purpose of childrearing goals makes sense of the answers given by the parents. Teachers focused on the third level of childrearing goals by attempting to develop other cultural values such as intellectual achievement. Their educational level and exposure to early childhood principles may dispose them to see these values as a higher good. They may have a more objective stance since they will not have to support the child financially if they are unable to maintain economic self-suffiency.

In this culture, a college education does not necessarily help one get a better job or bring any other benefits. Upward social mobility can only be achieved if one is willing to move away from extended family members. Therefore, it is adaptive to Cherokee families to retain a set of values that have worked in the past, continuing to bring established traditions into the future to be passed to the next generation.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study began to provide an understanding of parental goals and values regarding education and points to several interesting areas for future research. The following recommendations for future research are based on the results of this study.

1. Studies with a larger sample are needed to further test and refine the conceptual model that emerged from this sample.

2. Comparisons of other culturally and tribally traditional Native American groups should be explored to ascertain if educational goals differ among culturally distinct Native American groups.

3. Differences between reservation and non-reservation groups (such as the Cherokee), or rural versus city Native American populations could also be examined to assess the impact of geographic location.

4. Longitudinal studies should be conducted to determine the effect that changing economic conditions have on parental educational goals over time.

5. Replication of this study using an interviewer from the same cultural background should be conducted.

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Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Parents and Teachers in
the Interview Sample

	Parents			Teachers		
	Mean(SD)	Min.	Max.	Mean(SD)	Min.	Max.
Age	27.0(9.2)	20	55	37.7(8.6)	28	51
CDIB	.62(.32)	.02	1.00	.85(.29)	.25	1.00
No. of Siblings	4.86(3.1)	2	13	6.43(3.5)	1	10
No. of Children	2.40(2.2)	1	10	2.57(1.7)	0	5

Table 2

Categories of Answers in Response to the Question, "How

Does Education Help Children?"

	Parents	Teachers
Helps them get jobs/ get better jobs	9 (64%)	3 (43%)
Helps them become a better person	3 (21%)	2 (29%)
Education doesn't matter in getting a job	2 (14%)	1 (14%)
Education is becoming more important	1 (7%)*	3 (43%)

*Parent worked at a Head Start school.

Table 3

Purpose of the Head Start Program*

	Parents	Teachers
Preparation for school	10 (71%)	6 (86%)
Learn skills (i.e. cutting, numbers, colors, etc.)	5 (36%)	0 (0%)
Learn how to get along with others	6 (43%)	1 (14%)
Specific components of program (i.e. health screenings, field trips, parent involvement groups, nutritious meals)	1 (7%)	6 (86%)

*Respondents answers were coded in as many categories as applied.

Table 4

Differences Between Parents and Teachers on Ranking of

Head Start Objectives

	Means		
Question	Parents	Teachers	t-value*
Accepts child	4.60	4.85	1.19
Greets child each day	4.77	4.57	-.62
"Self-help" skills	4.67	4.86	1.00
Presents Cherokee culture	4.07	4.00	-.18
Use of English	3.93	4.14	.66
Encourages exploration	4.21	4.57	1.40
Nutritious meals	4.87	4.86	-.06
Use of Cherokee symbols	3.88	3.43	-.84
Welcomes parents	4.93	5.00	.00
Provides medical care	4.80	4.86	.32
Asks for parent input	4.33	4.50	.31
Accepts family events	4.27	4.14	-.28
Challenges child	4.53	4.43	-.40
Teaches nutrition	4.47	4.57	.43
Cherokee-speaking people	4.14	4.57	1.18
Helps meet other parents	4.43	4.57	.38
Information about child	4.40	4.43	.10
Communicates w/parents	4.87	4.83	-.18

*All t-values were not significant.

Table 5

Parent Educational Level in Relation to the Number of

Years Stated They Wanted Their Child to Complete of School

Last Year of School Parent Attended	Number of Parents	Unspecified	12th only	12th, some college
10th	2 (14%)		1 (7%)	1 (7%)
11th	5 (36%)	3 (21%)		2 (14%)
12th	7 (50%)	1 (7%)		6 (43%)
TOTAL	14 (100%)	4 (29%)	1 (7%)	9 (64%)

Table 6

Categories of Responses in Answer to the Question, "What is Success in Life?"

Responses	Parents	Teachers
Family (raising one, getting along with)	7 (50%)	3 (43%)
Having a house	6 (43%)	0 (0%)
Having a job	4 (29%)	1 (14%)
Setting goals	1 (7%)	6 (86%)
Being happy, being content with what you have	3 (21%)	3 (43%)
Paying your own way	2 (14%)	1 (14%)

Economic
Conditions

↑↓

Ability to
Achieve Economic   Extended
Self-Maintenance   Family
                                                     Network

                    Educational Goals
                        of Parent

                    School experience
                        of parent   Filtered
                                            through

                    Degree of traditional
                    Cherokee orientation

                            Tension

                    Support of educational
                        system by parent

                            AND

                    Support of child's school
                    attendance by family members
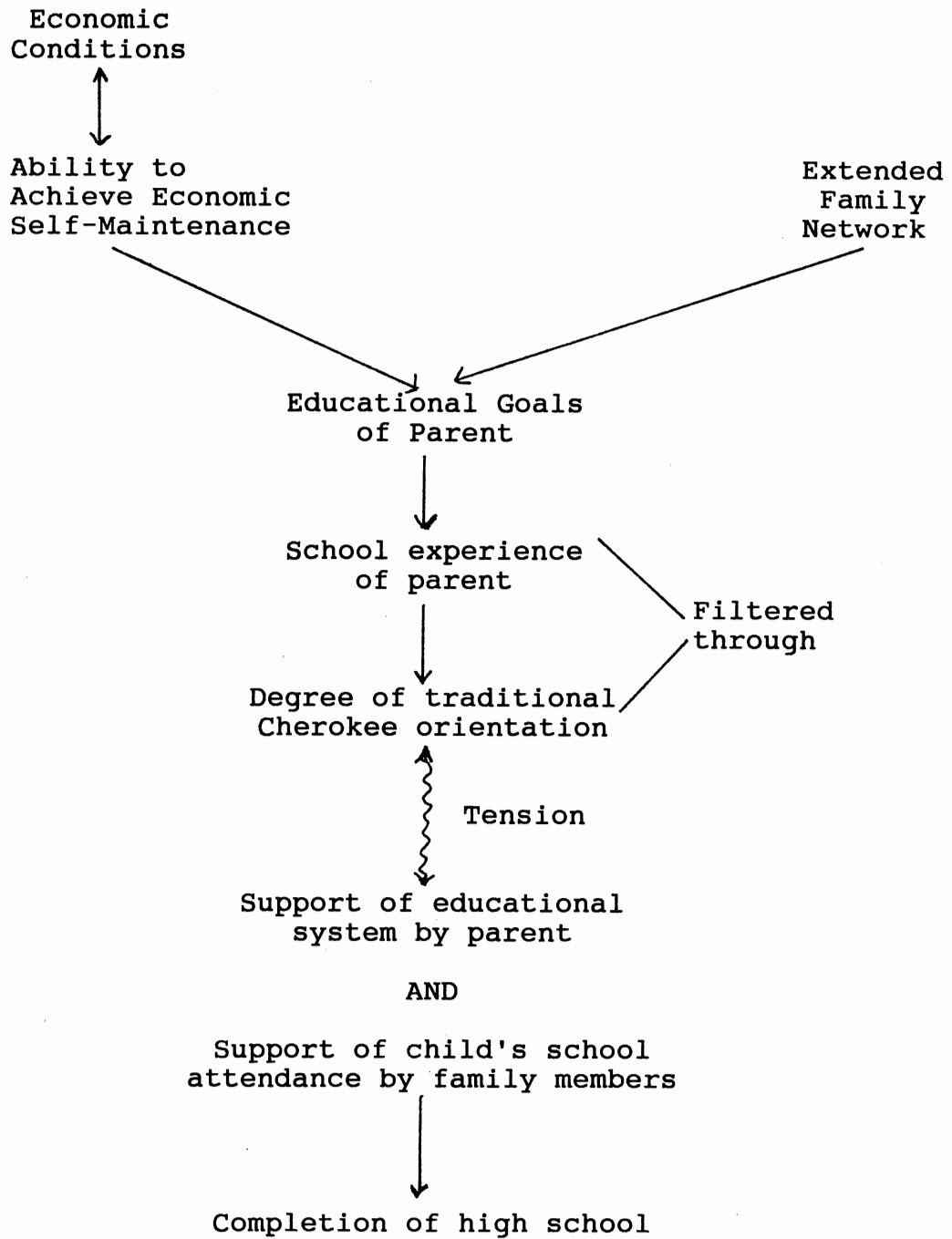
                    Completion of high school

Figure 4. Factors Affecting High School Completion of
Cherokee Children.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

FIGURES FOR CHAPTER II
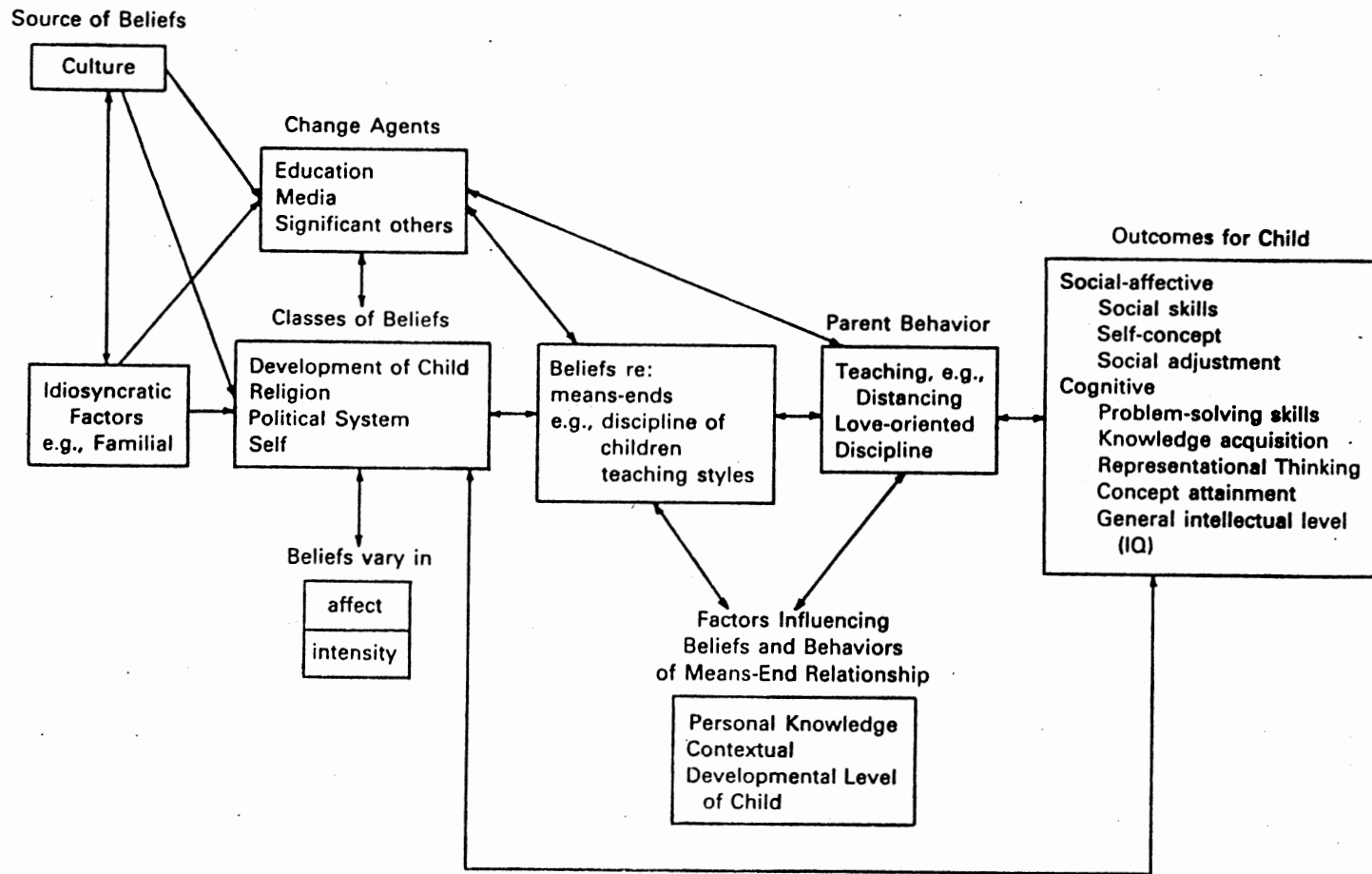
Figure 2.   Sources of Parental Beliefs
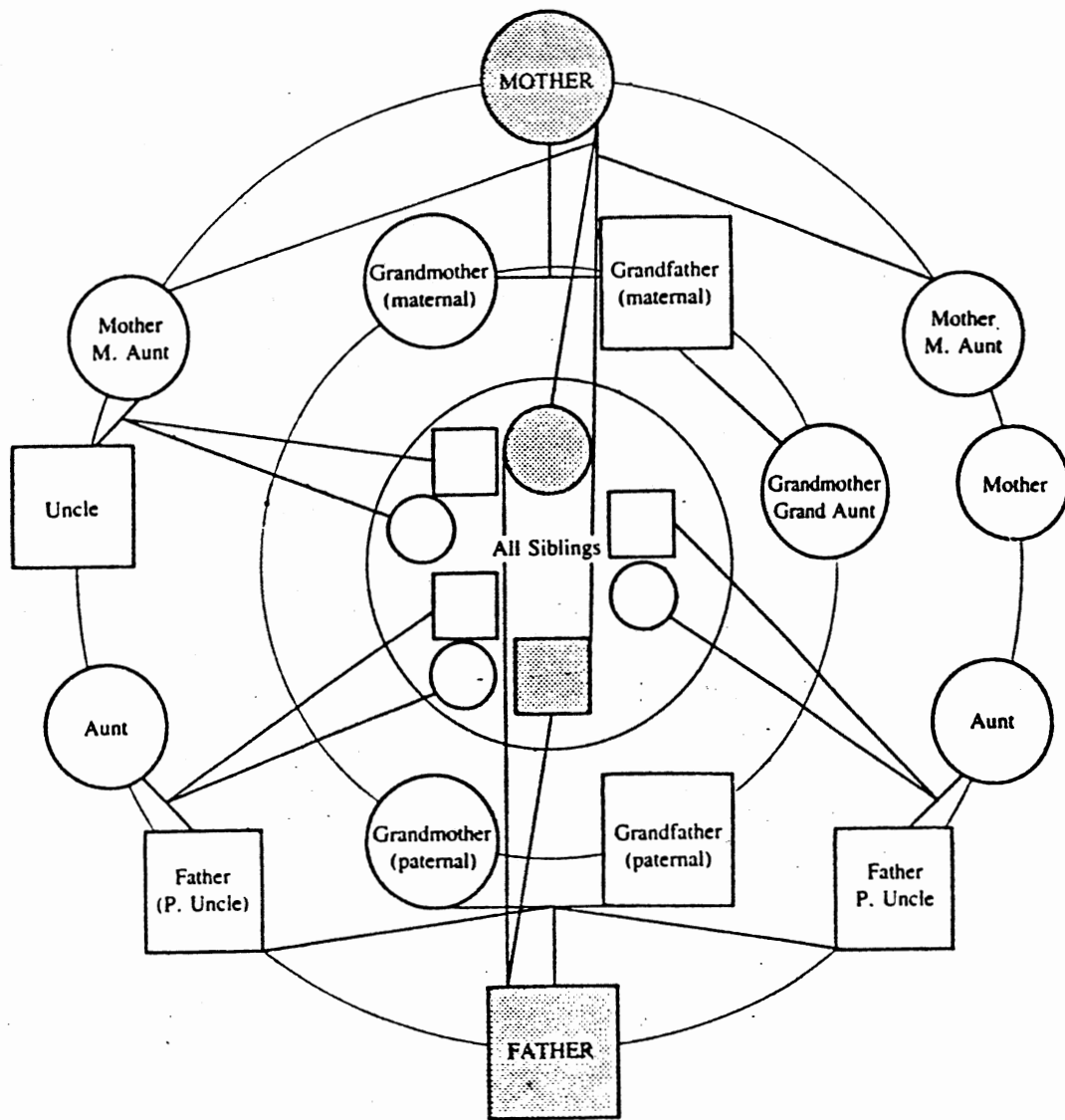
Figure 3. Typical American Indian Extended Family System

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Begin interview with construction of a genogram.)

1. (a) What is the name of the child(ren) you have
    in Head Start? When were they born? Are there
    any other children? When were they born?

    (b) What is your birthday and place of birth?
    What is your husband's (wife's) birthday? Where was
    he (she) born?

    (c) On your CDIB (Certificate of Indian Blood),
    what degree of Indian blood are you? What
    degree is your child's father (mother)? What
    about other members in your household?

    (d) Tell me who else lives in your household
    (record pertinent information).

    (e) What other family members live close by?

    (f) Who are the most important family members in
    _____'s life (preschool-aged child in
    Head Start)? Why are they important? Are
    there any other people who are important to your
    child?

2. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 10 being very
   traditional and 1 being very assimilated, where
   is your family (Are you more comfortable with
   Indian ways or White Man's ways)?

3. What are some of the things you're involved in
   outside of the home (e.g. work, school, church,
   community activities)?

4. Tell me about your school years (experience).
   (Researcher's note: Include the grade of
   school completed in this section.)

5. If you were to describe your contact with you
   child's teacher, what would you say? How often
   do you stop to talk to (child's name)'s teachers in
   a week?

6. What is the purpose of Head Start?

7. Looking into the future, how much education should your child have (finish grade school, finish Jr. High, graduate from high school, graduate from college)?

8. How will education help your child?

9. How important is it to send a child to school? (parent) How important is it for children to be in school? (teacher)

10. What does your child (students) do that disappoints you? What does your child (students) do that gives you pride?

11. How do your family members help each other?

12. Where would you like for your child to live when they are grown?

13. (a) What is the most important family value you want your child (students) to learn?

    (b) How do you try to teach this value to your child (students)?

14. How are the values of the Headstart teachers the same as yours? How are they different? (parents)

    How are the values of the parents of the children in your classroom the same as yours? How are they different? (teachers)

15. What qualities do you admire in people around you?

16. What are your dreams for your child (students)?

                              OR

    What do you want your child to do as an adult? (parent)

    What do you want your students to be able to do as adults? (teacher)

17. Thinking about people around you, what do you think "success in life" is?

Rate each item on a scale of 1 to 5.
           5 = Very Good
           4 = Good
           3 = Fair
           2 = Poor
           1 = Very Poor

The Head Start teaching staff:

1.   Accepts your child the way they are.   5 4 3 2 1

2.   Greets your child each day as they come   5 4 3 2 1
     in.

3.   Encourages your child to learn "self-help"   5 4 3 2 1
     skills (pouring milk, putting on coat,
     etc.).

4.   Presents Cherokee culture in a positive   5 4 3 2 1
     way.

5.   Helps child understand and use English,   5 4 3 2 1
     while respecting use of Cherokee.

6.   Encourages your child to explore and   5 4 3 2 1
     learn ways to solve problems.

7.   Provides nutritious meals.   5 4 3 2 1

8.   Encourages the use of Cherokee symbols   5 4 3 2 1
     in the classroom.

9.   Makes me feel welcome as a parent.   5 4 3 2 1

10. Provides adequate medical care for my   5 4 3 2 1
     child.

11. Asks for my input as a parent.   5 4 3 2 1

12. Acknowledges and accepts family events   5 4 3 2 1
     in my child's life.

13. Challenges my child with interesting   5 4 3 2 1
     materials to work with at school.

14. Teaches nutrition information to my   5 4 3 2 1
     child.

15. Invites Cherokee-speaking people to come   5 4 3 2 1
     work in the classroom with the children.

16. Allows opportunities for parents to meet   5 4 3 2 1
     each other in social settings.

17. Shares information about child's progress   5 4 3 2 1
    at school on a regular basis.

18. Communicates well with me as a parent,   5 4 3 2 1
    geting me information as needed
    (newsletters, talking with me as child
    is picked up).

APPENDIX C

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR THE

HEAD START PROGRAM

The researcher's experience in attempting to enter a culturally diverse context may help others who are working with Cherokee children and parents in the Head Start program and the public school system. Most of this material is recorded in observation notes taped after the interviews.

The researcher paid close attention to the style of dress and modified her own style when entering the study population. In addition, it was discovered that it was important to modify speech patterns and the style of interaction in order to fit within cultural norms. For example, in the context of the interviews, the researcher learned to wait patiently through long pauses, allowing time for respondents to internalize questions and reflect before answering. She learned to slow the pace of her speech and well as the pace of the questions to accommodate the slower information-processing style.

Interactions with a grandmother in the sample led to learnings about how parents interact with children. This grandmother seemed to accept the researcher as another young person, who at times had to be shown appropriate behavior. This was always done non-verbally, through ignoring inappropriate behavior or by facial expression and body language. In one instance, the grandmother was conversing with a male cousin her own age. When the researcher was ready to begin the interview and sat down

near the two older people, she was ignored and given the impression that the expectation was that she sit quietly while her elders were speaking. When after a few minutes, she tried to enter the conversation, her comments were also ignored. She eventually left the table and waited in another part of the building until their conversation was completed.

The researcher found by trial and error that eye contact during the interview needed to be decreased to facilitate a comfort level for most people. The most effective way to use the interview questions was to look at the person while asking the question and then to look elsewhere while waiting for an answer, still maintaining an attentive posture with the body. Several people seemed uncomfortable with being the focus of the conversation. One even stated, "I'm not used to talking so much and having people listen. I usually listen." It was as if the group identity was so strong that people were not used to being the focus of individual attention.

Stories were used to teach and illustrate opinions. At first, the researcher found it difficult to understand the connection to a question when someone launched into a story about a seemingly unrelated topic. Eventually, the researcher learned to pay strict attention to the stories. They contained the answer to the question or the important point the person wanted to make. In fact, the researcher found in casual conversation that stories were often the

vehicle for expressing ideas. Stories were often told about other people's experiences, related in a non-judgmental way. For example, when respondents were asked how important it was to send a child to school, several times the researcher was told about other family members who did not encourage young children to attend school and the effect it had later on that child.

Several implications for the Head Start program emerged from this study. They are:

1. The freedom the program has been given by the federal government to generate the curriculum from within the system is an important component of the effectiveness of Head Start. The cultural sensitivity and responsiveness to the needs and expectations of the parents are extremely important in this setting. Teachers and the Head Start administrative staff work together using a cooperative model to plan and implement the curriculum.

2. Providing ways for families with young children to interact with others plays an important role in educating and supporting parents. It was surprising to note the lack of opportunities for families to interact with others outside of extended family networks due to lack of transportation and geographical distance. Exposure to other families with young children seems to promote coping skills for dealing with young children. Intentional efforts by Head Start staff to share early

childhood research and practical ideas about childrearing promotes effective parenting skills.

3. Efforts to establish a literacy program for parents could have an effect on raising educational expectations for children and providing support for their completion of high school. Although literacy was not specifically addressed in the study, it was observed that literacy could not be assumed. One person who graduated from high school had found a tutor in a nearby town so that she could learn to read and write past a second grade level.

4. In inquiring about the school experience of parents, the researcher found that many times playing sports in school was one of the primary ways that parents felt success during their school years. Specific comments support this. For example, one parent said, "I played basketball. I really liked it. I think that's the only thing that kept me in school." Another parent said in response to a question about what subjects they liked in school, "None of them. . . . I found it pretty easy when I did try but most of the time I didn't want to." When asked if there were other things she was more interested in at the time, she indicated that playing ball was very important to her. Continuing to provide opportunities to play sports in school can therefore have the positive consequence of offering a place where children can connect

with the school system and have self-esteem bolstered, encouraging them to stay in school.

Teachers and parents were found to have differing educational goals for children. Teachers see school as a "means to an end", believing that education improves the child's later life. Parents remain conservative, questioning the value of whether a high school education makes a difference in later life. They seem unwilling to lock into a system that does not always mesh with other Cherokee values.

This is unlikely to change until economic conditions in the Kenwood/Salina area change. A highly educated person has to move away to utilize that education in finding a job. Supporting programs like Head Start that encourage and reward education in its employees goes a long way toward supporting the completion of high school for Cherokee children.

APPENDIX D

IRB APPROVAL FORM

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
FOR HUMAN SUBJECTS RESEARCH

Proposal Title: Congruency Between Parental and Teacher Goals and Values

for Preschool Cherokee Children

Principal Investigator: ___J. Weber/ K. Langley_____

Date: _11-7-91_____   IRB # _HE-92-011_____

This application has been reviewed by the IRB and

Processed as: Exempt [X] Expedite [ ] Full Board Review [ ]

          Renewal or Continuation [ ]

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s):

          Approved [X]   Deferred for Revision [ ]

          Approved with Provision [ ]   Disapproved [ ]

Approval status subject to review by full Institutional Review Board at
next meeting, 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month.

Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Reason for Deferral or
Disapproval:

Signature: _____ Date: _11-18-91_____
          Chair of Institutional Review Board

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VITA ⌐

Kathryn L. Langley

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: CONGRUENCY BETWEEN PARENTAL AND TEACHER GOALS AND VALUES FOR PRESCHOOL CHEROKEE CHILDREN

Major Field: Family Relations and Child Development

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, March 12, 1957, the daughter of Allen and Louise Keegan. Married to Stephen Langley in December, 1983. Have two children, David and Karen.

Education: Graduated from Memorial High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma, in May, 1975; received a Bachelor of Arts Degree with honors in German and Anthropology from Oklahoma State University in May, 1979; completed requirements for the Master of Science degree at Oklahoma State University in May, 1992.

Professional Experience: Have taught preschool in several private schools and one hospital setting for eight years. Research Assistant, College of Home Economics University Extension and Development, September, 1991, to February, 1992.