

POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM
IN AERICAN SCHOOLING UPON THE
AERICAN INDIAN STUDENT

By

LARRY DEAN FOREMAN
"

Bachelor of Science in Education
Northeastern Oklahoma State University
Tahlequah, Oklahoma
1961

Master of Teaching
Northeastern Oklahoma State University
Tahlequah, Oklahoma
1965

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
December 1984

Thesis
1984D
F715p
cop. 2



POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM
IN AMERICAN SCHOOLING UPON THE
AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENT

Thesis Approved:

Russell D. Olson
Thesis Adviser
Randall Ketting
Daniel Delakovich
Kenneth H. Olson
Norman D. Hurban
Dean of the Graduate College

PREFACE

Developing an understanding of possible effects of the hidden curriculum in American schooling upon American Indian students is not a process of slight proportions. A knowledge base which includes an historical review, cultural perspectives and classroom experiences is essential to this process. Because of this, an overview of the nature and scope of the hidden curriculum in American schooling is included in Chapter II of this study. Chapter III focuses upon a history of American Indian education which provides a frame of reference for understanding some of the contemporary classroom experiences of American Indian students. Perspectives of what a learner may face whose life is immersed in cultural contrasts from two different cultures have been included in Chapter IV of this study.

A deep understanding of these processes and effects, however, requires more than cognitive awareness. It also requires emotional, social and psychological awareness which necessitates proximity of the researcher and the researched in these areas. The final chapter contains information pertinent to making choices regarding hidden curricula in American Indian schooling. This chapter also presents findings in the form of working hypotheses collected by methods of qualitative inquiry into these areas of American Indian schooling. A research paradigm is also presented which provides additional direction for further inquiry into these curricula.

My learning experience at Oklahoma State University has been exceeded only by the friendship extended to me by many faculty members. I value this above all else. I wish especially to thank my major adviser, Dr. Russell Dobson, whose knowledge, guidance and friendship have been invaluable throughout this process. I am grateful to the other committee members for the same things. Included in this group are; Dr. J. Randall Koetting, Dr. Daniel Selakovich and Dr. Kenneth St. Clair.

Many persons believe that the true measure of wealth is in one's family. By this standard I am indeed a wealthy man. My mother, father, sister, my wife, Pat, my three sons, Mark, John, and Matt have each given generously of their support, patience, and encouragement. They deserve and have my deepest appreciation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Nature of this Study	2
Methodology of this Study	4
Purpose of this Study	8
Procedure of this Study	8
II. THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM IN AMERICAN SCHOOLING	10
Introduction	10
An Early View of the Hidden Curriculum	13
Emergence of the Hidden Curriculum	17
Characteristics of the Hidden Curriculum	21
Effects of the Hidden Curriculum	24
Propagation of the Hidden Curriculum	26
III. A HISTORY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION	35
Introduction	35
Mission and Colonial Education	36
The Treaty Period	39
Severalty of Indian Land	44
Indian Education for a New Century	45
A New Deal in Indian Education	48
A Period of Regression	52
A Change in Rhetoric	56
Concluding Remarks	73
IV. CULTURAL CONTRASTS IN CONTEMPORARY INDIAN EDUCATION	75
Introduction	75
Some Contrasts in the English and Navajo Languages	77
The Navajo Self, Others and Universe	85
Concluding Remarks	90
V. THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM IN AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION	92
Derivations of the Hidden Curriculum in American Indian Education	92
Recipients of the Hidden Curriculum	96

Chapter	Page
Inequality of Opportunity	97
Options for Dealing with the Hidden Curriculum	100
Toward Change in American Indian Education	104
A Paradigm for Further Research	110
BIBLIOGRAPHY	112

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

We are told of times and places where the systematic dehumanization of mankind is a way of life. But we are also told of a process of emancipation which comes to free the spirit and allow the mind to grow and experience horizons beyond our fondest dreams, where imaginations are cast loose to soar like the eagle. It is sad to think that both are called education.

Perhaps it is true that only by experiencing the agony of alienation from one's self can we experience an existence of emptiness. When your talents, beliefs, and values have been constantly excluded from the legitimate body of knowledge, a giant step toward alienation of one's self has been taken.

It is encouraging to find that the voices of scholars from many lands and in many walks of life are being heard in a dialogue which speaks to these issues. The axiological and ontological vocations of man have been the topic of much of this dialogue in recent years.

Friere (1, p.28) stated that "while humanization and dehumanization are real alternatives, only the first is man's vocation". Education is seen by many as a very basic means of furthering man's vocation.

Destructive political strategy at work on the hearts and minds of children is an unpleasant thought to many educators. It becomes even more so as we close the comfortable gap of distance and begin looking closely at the faces and lives of children who are its victims. Many of these lives are being lived by descendents of the first Americans, the once proud and powerful nations of people who lived on this continent before the arrival of Columbus.

The problem to be examined in this study can be seen in those faces and lives. This study will center upon an examination of possible effects of the hidden curriculum in American schooling upon the American Indian student.

Nature of this Study

Living in a world of conflicting values is a common situation experienced by most individuals throughout their lives. Deciding the predominance of conflicting values is a daily task of living.

The most complicated axiological problems are debated daily in the street, in parliament, in the cafe and in the most modest homes, although with an attitude and in a language which can hardly be called philosophical (2, p.11).

The freedom to accept or reject individual values or any particular set of values is unquestioned for most persons. The right to value in American ideology is absolute, the right to act upon those values is not. To isolate one example, Valente (3, p.120) states that "the Supreme Court has repeatedly stressed that freedom to believe is absolute but that freedom to act upon religious belief is not".

The struggle for prevalence of value within an individual becomes a struggle for definition of self. Acceptance or rejection of values

does not usually stop with self-definition. The need to validate or confirm reality constructed by one's beliefs creates interaction among persons and groups as a means of building priorities into a value system. Social order is, therefore, the ultimate goal of the struggle to decide which values shall prevail. The processes can be observed in a wide variety of settings. Laws are set in place by a legislative process at the state and national levels. A wide array of rules and regulations can be seen governing various institutions such as businesses, churches and schools. At the root of all these complicated entities lies a set of basic beliefs about the nature of mankind and his existence.

Individual man, as well as communities and specific cultural groups, guide themselves according to a standard. It is certain that such standards are not fixed; they fluctuate and are not always coherent. Yet it cannot be denied that our behavior toward our fellow man, our judgements concerning his conduct and our esthetic preferences are adjusted to a table of values (2, p.10).

It would seem to be a reasonable obligation of persons concerned with curriculum in American schools to critically examine these tables of values if they do indeed, to one extent or another, influence our conduct toward our fellow man and our judgements about his conduct.

Emans developed a conceptual framework for curriculum development in which he placed values in a central role. He points out that previous frameworks have ignored or implied values and have stressed heavily the influences of philosophy and beliefs but that "little specific consideration was given the concept of values, that which is desirable, although they reflect beliefs and philosophies and influence the selection of desirable behaviors" (4, p.328). He further expands upon the central role of values throughout curriculum development.

Values to be retained as strong guides for behavior must be harmonious with the physical environment, the learner, the content, educational objectives, learning experiences, and evaluation procedures (4, p. 328).

It is possible that a critical examination of values is the most crucial step in further development of American schooling. A critical examination of values, however, is a subject which is not regularly ✓explicable or generalizable since, as pointed out earlier, the standards of individuals, communities, and specific cultural groups are neither rigid nor coherent. The same principle applies to American Indian people. Values and perceptions among American Indian people are neither fixed nor standardized. However, even though standardization of values is nonexistent, some cultural strands exist in almost universal form throughout the many varied tribal diversities among American Indian people and stand in sharp contrast to many values inherent in today's dominant American society. Severe cultural contrasts would necessitate the ability to sense value differences from each of the cultures involved to effectively translate perceptions of various aspects of each to the more casual viewer.

A popular phrase grounded in perceptual psychology, existential philosophy, and psychoanalytic theory says, "I see the world through these eyes". Perhaps this statement more than any other describes the nature of this study.

Methodology of this Study

A form of inquiry which focuses upon the qualities of conditions within single unique relationships would appear to be most suited to this examination. Ethnomethodology provides this form.

Ethnomethodology as a mode of research would be most effective when the researcher experiences the observed phenomenon in a personal way. Certainly, one who lacks interest in or maintains distance from an observed event is not as likely to perceive the same intensity or depth as another whose personal experiences bring a closeness to the observer and the observed. This view is expressed from another perspective in this description of qualitative research. Vallence (5) states that:

Qualitative research, providing tools that can help us to probe individual situations deeply, seeks to enhance our ability to see those situations as fully as possible. It attempts to reveal those qualities of educational situations which demand our appreciation, our seeing, our willingness to participate, in some form, in the event in question (p. 143).

She further compares qualitative inquiry to art criticism. Both possess the quality of being able to adopt a perspective intent upon viewing things from unusual angles which have been selected from experience and "translating his or her experiences of the work of art back into everyday language accessible to the casual viewer whose perceptions of art are not as finely tuned as those of the artist or critic" (5, p. 145).

A curriculum encompasses much more than quantitatively measurable learning outcomes. A set of personal experiences inescapably accompanies each cognitive exercise. These experiences, as perceived by the learner within his or her individual framework of values, add dimensions of qualitative meaning. Inquiry into this meaning would have to rely upon measures which are able to delve into questions of value. Just as art criticism provides perspective for art, ethnomethodology can provide perspective for qualitative inquiry into curricular matters.

Aesthetic criticism relies upon background, training, and experience to enable the critic to offer a new or deeper perspective to the viewer. Educational criticism is much the same.

This perspective holds that curricula, as artifacts which structure and guide experience, can legitimately be considered as works of art and analyzed appropriately (5, p.143).

All experiences involve activity of some form. Concomitant with curricular experiences are, at least, activities of cognitive, affective, psychomotor and sensory natures mixed in varying proportions and intensities. A curricular experience whose human target participates in none of these activities would be an excellent example of meaningless exposure. Blumer (6) views the study of activity in this way:

The study of action would have to be made from the position of the actor. Such action is forged by the actor out of what he perceives, interprets and judges; one would have to see the operating situation as the actor sees it. You have to define and interpret the objects as the actor interprets them (p. 542).

Cusick (7) further clarifies this concept in this statement:

Having accepted the perspective and even the social reality, not as a static entity but as a creative process, it is the task of the researcher to actually take part in the process of creation. He simply cannot stand outside and make judgements about it (p. 229).

Viewing social activity by taking part in it is one thing, viewing values and perceptions of learners by taking part in their environment is somewhat different, although to some extent the same principles might apply. Field notes in written or delineated form, as an example, are inaccessible in this inquiry and, therefore, are not included. Insight into value perspectives developed over a period of several years would be difficult to document in this fashion.

It would seem reasonable to assume, however, that gaining insight into value perspectives is a process which demands a long exposure to any situation and an intimate relationship with it. To develop a critique of curricular forces involved in the topic of this study would best be afforded by such a relationship. Being an American Indian and having lived in American Indian communities provides this writer with some of the intimate relationship needed to experience and view American Indian values and perceptions.

The relationship is deepened by career experience which spans fourteen years in teaching and administrative positions involving American Indian students. This experience includes living and working in highly traditional communities where traditions, beliefs and values have been passed from generation to generation and consequently exist much the same as long ago. Urban centers offer a contrast to the traditional community and have provided this writer with opportunities to experience American Indian life in this environment. Working with various age levels ranging from elementary through junior college has further extended this writer's opportunity to experience and perceive values of American Indian students.

This study utilizes the background of the writer as a research tool. Obviously, material and perspectives implicated in this study are highly biased. The background of the writer determines which literature is reviewed and which cultural groups are included in the study. An effort will be made to include ample cross-sectional review of material related to major points and thus avoid complete stratification wherever possible. However, no pretense of neutrality is made.

Purpose of this Study

This study, unlike many counterparts, is not intended to present a conclusive array of findings based upon quantitative data with which to ameliorate an educational dilemma. Conclusive evidence is unlikely to exist in an area which by its own nature is unplanned, is not included in the methodology of teacher training, does not have specific instructional materials or manuals, is not explicitly included in the goals or objectives of public school courses of study, is not consciously taught as such, and has not been included for assessment by standardized testing or normative procedures.

This study seeks to examine educational phenomena contained within the concept of the hidden or implicit curriculum as it applies to the unique circumstances engrossing American Indian schooling. Implications from these examinations provide a basis for further study. A research paradigm by which further inquiry can be made into policies, practices and effects of American Indian education is presented by this study. The primary purpose, however, is to posit a set of working hypotheses with which to further ascertain and illuminate effects of the hidden curriculum in American schooling upon American Indian students.

Procedure of this Study

This study seeks to identify a portion of political strategies in American schools by examining the concept and nature of the hidden curriculum. Views of various architects whose contributions have expanded and shaped the concept of the hidden curriculum will be included in an effort to explore the concept from a variety of perspectives.

The second focus of this study is upon the historical evolution of American Indian schooling. Historical data related to the education of American Indians provides insight into explicit designs and purposes in this segment of American educational history. Tracing events and examining the relationships depicted by actions and policies of schools and educators whose purpose was to educate American Indians provides a foundation upon which to build an examination of contemporary life and the subsequent world-view of traditional Indian people. Through a review of educational events and their explicit purposes, insight is provided into the development of what has evolved into the hidden curriculum of American Indian schooling.

American schooling as it exists today for the American Indian student is the third major subject of inquiry in this study. An in-depth examination of conflicting values requires contributions from persons whose lives have not only seen but have felt the inner struggles with reality created by conflicts of two very different cultures.

The final part of this study merges the concept of the hidden curriculum in American schools with both the historical and contemporary scenarios of lifestyles, classroom experiences and world-views of American Indian students. Assertions from examinations of these concepts provide the basis for a working set of hypotheses presented for trial by praxis with American Indian students.

CHAPTER II

THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM IN AMERICAN SCHOOLING

Introduction

Axiological issues have been centerpieces in American schooling throughout its history. As stated by Vallence (8, p.5), "much that is today called a hidden function of the schools was previously held to be among the prime benefits of schooling". Those elements of schooling which have come to be recognized as the hidden curriculum are not new, only the position occupied by them in the social reality of schooling is new. The hidden curriculum as a term, however, is comparatively new. Jackson is credited by Mazza (9, p.50) and Seddon (10, p.1) as having first introduced it in the book entitled Life in Classrooms in 1968.

It appears doubtful that many concepts could have been more engrossed in controversy than the hidden curriculum in American schooling. Substantial debate centers upon the content of the hidden curriculum. What is the hidden curriculum and what does it justifiably include? Questions such as these tend to suggest a need to define the concept and recognize its dimensions. Dimensions of a concept such as the hidden curriculum, however, do not always fall subject to the same forms of measurement.

Hidden curriculum can embrace differing degrees of intentionality, and of depth of 'hiddenness' as perceived by the

investigator, ranging from incidental and quite unintended by-products of curricular arrangements to outcomes more deeply embedded in the historical social function of education. √The position that any given conception occupies along these or other continuums will likely reflect the academic discipline from which the investigator comes and, not infrequently, his or her political orientation as a critic (8, p. 6).

Perhaps the greatest promise of the hidden curriculum as an issue of dialogue in curriculum theory lies in its ability to resist definition. The extensive nature of the concept is suggested by the numerous contributions made by curricular theorists which have tended not to restrict, but rather to expand both the depth and the breadth of it.

Consensus seems difficult if not impossible among curricular theorists where a name for the curricular phenomenon usually known as the hidden curriculum is concerned. Obviously, the concept itself is wrapped in value judgements. This might explain why controversy regarding the many facets of this concept often results in heated discussions and dialogue.

There is certainly no shortage of terms offered as replacements for or supplements to the term hidden curriculum. Unstudied curriculum, covert curriculum, latent curriculum, non-academic outcomes of schooling, residue of schooling, what schooling does to people, informal curriculum, secondary effects of schooling, and implicit curriculum are among those suggestions seen most frequently.

A great deal of controversy surrounds the use of the word hidden in the naming of this curricular phenomenon. Goodlad (11, p.197) states a preference for the term implicit curriculum since, in his opinion, "this portion of the curriculum is only slightly obscured if hidden at all".

Visibility, however, is not the only consideration in the use of the word hidden as pointed out by Martin (12, p.138), "The hidden curriculum is an abstraction, for it is neither the set of learning states attained by anyone in particular nor the set attained by all learners in a given setting". Martin views the terms covert curriculum and latent curriculum as non-harmful labels but sees them as not promoting understanding either. Other labels promote understanding but are misleading. Among these she lists the terms; what schooling does to people, by products of schooling and non-academic outcomes of schooling.

The word hidden is considered by several theorists to be appropriate for this phenomenon of schooling. Hidden in this context can mean several things and refer to many dimensions. Evidence for the appropriateness of the word hidden is found in this assertion by Martin (12):

Once learning states are openly acknowledged so that the learners can readily become aware of them even if they do not, the learning states can no longer be considered hidden. Until learning states are acknowledged or the learners are aware of them, however, they remain hidden even if sociologists, bureaucrats, and teachers are all aware of them. Thus, a hidden curriculum can be found yet remain hidden, for finding is one thing and telling is another (p. 143).

The apparent lack of consensus in naming this curricular phenomenon may suggest the potential of the concept itself.

To acknowledge anything systematic but unplanned going on in schools is to acknowledge that learning is more complex than we can encompass in behavioral objectives or lesson plans, and it opens the door to a perhaps more realistic view of schooling. The novel aspect of this is that the process it allows us to acknowledge is not thereby made controllable (5, p.139).

Vallence (5, p.142) further expands upon the potential of the hidden curriculum in stating that "the concept allows us to start anew, developing research techniques and theories to complement the one already available from the realm of the explicit curriculum".

An Early View of the Hidden Curriculum

Philip Jackson provided much of the early perspective of the hidden curriculum. His view of the hidden curriculum is useful at this point as a basis upon which to further explore the concept. In the book entitled Life in Classrooms he describes classroom life in elementary school settings in which the teacher is the central focus and all activity is ultimately dependent upon this one individual. The three contributing factors to the hidden curriculum as Jackson perceived it are crowds, praise and power.

Living in a crowd requires adherence to certain modes of behavior if all is to proceed well as defined by institutional standards and expectations. The role of the teacher includes tasks which ensure a smooth coordinated flow of activities while maintaining order in such a manner that other members of the crowd are not prevented from completing their duties and tasks or at least with a minimum of interference and friction.

Deciding who will and who will not speak and in what order, allocating resources such as art supplies and use of the drinking fountain, granting special privileges and serving as official timekeeper are among specific behaviors demanded of teachers. "This behavior reminds us, above all, that school is a place where things happen not because students want them to, but because it is time for them to occur" (13, p.13).

The role of the student seems to center upon self-denial in living in a crowd. Jackson stresses the point that this crowd is not just any crowd, it is filled with friends, not strangers. Social reality is significantly formed in this crowd by each student.

Learning to deal with delay, denial, and interruptions are lessons taught by living in a crowd. Since so much life in these classrooms revolves around the teacher, delays are inevitable. Denial is necessary since distractions interfere with the smooth operation of the classroom and not everyone can be heard nor can all questions be answered at the same time. Interruptions are unavoidable when time schedules are required and subjects must be measured in daily dosage.

Jackson lists praise as the second major aspect of classroom life contributing to the hidden curriculum. Evaluation is viewed as one source of praise or as the case may be, the lack of praise. The sources of evaluation are teachers, classmates and self. Teachers, the chief source of evaluation, as the hub of activity, constantly pass judgement on the student's work and behavior. Laughter or spontaneous applause and countless other ways communicate approval or disapproval from another source of evaluation, classmates. The third source of evaluation is that source which gradually grows within the student. It is nourished by experiences of success and failure as well as acceptance and rejection. This source, self-judgement, involves the student's beliefs about himself and others.

Nonacademic judgements seem to be tied closely to institutional expectations of personal qualities. Specific character traits are commonly built into the set of expectations within any particular school. Jackson lists three personal qualities which seem to be commonly

evaluated by teachers; general intellectual ability, motivational level, and helpfulness in maintaining a well-run classroom. The area which seems to evoke the most intensive level of emotional outbursts from teachers is violation of institutional standards. Pushing in line, not listening, making too much noise or coming into the room late gets a much stronger reaction than not doing your homework.

Evaluation is also immersed in conditions for approval. Praise occurs for exhibiting particular forms of behavior in a prescribed and legitimate way. Having the right answer, even though right answers are terribly important, is not enough. It must be presented in the right way and at the right time. If a student is to receive praise, he or she must first learn the guidelines within which praise is possible and then present the expected levels and kinds of responses.

"Teachers scold as well as praise, classmates compliment as well as criticize" (13, p.24). Quality of praise enters the arena of praise in the classroom at this point. Contradictory judgements such as those which occur when a teacher praises and peers criticize often happen simultaneously, demanding a choice of values within the student. He ✓ or she must decide which form of acceptance or praise has the higher value at this particular moment. Students in this environment are faced with the necessity of trying to win the approval of two frequently conflicting audiences, their teachers and their peers. "Learning how to make it in school involves, in part, learning how to falsify our behavior" (13, p.27).

The final component of the hidden curriculum in Jackson's view is power or more specifically, unequal power. ✓ Conformity to institutional expectations is the central purpose in the use of power in the classroom.

Workers in various occupations usually have the option of throwing down their tools and leaving. Laws do not give students the same freedom even though frustrations may be just as great.

One subgroup of the school's clientele is involuntarily committed whereas the other subgroup has greater freedom of movement and, ultimately, the freedom to leave entirely. These subgroups are, of course, students and staff. Movement from less freedom toward greater freedom for the student seems to lie in the ability to master and exhibit modes of behavior which are in accordance with a set of institutional standards and expectations. Trust is not connected with honesty as closely as it is connected with being able to convince those persons in power of your ability and willingness to comply with institutional standards. This includes exhibiting personal qualities which are valued within the realm of those same expectations. Curiosity is obviously not valued highly in this setting since conformity leaves little room for it. "A passive conformist rarely engages in the kind of probing, poking, and exploring native to the curious" (13, p.36).

One facet of power as a formulator of the hidden curriculum is the contradictory nature of its use as found in schools and the explicit ideology of the democracy in which they exist.

Because the oppressive use of power is antithetical to our democratic ideals it is difficult to discuss its normal occurrence in the classroom without arousing concern. The concepts of obedience and of independence are often thought to be antithetical and, in our society, the latter concept is more often the declared objective of our schools than is the former (13, p. 33).

The conflict between these two aspects of American ideology suggests a need to explore some assumptions underlying rationales of both the explicit and implicit curriculums in American schooling. How these

two opposing forces came into being as they are presently seen and debated by curricular theorists seems important in further exploration of the hidden curriculum at this point in this study.

Emergence of the Hidden Curriculum

Most theorists agree that the hidden curriculum in American schooling has emerged through a process of societal change which caused practices and beliefs once totally acceptable to grow less acceptable in society. Educational conversation changed to emphasize dimensions of personal development and responsibility. Conversation, however, does not always describe practice in its fullest sense or in completely honest terms. Stated beliefs of educators frequently conflict with their own classroom practices. Apple and King (14, p.35) contend that this was not the case throughout history by pointing out that, "We should be aware that historically the hidden curriculum was not hidden at all; instead, it was the overt function of schools during much of their existence as an institution".

Seventeenth century colonial schools were reflections of a society dominated by religion. The curriculum of the school was religious in every aspect. Democracy was the least desirable form of government to the Puritan society since building a theocratic state was the central purpose for their having immigrated to America in the first place. Attaining a state of grace in Puritan belief required extensive spiritual and intellectual exercise which in turn necessitated the ability to read the Bible. The Old Deluder Satan Act passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1647 established compulsory elementary education.

The eighteenth century brought change to society through expanded

social and economic development and subsequent curricular change to reflect and accomodate that development. Curriculum was needed which could provide cultural acquisition for those whose place in society would afford them access to the upward mobility now available in the social order. This educational system fell subject to disaster and practical extinction as a result of the War for Independence in the years of 1775 through 1781.

Zais (15) suggests three forces which influenced nineteenth century development and concomitant curricular change. The first force, democratization, emerged from the masses in response to doctrines of equality and inherent rights of individuals. This was supported by experience gained in the frontier expansion of the age.

Industrial development provided a potent force for change even in its early stages. The second half of the nineteenth century saw industrial capitalism become an even more powerful arm of this force.

The third force during this period was nationalism. Patriotic sentiment was built into a characteristic attitude which created a national mythology.

These forces, combined with those elements from earlier years, had laid the foundation of American schooling by the end of the nineteenth century. Moral and character development in a nonsectarian setting carried much of the flavor of earlier periods. Citizenship training polarized subjects such as geography, history and civics. Industrialization required science, mathematics and bookkeeping. Democratization provided the individual success motive and the quest for upward mobility into higher socioeconomic levels or classes.

The time period ranging from the colonial period to the end of

the nineteenth century was dominated by the goal of creating an homogeneous American public, a task inherited by America's schools. George Washington argued for public education at higher levels because "the more homogeneous our citizens can be made, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union" (16, p. 85). Thomas Jefferson expressed the same goal for an American school system which would "educate men to manners, morals, and habits perfectly homogeneous with those of the country" (16, p. 85).

Calvin Stowe summarized his views in 1836 with this statement:

There must be a national feeling, a national assimilation. It is altogether essential to our national strength and peace that the foreigners should cease to be Europeans and become Americans. Let them be like grafts which become branches of the parent stock (16, p. 85).

After the civil war the movement toward a standardized organizational structure provided a framework within which the quest for homogeneity could thrive. A statement signed by seventy-seven leading educators in 1874 described both the rationale for justifying the expansion of schooling and the goals set for it. Vallence (8) summarized and condensed their statement.

A system of public education was necessary to the existence of the 'modern industrial community' because the 'peculiarities of civil society' in America weaken the family's role in initiating the young into society and 'the consequence of this is the increased importance of the school in an ethical point of view'. The functions of the school therefore include the development of discipline and the 'moral phase' of education 'in order to compensate for family nurture'. This moral education must necessarily coincide with 'the commercial tone prevalent in the city' which stresses 'military precision in the maneuvering of classes. Great stress is laid on punctuality, regularity, attention, and silence as habits necessary through life' for success in an industrial civilization (pp. 13-14).

William Torrey Harris, Commissioner of Education, stated in 1891 that "a major purpose of schools was to teach respect for authority and that forming the habits of punctuality, silence and industry was more important than understanding the reasons for good behavior"(8, p.13)

Vallence (8, p.5) presents an interesting theory on the emergence of the hidden curriculum in American schooling in an article in which she views the hidden curriculum as having accompanied "a sudden shift in the ways that school people and others have justified public schooling in America".

From an historical perspective, Vallence views the period in American education prior to the 1830's as serving two basic functions. First, it transmitted the traditional culture. This was done in a setting of social change and potential upheaval. In the second function education

had come to serve as a means of creating a specifically national and uniform culture. Schools as agencies of social reform were to inculcate the standards of a public morality and to reinforce the legitimacy of established authority (8, p. 10).

Seeking a homogeneous national character did not demand a leveling of the class structure. "In fact, it often sought specifically to maintain what was presumed an inevitable pattern of class differences, but to maintain it peaceably" (8, p. 11).

The period between 1830 and the Civil War began the first evidence of concern for the individual child and a degree of sincere compassion for the victims of inequities. Horace Mann's work is evidence of this concern. His work, however, was overshadowed by an overemphasis on the effectiveness of morality implanted by education and his entire approval of indoctrination. A paradox seems to exist between Mann's dedication

to equality of opportunity and his admission that he was "hardly free to think out either an educational or a social philosophy that could challenge the status quo in any fundamental way" (8, p. 11).

Because of the growing diversity of cultural and political structures, education in the late nineteenth century renewed its emphasis upon social control and homogenization. The added need for organizational efficiency to meet the demands of urbanization emphasized the need for production, economic models, and bureaucratic skills. This shifted the rationale from moralism to functionalism.

Vallence posits the argument that "at this point, when the rationale began to be argued in functional as well as moral terms, that what we now call the hidden curriculum could safely lose its saliency in the rhetoric" (8, p. 15). Today we see the schools educating for docility, reinforcing a rigid class structure, and embracing teaching methods and curriculum saturated with a middle-class value bias. "By the turn of the century it could be taken for granted that the schools offered an experience sufficiently homogeneous and regimented. The hidden curriculum was well ensconced" (8, p. 16).

Characteristics of the Hidden Curriculum

Identifying characteristics of a hidden curriculum is also an axiological problem. Our perception of what is and what is not part of the hidden curriculum is determined to some extent by our individual value systems. Martin (12) expresses this thought very well in this passage:

Regardless of setting or time, what we find when we investigate hidden curricula is a function of what we look for and what we look at. Even if a hidden curriculum does not change, our interests shift, our consciousness is raised,

and we therefore come to see and care about things in a hidden curriculum we did not care about, indeed perhaps could not see before (p. 135).

Martin (12, p.135) also suggests a useful limitation to identifying the hidden curriculum when she suggests that "results or outcomes (unintentional) which happen but are not learned do not belong to the hidden curriculum".

Vallence suggests three dimensions by which various satellite labels attached to the hidden curriculum may be read. The usefulness of these dimensions in identifying the hidden curriculum stems from the notion that "each label carries a set of connotations as to what the hidden curriculum is supposed to mean" (8, p.6).

The first dimension from which meaning might be derived includes various contexts of schooling. Specific contexts would include the student-teacher interaction unit, classroom structure and the whole organizational pattern of the educational establishment as a microcosm of the social value system.

Processes operating in and through schools comprise another dimension. Values acquisition, socialization, and maintenance of class structure are specific processes.

The third dimension includes degrees of intentionality. Vallence extends this dimension by including the

depth of hiddenness as perceived by the investigator, ranging from incidental and quite unintended by-products of curricular arrangements to outcomes more deeply embedded in the historical social function of education (p. 6).

Any definition of the hidden curriculum in American schooling, as pointed out by these theorists, would be subject to the value bias of the definer. Consensus would be especially difficult if a narrow

definition were sought. It might be useful at this point, however, to include some descriptions offered by curricular theorists which tend to summarize in brief form their particular views of what comprises the hidden curriculum.

Apple and King (14, p.29) describe the hidden curriculum as "the tacit teaching of social and economic norms and expectations to students in schools".

Martin (13, p.137) expresses her view that "a hidden curriculum consists of the outcomes or by-products of schools or of nonschool settings, particularly those states which are learned yet are not openly intended".

Vallence (8, p.7) uses the term to refer to "those nonacademic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level of the public rationales for education".

A more encompassing view presented by Sharp and Greene (17) also presents an interesting perspective on American education as a whole.

Rather than affirming the separation of politics and education, as is done with commonsense liberal assumptions, the authors assume all education to be in its implications, a political process (p. x). ✓

Giroux (18) offers this description of the hidden curriculum in which he includes

those messages and values that are conveyed to students 'silently' through the selection of specific forms of knowledge, the use of specific classroom relations, and the defining characteristics of the school organizational structure (p. 35).

Effects of the Hidden Curriculum

It seems to be well established that defining characteristics of the hidden curriculum is a process made very complex by the intervention of values. It follows that the process of defining effects of the hidden curriculum would be equally complicated for the same reasons. Again, axiological perspectives become central issues in this dialogue since effects can be seen as either positive or negative, necessary or unnecessary, and desirable or undesirable depending upon whose values make these judgements. These assertions have been supported by various theorists quoted in this study who have emphasized the thought that, to one extent or another, the identity of the hidden curriculum is a matter of personal insight deeply embedded within the value bias of the observer.

These perspectives would suggest that the assessment of effects resulting from the hidden curriculum is somewhat elusive in nature. The total number of effects resulting from hidden curricula or from any single hidden curriculum, for instance, would be an extremely difficult item upon which to gain consensus. Priorities of a qualitative nature seem to be equally difficult areas for consensus. Which effects are most harmful is a value laden question.

Effects of the hidden curriculum are, of course, areas of major concern. This subject, probably more than any other connected with the hidden curriculum, builds in intensity as theorists debate issues and perspectives in this arena. This is understandable since this is the area in which our own personal concerns for our own children and others whose emotional proximity is near us, become directly affected.

Apple (19) places a great deal of importance upon inculcation of values as a negative effect of the hidden curriculum.

Aside from the discussions of the teaching of work related norms, the covert teaching of an achievement and marketplace ethic and the probable substitution of a middle-class and often schizophrenic value system for a student's own biographical meanings have been some of the topics most usually subject to analysis (p. 34).

He further underscores this stance in collaboration with King (14) in comments based upon observation of a kindergarten program:

The point of work activities in an observed kindergarten classroom was to do them, not necessarily to do them well. Personal attributes of obedience, enthusiasm, adaptability, and perseverance are more highly valued than academic competence. Unquestioned acceptance of authority and the vicissitudes of life in institutional settings are the first lessons in kindergarten (pp. 43-44).

In a metaphoric critique of schooling, Madeline Grumet compares elements and processes of theatrical productions to the ritualistic processes in the classroom. Children performing in spots chosen for them according to perceived abilities and talents while being rewarded for memorizing or imitating the teacher's lines, tone of voice, text and subtext in required privacy of ignoring each other's responses are some of the behaviors paralleled in this article. Among other more specific effects, Grumet (20) summarizes much of her view which relates to common perimeters of the hidden curriculum in this fashion:

The disassociation of mind and body, thought and action, imagination and skill, creativity and community, cripples both our theory and our practice by establishing these alternatives as competing modes of human activity rather than complementary ones (p. 106).

A specific effect of the hidden curriculum is the target of another critique of the treatment of conflict in American schooling.

A basic assumption seems to be that conflict among groups of people is inherently and fundamentally bad and we should strive to eliminate it within the framework of institutions, rather than seeing conflict and contradiction as the basic driving forces of institutions (19, p.87).

Not all outcomes related to the presence of the hidden curriculum are negative. Vallence posits a set of uses to which the concept may be put which, in turn, would suggest a number of potentially constructive effects upon American schooling. The hidden curriculum:

(1) may serve as a tool for educational dialogue; (2) is useful as a tool for identifying a problematic unknown in education and searching out possible solutions to it; (3) provides a vehicle for the social criticism of schooling. When used as a vehicle for describing the connections between schooling and society it serves as an analytic tool. (4) serves as a neutral point of view which allows us to acknowledge that there may be a hidden curriculum at work in any setting, and to encourage us to set about identifying, characterizing, and assessing its value, and then perhaps to attack it as a problem or to analyze it as a reflection of societal values which may or may not be subject to change (5, pp.140-141).

Vallence further suggests that the hidden curriculum offers the opportunity to expand upon present forms of educational inquiry and explore new methodologies with which to deepen our understanding of American schooling.

Propagation of the Hidden Curriculum

Propagation of the hidden curriculum takes place in an institutional setting which, according to Grumet (20) shares much in common with a ritual ground.

Education provides a protocol for the transference of power from one generation to another. Included in this are political, cultural, and sexual powers.

In our culture, it is the school that provides a ritual center for the liminal ceremonies, or rites of passage that give concrete expression to this struggle between the generations. The continued dominance of teacher initiated and sanctioned discourse testifies to the ritual function of schooling in maintaining hegemony of thought and expression through compulsory public recitation (pp. 94-95).

One means of viewing the propagation of the hidden curriculum at work in the institutional setting is through direct observation of practices in classrooms as described in the following study by Anyon (21). The transmission of work ethics to children was observed and comparisons drawn between fifth grades in five elementary schools whose population reflects the predominant social class of its community. Social class, although largely a product of one's occupation and income level, is further defined here by "the way a person relates to the process in society by which goods, services, and culture are produced" (21, p.68). The study took place in 1978-79. Schools observed were differentiated by the social level of families served by each one. Each school was then observed to note how work tasks and interactions of students compared.

Two schools labeled Working Class Schools were comprised of students whose parents had blue-collar jobs. At the time approximately fifteen percent of the fathers were unemployed. About the same percentage were at the poverty level and most of the family incomes were at or below \$12,000 per year, which was typical of 38.6% of the families in the United States.

Work tasks in these two schools were typically routine assignments made by the teacher and followed by systematic completion by the students.

Rote behavior with very little decision making or choice was typical of student involvement in the learning task. Children typically had no access to materials, these were handed out to them by the teacher or assigned students. Evaluation of student work often focused upon following the right steps more than whether the work was right or wrong. Control was highly autocratic with teachers controlling time and space without consulting the children or explaining their decisions. Each child must have permission and take a pass along to leave the room.

The third school included in the study was named the Middle Class School for purposes of the study. This school served a mixture of several social classes with an occupational range spanning from skilled workers to owners of small businesses in the area. Family incomes ranged from approximately \$13,000 to \$25,000 which was typical of 38.9% of the families in the United States at the time.

Work tasks in this school are described as being oriented toward getting the right answer with most lessons being based upon the textbook involved. Creativity, interest, and feelings were not emphasized in assignments. The amount of information included, being neat, using your own words, and most importantly, what is contained in the answer booklets were the major items included in evaluation. ✓ Control was described as being based on external rules and regulations which are known to the children.

The study named the fourth school to be observed the Affluent Professional School. This school had a parent population predominately of professional people of the upper middle class. Family incomes ranged from \$40,000 to \$80,000 per year which included only about seven percent of the families in the United States at the time.

Student work in this school is described as creative activity carried out independently. Quality of expression, appropriateness of its conception to the task, and understanding a broad context and application are elements considered in evaluation. Children often negotiate what work is to be done and when to move on to something else. Control involves constant negotiation. Teachers do not give direct orders except involving noise. Decisions are emphasized which are based upon consequences of individual actions by students. No more than three children are allowed out of the room at any one time.

The last school included in the study was named the Executive Elite School. Most of the fathers in this school are top executives with family incomes of more than \$100,000 per year, some were as high as \$500,000. Less than one percent of the families in the United States were at this income level at this time.

Student work in this school was described as the development of analytical, intellectual powers. Reasoning through problems, conceptualizing rules, applying rules to solve problems are typical approaches of work assignments. Right answers are subject to challenge by the children. Research reports, essays and experiments are frequent vehicles used in student work. Access to materials is open, students get materials whenever they need them. Responsibility for yourself is the rule of thumb in control. No bells ring, lines are seldom, students move about in classrooms as they desire and rudeness is often tolerated.

This study by Anyon would support the correspondence theory of schooling which says that schools supply a demand by society for workers to fill specific roles.

Apple (22) offers this description of correspondence theories:

Broadly, correspondence theories imply that there are specific characteristics, behavior traits, skills, and dispositions that an economy requires of its workers. These economic needs are so powerful as to determine what goes on in other sectors of a society, particularly the school. Thus, if we look at our educational institutions, we should expect to find that the tacit things taught to students roughly mirror the personality and dispositional traits that these students will require later on when they join the labor market (pp. 47-48).

Apple contends that correspondence theories have an inherent danger of distorting the view of theorists causing them to see schooling only in reproductive terms. The conditions for the reproduction of class relations in our society are brought about by both the form and content of the explicit curriculum and the hidden curriculum.

✓ Studies by Harry Braverman are cited by Apple (22, p.51) as having "investigated historically the growth of corporate procedures for ensuring management control of the production process". Braverman found planning separated from execution and mental labor separated from manual labor. Management plans while workers only execute.

Apple argues that this corporate logic injected into organization and control of the production process actually creates a dualistic role in the worker. Passivity, while persevering as the basic intent of corporate logic in the worker is far from universal in effect. Cases are cited where attempts to separate conception from execution and to emphasize worker compliance and obedience actually produced opposite results. ✓Resistance, conflict, and struggle resulted and promoted collective action by workers. Workers have found a variety of ways to resist the dehumanizing effects of the production process.

The work culture, then, provides grounds for worker resistance, collective action, informal control of pacing and skill and reasserting one's humanity.

The organization and control of work in corporate economics cannot be understood without reference to the overt and covert attempts of workers to resist the rationalizing control of employers. A theory of the hidden curriculum that loses sight of this risks losing its conceptual vitality, to say nothing of its empiracle accuracy (22, p.60).

Schools and school systems, however, cannot function as automated machines. They are staffed by people. Classrooms have teachers whose educational backgrounds and theoretical underpinnings influence heavily the character of each classroom. Giroux (23, p.8) extends a view of teacher education programs as "socializing agencies that embody rules and patterns for constructing and legitimizing categories regarding competence, achievement, and success". This same corpus of rules and patterns is viewed as commonsense perception and as such goes largely unquestioned.

The rules and patterns embodied in teacher education programs also serve to define specific roles such as teacher, principal, and student through the language they use and the assumptions and research which they consider essential to the teaching profession.

Roles for the prospective teacher are often viewed as 'fixed' and objectively given. In this case, teacher roles are treated like 'things' and the socialization process simply provides students with the skills and requirements to carry out these predefined roles efficiently (Popkewitz 1979). The hidden curriculum here is that role theory becomes a refinement to conformity theory (Turner 1962, p. 37); consequently the teacher's own existential reality is lost amidst a form of socialization and role theory that is blind to its own ideology (23, p.16).

The notion of blind acceptance by educators to a form of socialization and role theory is hardly a comforting thought. Apple and King (14) summarize their feelings in this manner:

Thus, our argument should not be seen as a statement against any particular school or any particular group of teachers. Rather it suggests that educators need to see teachers as 'encapsulated' within a social and economic context that by necessity often produces the problems teachers are confronted with and the material limitations on their responses (p. 46).

Educational research is seen by many as playing a major role in this process. Young (24, p.37) compares some basic assumptions in the concept of ideology as "a set of social practices through which partial accounts are presented as if they had some claim to universality". He views research findings in a similar way in his assertion that "they are produced as an abstraction from a simple context and then are generalized as a basis for policy and practice" (24, p.37). This is not intended to reject generalizing but to recognize that generalizing is always to a purpose.

Further illumination of this stance toward educational research comes from Giroux (23):

If educators have been blind to the role and function of teacher education, it is in part due to the study by mainstream educators of such programs under micro-social categories that ignore the historical and political context in which they exist (p. 9).

Specific classroom practices which tend to reproduce inequality would, of course, be many and varied. Political and geographic regions, states, school districts, individual schools and individual classrooms are all subject to extreme variations in philosophical and historical contributions to each particular social reality including the value bias found in each situation.

It can be seen, however, that few practices in schooling would be excluded from the possible realm of the hidden curriculum in American schooling. Selection, organization, and assessment of the formal curriculum provides immense possibilities for structuring many facets of the hidden curriculum. Grouping and tracking procedures are prime examples here.

Power relations between teacher and student including systems of reward and punishment have been shown to be powerful vehicles used in the hidden curriculum.

Regardless of the methodology or setting within which the hidden curriculum operates, language is the agent by which codification of the process takes place. The use of language through the process of labeling provides an excellent example of how terms and conceptualization form categories and perimeters within which youngsters are viewed and the hidden curriculum flourishes.

If an educator may define another as a 'slow learner'; a 'discipline problem', or other general category, he or she may prescribe general 'treatments' that are seemingly neutral and helpful. However, by the very fact that the categories themselves are based upon institutional abstractions (the commonsense equivalent of statistical averages), the educator is freed from the more difficult task of examining the institutional and economic context that caused these abstract labels to be placed upon a concrete individual in the first place (19, p.134).

Any attempt or design to change the context or practices within a school setting would possibly benefit from inspection of the language within which beliefs and practices are couched. Dobson and Dobson (25) shed considerable light upon this notion in this assertion:

Humans invented words to serve as a tool and now they are controlled by this tool.

Language which was intended to explain or describe reality has become our reality. What we can't explain we tend to ignore and ultimately dismiss. Indeed, if we are to pursue the roots of reality relative to the purposes of schooling we must uncover the meanings of words blurred by custom and usage (p. ix).

CHAPTER III

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

Introduction

History can be told from a wide variety of perspectives depending upon which points of view happen to align with those of the historian. Any historical account that goes beyond a simple chronological listing of names, events and dates becomes an axiological issue. The history of American Indian education is no exception.

As stated in Chapter I, no pretense of neutrality is made in this study. An examination of the hidden curriculum in American schooling and the subsequent reflection of its processes in the education of American Indians is, of course, value laden. If objectivity exists in the arena of human events it certainly is not likely to be found within these highly controversial issues and struggles.

Education of American Indians did not begin with the appearance of non-Indians on this land mass. The social order of the American Indian provided for the transmission of culture and the acquisition of skills long before the Europeans discovered that this continent exists.

Through all of pre-Columbian Indian time, the social group as a whole was the school of every growing mind; and consciously, methodically so. The practical and the religious, the manual and the intellectual, the individual and the social were not immured from each other but flowed as one complex integrated function within the Indian group (26, p.xi).

This study will not delve into pre-Columbian or traditional Indian education, however, since that area would have little relationship to the central issue in this examination.

This chapter will focus upon a sample of historical events which illuminate the possible emergence, characteristics, or purposes of the hidden curriculum in American Indian schooling. Indian education, as with all education, did not evolve nor does it exist in a social vacuum. The history of American Indian education cannot be separated from the larger context of historical relationships between American Indian peoples and others.

Mission and Colonial Education

The first known education of American Indians by immigrants occurred in various missions scattered throughout many regions of the country. While education was an important part of their overall purpose, it was by no means exclusive. Both Spain and France were very anxious to strengthen their footholds in the continent and extend new frontiers. The missions provided an excellent means of doing this.

Settlements grew around missions where agricultural and livestock projects became a thriving business. In fact, the first settlement in California of this kind was established in 1769 at San Diego. By 1823 a chain of twenty-three missions reached as far north as San Francisco. The California missions operated very successfully toward their goals until they were closed by decree in the summer of 1833, a short time after Mexico gained independence. There had been about a hundred thousand baptisms in the span of their operation and in 1834 the value of movable livestock was estimated at three million dollars.

The same estimation set the value of grain held by the missions at two million dollars. The decree ordered them secularized and converted into curacies, with some of the buildings designated to house primary schools and others were to be used as workshops.

Success came easy to Spanish missions in areas of New Mexico where many tribes lived in communities. The Christian doctrine and Spanish customs were taught until a tribal revolt ended Spain's program in this region in 1680.

Political interests were concerned with the rapid expansion of territory whereas the missionaries themselves were concerned with the humane treatment of the natives as well. This, of course, created some internal conflicts within the mission operational structure. This has been cited as one of the principle reasons for the lack of success by the French as compared to the Spanish.

The success of Spain in establishing missions may have been due to the forceful approach used by them. Their's was the only serious attempt at economic absorption of the area Indians by training large numbers of Indians as laborers. Coffey (27) describes the mission operation as being much less concerned with humanitarian processes than expediency.

The soldiers would round up all the natives and herd them into a central area where the padres would baptize and rename the "converts". As soon as this ritual was completed, the physical labor would begin for the Indians. Construction would begin on an edifice which would include a church, living quarters for the clergy and military, and a storehouse for produce raised by the Indians and taken from them. All activities centered around the mission and the natives were forced to live in a condition of feudalism and semi-slavery. If they attempted to escape the control imposed by the mission, they were hunted down by the military and either killed or dragged back (p. 85).

Two basic goals were cited by one historian as being fundamental to the purpose of the missions themselves.

Starting with the first mission school established by the Jesuits for Florida Indians in 1568, the first 300 years of formal education for Indians in the United States was dominated by the church. The basic goals of this period were to "Christianize" and "civilize" the heathen (28, pp. 140-141).

Although the French Jesuits and the Spanish Franciscans had both made considerable efforts in this educational venture they were not alone. The English had designs for accomplishing the same goals.

The two charters of the Virginia Company issued in 1606 and 1609 stressed the conversion of the Indians, and the Company soon provided ten pounds in currency for each Indian boy instructed in a colonist's home. But the colonists complained that they could not obtain many Indian children in a peaceable manner because the parents were so deeply attached to them (26, p.7).

These colonists were apparently surprised that the Indian people were attached to their children. This inability to recognize human qualities of Indian people was not confined to the local or grassroots level. Language used by leaders of state indicate much of the same attitude:

King James I on March 24, 1617, called upon the Anglican clergy to collect money 'for the erecting of some churches and schools for ye education of ye children of these Barbarians in Virginia' (28, p.141).

This effort resulted in the founding of the College of William and Mary many years later. Other designs were conceived in an effort to further the causes of colonial education for Indians.

In Massachusetts, the charter of the Bay Company declared that the main objective of the company was the conversion of the natives. The boarding school approach, separating Indian children from their families and tribes, was initiated by Rev. John Sargeant in Stockbridge, Mass., along with an 'outing system', whereby Indian pupils were placed in Puritan homes during their vacation periods, to keep them from returning to their tribal ways (28, p.141).

Removal of Indian children from their homes in order to achieve more effective eradication of traditional values and lifestyles was found to be less effective than had been hoped by the designers. The following statement, attributed to Mr. William Byrd, reflects this disappointment:

Many of the children of our neighboring Indians have been brought up in the College of William and Mary. They have been taught to read and write, and have been carefully instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion until they came to be men. Yet after they returned home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately relapt into infidelity and barbarism themselves (28, p.142).

The real objectives of the transplant Americans were becoming more and more clear as their actions were verified by their language.

The Treaty Period

The basis for federal responsibility in American Indian education has been the obligation stemming from numerous treaties agreed upon between federal agencies and various Indian tribes. Historians present different views of how and why federal involvement in these agreements occurred as it did. The turbulence surrounding the quest for territory and the subsequent struggle for control were, no doubt, major motivational forces. This was not limited to those of the ruling class or in positions of political strength at the time. The immigrant settler was extremely anxious to claim a tract of land of his own.

Differences in lifestyles of the Indian and the settler were also major factors in this eventful period. A person who regards land, water, timber and wildlife as personal possessions which can be owned and controlled will not blend well with those persons who conceive of these things as not being within the realm of material possession.

Possession of land was regarded by the American Indian only in terms of territory to be defended for hunting rights.

The first significant step in the relationship between federal agencies and Indian tribes was the creation of three departments of Indian affairs by the Continental Congress on July 12, 1775. The three departments were actually divisions which were designated to deal with tribes in different geographical regions. Each had a number of agents whose responsibility was to deal with specific tribes in each region.

The first treaty occurred on September 17, 1778 between the Delaware tribe and the Continental Congress. The primary concern of this treaty was to create a military alliance and did not contain any provisions for cession of land. The earliest treaty with educational provisions occurred December 2, 1794 with the Oneida, Tuscarora and Stockbridge Indians.

The first Congress under the Constitution met March 4, 1789. The War Department headed by the Secretary of War was established in August of the same year, "upon whom was specifically imposed all duties relative to Indian affairs" (29, p.4).

Hunger for land tempted settlers to disregard laws and regulations meant to discourage entry into Indian lands. The government was simply incapable of controlling this situation. This fact was verified by Secretary of War McHenry when he made the following comment on the Indian land situation in his instructions to the commissioners in preparation for negotiating a treaty with the Cherokees:

The arts and practices to obtain Indian land, in defiance of treaties and the laws, and at the risk of involving the whole country in war, have become so daring and received such countenance, from persons in prominent influence, as to render it necessary that the means to counterveil them should be augmented (29, pp.24-25).

Secretary of War Calhoun wrote a letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1820 stating this view:

Although partial advances may be made, under the present system, to civilize the Indians, I am of an opinion, that, until there is radical change in the system, any efforts, which must be made, must fall short of success. They must be brought gradually under our authority and laws, or they will insensibly waste away in vice and misery. It is impossible, with their customs, that they should exist as independent communities, in the midst of civilized society. They are not in fact an independent people, (I speak of those surrounded by our population) nor ought they to be so considered. They should be taken under our guardianship; and our opinion, and not theirs, ought to prevail, in measures intended for their civilization and happiness. A system less vigorous may protract, but cannot arrest their fate (29, pp.58-59).

This same individual, Secretary Calhoun, created the Bureau of Indian Affairs by an order issued March 11, 1824. Congress established the Office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs on July 9, 1832. The Bureau of Indian Affairs remained in the Department of War until it was moved to the newly established Department of Interior in 1849.

Official enactments in themselves tell very little about why historical events of any given period occurred as they did. Wording or language used by statesmen when compared to the actual events resulting from their language can sometimes illuminate the consciousness of the times. What is written is not always what is felt or what is communicated. In addition to the intent or feeling at the legislative level one must also examine the consciousness of the struggle at the grassroots level to visualize history in its full context. A government may be viewed as a reflection of its social order and to one extent or another the opposite may also be accurate.

Men who represented the government as Commissioners of Indian Affairs occupied vantage points which provide considerable insight into the consciousness of the times or as some would prefer, the zeitgeist.

Statements from these individuals could be reflective of attitudes from either or both levels, the grassroots and the statesman. Communication flowed through this position from each direction.

Commissioner W. Medill included this point of view in his annual report of 1848:

Stolid and unyielding in his ways, and inveterately wedded to the savage habits, customs, and prejudices in which he has been reared and trained, it is seldom the case that the full-blood Indian of our hemisphere can, in immediate juxtaposition with a white population, be brought farther within the pale of civilization than to adopt its vices; under the corrupting influences of which, too indolent to labor, and too weak to resist, he soon sinks into misery and despair. The inequality of his position in all that secures dignity and respect, is too glaring, and the contest he has to make with the superior race with which he is brought into contact --- is too unequal to hope for a better result.

While to all, the fate of the red man has, thus far, been alike unsatisfactory and painful, it has with many been a source of much misrepresentation and unjust national reproach. Apathy, barbarism, and heathenism must give way to energy, civilization, and Christianity; and so, the Indian of this continent has been attended with much less of oppression and injustice than has --- been --- believed. If the rapid spread of our population and sway, with all their advantages to ourselves and others, injury has been inflicted upon the barboous and heathen people we have displaced, are we as a nation to be held up in reproach for such a result (28, p.144).

Commissioner Medill was later succeeded by Orlando Brown.

Commissioner Brown expresses his view about Indian people in general and, more specifically, about Indian education in this statement:

The dark clouds of ignorance and superstition in which these people have so long been enveloped, seem to be breaking away, and the light of Christianity and general knowledge to be dawning upon their moral and intellectual darkness. The measures to which we are principally indebted for the great and favorable change that has taken place are the concentration of the Indians within smaller districts of the country, where the game soon becomes scarce, and to resort to agriculture and other civilized pursuits; and the introduction of manual labor schools among them, for the education of their children in letters, agriculture, the mechanic arts and the domestic economy.

These institutions being in charge of missionary societies of various religious denominations, and conducted by intelligent and faithful persons of both sexes, selected with the concurrence of the Department, the Indian youth are also carefully instructed in the best of all knowledge, religious truth, their duty toward God, and their fellow beings (28, p.145).

When L. Lea succeeded Commissioner Brown he provided this much firmer view about the assimilation of Indian people into another way of life in 1850.

It is indispensably necessary that they (the Indians) be placed in positions where they can be controlled, and finally compelled, by stern necessity, to resort to agricultural labor or starve (28, p.145).

The attitudes prevalent at the grassroots level as seen by this statement from a Kansas newspaper were supportive of the position voiced by Commissioner Lea. Published in the same year as Commissioner Lea's report, this statement reflects much of the frontier feeling toward Indians.

A set of the most miserable, dirty, lousy, blanketed, thieving, lying, sneaking, murdering, graceless, faithless, gut eating skunks, the Lord has ever permitted to infest the earth, and whose immediate and final extermination, all men except Indian agents and traders, should pray for (28, p.145).

The slaughter of the big buffalo herds to nearly the point of extinction had accomplished much of these desired goals by 1885, only a few years after Congress had prohibited any further treaties. During the treaty period, between 1778 and 1871, a total of 370 treaties had been negotiated. The various treaties and agreements during this period contained provisions for the cession of almost a billion acres to the United States by Indian tribes.

Lands retained by Indian tribes were to be inalienable and tax exempt. The United States government promised to provide public services such as education, medical care, and agricultural training in return for land.

Severalty of Indian Land

Henry Dawes devised a process which promised great strides in the effort to remake the American Indian into another image. His rationale essentially said that the trait which was lacking in these native people was pride of individual ownership. If this trait could be developed in these people, it would logically follow that other traits, such as agriculture and industrial pursuits would displace traditional customs and lifestyles. The solution was to simply break up tribal lands into individual allotments. The result of this thinking was the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887.

President Grover Cleveland undoubtedly expressed the feeling of many people in this statement made following the signing of the Dawes Act. His belief asserted that, "Hunger and thirst of the white man for Indians' land is almost equal to his hunger and thirst after righteousness" (28, p.149).

President Theodore Roosevelt reported this view to Congress in 1901 concerning the progress of the Dawes Act:

In my judgement, the time has arrived and we should definitely make up our minds to recognize the Indian as an individual and not as a member of a Tribe. The General Allotment Act is a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the Tribal mass. It acts directly upon the family and upon the individual --- . We should now break up the Tribal funds, doing for them what Allotment does for the Tribal lands; that is they should be divided into individual holdings (28, p.150).

Sixty-one years later in 1968 the following summary was presented to the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs by Senator Robert F.

Kennedy:

The Allotment Act succeeded in the period of the next forty years in diminishing the Indian tribal economic base from 140 million acres to approximately 50 million acres of the least desirable land. Greed for Indian resources and intolerance of Indian cultures combined in one act to drive the American Indian into the depths of poverty from which he has never recovered (28, p.150).

Indian Education for a New Century

It seems obvious from these statements that as late as the turn of the century many persons of considerable influence in shaping public opinion were still either unwilling or incapable of viewing Indian people as anything more than objects. The conflict arising between stated national policy and personal goals of land acquisition by individuals may offer one explanation for this phenomenon. Education, in this view, occupies the paradoxical position of serving both interests.

General R.H. Pratt is credited with founding the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania in 1879. This school was later to become a model for the educational system developed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The following description of this school was included in a report to the Senate in 1969.

The school was run in rigid military fashion, with heavy emphasis on rustic vocational education. The goal was to provide a maximum of rapid coercive assimilation into white society. It was designed to separate a child from his reservation and family, strip him of his tribal lore and mores, force the complete abandonment of his native language, and prepare him in such a way that he would never return to his people.

General Pratt utilized the 'outing system' of placing children in good Christian homes during the summer so that they could not return to their families and suffer a relapse into tribal ways. The children were usually kept in boarding school for eight years during which time they were not permitted to see their parents or relatives.

Obviously, the process required severe discipline, and was deeply resented by parents, tribes, and children, who had absolutely no voice in its conduct (28, pp.147-148).

Miss Estelle Reel was Superintendent of Indian Schools for the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. at the turn of the century. Miss Reel with the help of prominent educators from various boarding schools and others involved in Indian education at the time, prepared a Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States which was published in 1901.

The basic goals and purposes, as well as some insight into methods to be employed in attaining them, are presented in the introductory remarks of the publication in narrative form. These were addressed to agents, superintendents, and teachers of government schools. No mention was made of students, parents, tribal representatives, or other concerned persons.

This course is designed to give teachers a definite idea of the work that should be done in the schools to advance the pupils as speedily as possible to usefulness and citizenship.

The chief end in view should be the attainment of practical knowledge by the pupil, and no teacher should feel restrained from asserting his or her individuality in bringing the pupil's mind to the realization of the right way of living and in emphasizing the dignity and nobility of labor.

Hoping that better morals, a more patriotic and Christian citizenship, and ability for self-support will result from what this course of study may inspire (30, pp.5-6).

An interesting innovation in the Course of Study was a segment of curriculum called The Evening Hour. This time was set aside for numerous activities and purposes. Attendance was mandatory for all pupils over nine years of age. Vocal music was one activity to be included in this hour and should contain note reading, the scales, part singing and general chorus work. "The patriotic songs must be taught in every school, and every child should be familiar with the words as well as the music of our inspiring national songs" (30, p.110).

Teachers from various departments were required to give talks on work in their area of specialty. One example specified was that of the matron. Her talk was to include, among other things, "general house-work, sweeping, keeping the corners clean, the necessity for keeping a clean house, a place for everything, and how to prepare the meals of a small family and serve them daintily" (30, p.111).

Her duties were not, however, without a deeper purpose.

She will give talks on the special care of each room in the house, and through the whole warp of life to weave truthfulness, honesty of purpose, and integrity, that the result will be honest men and women and useful citizens (30, p.111).

The Evening Hour was to include a short exercise in calisthenics each evening and, as stated in the guide, "the hour should really be called the recreation hour" (30, p.111).

The first boarding school intended to serve the Navajo tribe was built at Fort Defiance, Arizona in 1883. Kluckhohn and Leighton (31) describe some of the lifestyle of early boarding schools in this passage:

The children were forbidden to speak their native languages, and military discipline prevailed.

Pupils thus spent their childhood years under a mercilessly rigid system which could not offer the psychological advantages of family life in even the poorest Indian home (p. 141).

Boarding schools in the colonial period, as described earlier, used an "outing system to keep the Indian child separated from family or tribal influences. This same practice is found in this description of educational efforts on the Navajo reservation more than two hundred years later.

The guiding principle of early Indian education was that the children must be fitted to enter white society when they left school and hence it was thought wise to remove them from home influences and often to take them as far away as California or even Pennsylvania in order to 'civilize' them faster. The policy was really to go behind the existing social organization in order to dissolve it. No effort was made to prepare them for dealing effectively with Reservation conditions. Yet more than ninety-five percent of the Navaho children went home, rather than to white communities, after leaving school, only to find themselves handicapped for taking part in Navaho life because they did not know the techniques and customs of their own people (31, p.141).

A New Deal in Indian Education

Dr. Lewis Merriam and a staff of ten specialists began an extensive survey of the Indian social and economic situation in 1926. The survey was sponsored by the Institute of Government Research at the request of the Department of the Interior and financed by John D. Rockefeller Jr. The Merriam Report was published in 1928.

Findings of the survey only confirmed what was already known by those persons close enough to the Indian people to see their situation first hand.

Earned income was reported to be extremely low and the land on which many Indians were living was too barren to provide subsistence even if recent technology and supplies were available to them.

In the field of education the biggest problem was found to be the boarding school situation. Specific deficiencies included in the Report on boarding schools included the following: (1) Food was not sufficiently nourishing; (2) Dormitories were overcrowded; (3) Health supervision was neglected; (4) The daily schedule was formalized to military precision; (5) The age range of five to twenty-two years of age included too many students; and (6) Students above the fourth grade devoted half the day to performance of duties in running the school, garden, dairy, or farm (26, p.70).

Recommendations of the Merriam Report included some sweeping changes from practices and forms of organization in effect at the time. It recommended a professional and scientific Division of Planning and Development as an integral part of administration. The second recommendation was intended to further the broadest educational program possible. This was expected to be achieved, in part, by the strengthening of school and reservation forces in direct contact with the Indians. The third recommendation was to decentralize field service and thus meet local needs more adequately. The final recommendation included an extremely conservative program of land allotment that would leave the large reservations intact.

The recommendations were acted upon by Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur and Commissioner Charles J. Rhodes. As a result of this action a series of comparatively radical changes began to appear.

By the end of 1932 new day schools had been set up and old ones reorganized. Innovative community day schools rendered various services to the community in response to local needs and participation. Day school enrollment had increased to more than 2,000 students. Adams (26) summarizes the most significant changes in classroom techniques in this manner:

It was the aim to set up an elastic course of study that would reflect the school's economic surroundings. Local materials were used in the classroom. Work detail and industrial training revolved around instruction instead of production.

Textbook content itself was considered of importance only as it could be related to the pupil's experience, abilities, and needs. Teachers were encouraged to introduce constructive activities in daily schedules, and to adapt classroom procedure to real life situations with the pupils playing an active role in the educational process instead of being passive recipients of a mass of formalized information.

Another significant event in the formulation of Indian educational policy involved a four-year Congressional investigation of the Indian situation. In 1933 Senator William H. King of Utah submitted the report which disclosed the loss of nearly ninety million acres of Indian land since 1887 and the expenditure of five hundred million dollars from tribal funds in the same period. Specific policies and programs criticized by the report were the allotment policy, the inadequate education program, and the lack of Indian participation in Indian affairs.

Two men who occupied significant positions in the administrative staff of President Franklin D. Roosevelt were appointed in 1933. They were to play significant roles in the furtherance of progress in the Indian situation during this era by initiating major changes in policy.

Harold L. Ickes was appointed Secretary of the Interior and John Collier was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The "New Deal" administration saw sweeping reform in many areas affecting Indian lifestyles.

Two major pieces of legislation occurred almost simultaneously in 1934. The Johnson-O'Malley Act authorized Federal contracts with states and other political units to improve Indian education and general welfare. This would, of course, promote interest and make possible the involvement of state supported public schools in Indian education. This legislation was passed only two months before the second major reform Act.

The Indian Reorganization Act was nurtured by the social and political climate of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal Administration. Adams (26) provides this description:

The Act provided for the restoration of areas depleted by over-grazing and erosion; made mandatory the conservation of Indian land; authorized the purchase of additional tracts; established a revolving credit fund to be used by Indians in the development of agricultural and industrial projects; made possible group organization for local self-government, and business incorporation for self-management in the interest of an improved economy, and it increased educational and training facilities for Indians (pp. 75-76).

The Indian Reorganization Act was neither arbitrary nor imposed but it did require each tribe to vote its acceptance or rejection.

The effect of this era in Indian affairs was very constructive and produced some positive gains. The field of education was certainly no exception. During the ten-year period from 1933 to 1943, for example, there was a loss of sixteen boarding schools and a gain of eighty-four day schools. In addition to these external changes,

reservation boarding schools changed instructional approaches considerably in this period and began focusing instruction on personal needs and backgrounds, a significant change from the past.

A Period of Regression

Disagreement about policies affecting Indians between the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Senate and House Committees was constant between 1937 and 1944. The disagreement reached a critical point in 1944 when a Select Committee of the House made these recommendations:

The Indian Bureau is tending to place too much emphasis on the day school located on the Indian reservation as compared with the opportunities afforded Indian children in off-the-reservation boarding schools where they can acquire an education in healthful and cultural surroundings without the handicaps of having to spend their out-of-school hours in tepees, in shacks with dirt floors and no windows, in tents, in wickiups, in hogans, or in surroundings where English is never spoken, where there is a complete lack of furniture, and where there is sometimes an active antagonism or an abysmal indifference to the virtues of education (28, p.157).

The following year, in 1945, John Collier resigned his position as Commissioner of Indian Affairs after twelve years. One year later Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act. This legislation had been first introduced in 1930 and was designed to create a commission to hear all Indian claims against the United States. This was to be the beginning of termination policy, the withdrawal of Federal responsibility to American Indian tribes.

A rapid succession of events in years following 1947 sped termination policy along a course with disastrous results for American Indians.

William Zimmerman Jr., who became Acting Commissioner on June 3, 1948, included the following passage in his report to Congress:

During 1948, the failure of Congress to appropriate the funds needed to meet the increased cost in commodities and the increased enrollment which followed the termination of the war, resulted in the elimination of 2,143 children from Federal boarding and day schools in the United States and in the closing of eighteen day schools in Alaska serving 600 children (28, p.159).

John R. Nichols became Commissioner of Indian Affairs on April 14, 1949. His beliefs were stated to Congress in these statements:

Problems of human adjustment do not solve themselves, not when the people seeking to make the adjustment are hampered by lack of education, poor health, and deficient resources. The expenditures which have been made over the years in behalf of our Indian people were not based on any long-term plan for the orderly solving of the problems they faced. Rather, the record indicates that these expenditures and the physical effort released by them have been sporadic, discontinuous and generally insufficient.

This record explains why today many Indian children of school age have no school rooms and no teachers to provide for their education; why many Indians are without any means of livelihood, either in the form of productive resources or marketable skills; why irrigable lands owned by the Indians lie undeveloped in the arid West; why countless Indian communities are without roads on which to travel to school, to hospital, to market (28, pp. 159-160).

A survey reported that fifty percent of Navajo school age children were not in school in 1949 primarily due to a lack of facilities and teachers. This stood in sharp contradiction to the terms of a treaty signed in 1868 in which the United States had pledged to produce a schoolroom and a teacher for every thirty children within ten years.

Congress responded by remodeling an Army hospital near Brigham City, Utah into a school to house 2,000 Navajo children. Congress also passed the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Act in 1950 which promised to provide more schools and teachers. Commissioner Nichols pointed out that half of the 19,800 Navajo children who had been without schools would still be without schools. The response of Congress was to further intensify efforts which closely resembled those from much earlier years.

John Nichols was replaced after one year of service by Dillon S. Myer who became Commissioner of Indian Affairs on May 8, 1950. His selection seemed to end a search for a person whose views aligned with those views dominant in Congress during the previous terms of the two preceding Commissioners whose tenures were exceptionally brief.

Events involving the Navajo tribe provide further insight into educational efforts in the following years:

Despite the perennial attention drawn to the Navajo problem, 13,000 Navajo children were still without schools in 1953 and Congress was pressed to take another emergency action. A plan was formulated in 1954, which provided for the construction of large elementary boarding schools on the reservation, increased enrollment in off-reservation boarding schools, and the establishment of Federal dormitory facilities in communities bordering the reservation, to get the children into public schools.

Navajo children were sent as far away as the Chemawa Boarding School in Oregon, and in turn displaced hundreds of Indian students from the Northwest who were rerouted to boarding schools in Oklahoma. This procedure was deeply resented by the Northwest tribes and was brought to the subcommittee's attention in its Portland hearings (28, p.160).

The subcommittee later found that thousands of Navajo children were still not in school.

Estimates cited in the Flagstaff, Arizona hearings ranged from 4,000 to as high as 8,000 Navajo children who were not in school.

The subcommittee was told that not all of this was due to a lack of facilities. Many Navajo parents object to giving up their young children to the white-man's boarding school. The majority do so because of their poverty and with deep misgivings. Because of the 'crash' nature of the program and the desire to meet the tremendous needs most efficiently, it was decided to build large elementary boarding schools. Not only was this the least expensive way to do the job but it provided a controlled environment for carrying out a program designed to assimilate the children into the dominant society with little interference from the parent (28, p.161).

Numerous actions during this period were taken in an effort to encourage or force rapid assimilation of Indians into mainstream America. Commissioner Myer implemented the area office into BIA administration which had the effect of centralizing activities and moving toward a more impersonal operation. The voluntary relocation program was launched in 1952 which promised many Indian persons a more abundant life in a large city away from the poverty of reservation or rural life. Most relocations resulted in life in urban poverty far from home with no real promise of real improvement.

When Congress passed Public Law 280 and House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1953 the legislative base for termination policy was laid. Public Law 280 transferred the Federal jurisdiction over law and order on certain Indian reservations to individual States. This would, in effect, give the five States involved power to enact measures which could force changes affecting traditions and lifestyles of Indian people while providing little protection from outsiders.

House Concurrent Resolution 108 ended Federal supervision over Indians and made them subject

. . . to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, and to end their status as wards of the United States - - - (28, p.164).

The Resolution continued by granting the Indians "all of the rights and perogatives pertaining to American citizenship" (28, p.164). This was the second time in history that citizenship had been granted to American Indians, the first was by congressional action in 1924.

A Change in Rhetoric

The Commission on Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian was established by the Fund for the Republic in March of 1957. Findings of the Commission were published in a preliminary report in January 1961. This was later published in a book entitled, The Indian: America's Unfinished Business.

The report was conciliatory in nature and did not offer the specific guidelines for reform as had been offered by the Merriam Report in 1928. The primary argument of the report centered upon increased Indian determination of and involvement in programs affecting their lives. The report included the following comments regarding needs in Indian education:

The schools - federal, public, and private - which Indians attend, should have the best curricula, the best programs, the best teaching methods, and guidance employed in educating white students, with all these factors being modified and augmented to meet the special requirements of Indian students (28. p.168).

A second report of significance in 1961 was the Udall Task Force Report. The purpose, as assigned by the Kennedy Administration, was to conduct a thorough study of the status of Indian affairs which would lead to both administrative and policy reorganization of the Indian Bureau. This was somewhat limited in scope when Secretary Udall told the Task Force members in a meeting that

. . .while they should test their thinking against the thinking of the wisest Indians and their friends, this does not mean that we are going to let, as someone put it, the Indian people themselves decide what the policy should be (28, p.170).

The Task Force's primary contribution was in recommendations for economic development on reservations. In the field of education it made several recommendations designed to make up "educational deficiencies" of the Indian student by providing such remedies as accelerated programs and summer sessions. It further stressed new construction of facilities located as near as possible to Indian people.

A two-week conference of 420 Indian leaders was held at the University of Chicago in June 1961. The conference published a report entitled, "A Declaration of Indian Purpose". The report stated the following in regard to organizational change needed in areas affecting Indian people:

Basic principle involves a desire on the part of Indians to participate in developing their own programs with help and guidance as needed and requested, from a local, decentralized, technical, and administrative staff, preferably located conveniently for the people it serves. Also in recent years, certain technical and professional people of Indian descent, are becoming better qualified and available to work with and for their own people in determining their own programs and needs.

The Indians as responsible citizens, as responsible tribal representatives, and as responsible tribal counsels, want to participate, want to contribute to their own personal and tribal improvements, and want to cooperate with their government in how best to solve the many problems in a business like, efficient, and economical manner as rapidly as possible (28, p.169).

Two major legislative actions were passed in 1965 which affected Indian education in a positive manner. The Economic Opportunity Act provided a variety of programs aimed at overcoming deficiencies in the learner, the intent being to provide skills and information lacking in targeted students. Head Start was aimed at providing those experiences needed at a very early age. Upward Bound was designed to provide opportunities for work experience and income to stimulate students to stay in school. VISTA provided volunteers to assist with various needs in areas of education, housing, and development on reservations. Community Action Programs proved useful in affording opportunity for tribal leadership to exercise control and greater degrees of self-determination than in previous programs.

Public Law 89-10 was also passed in 1965. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act was based upon the premise that the failure of certain strata, both ethnic and economic, in the total school population of America could be lessened by implementing corrective and remedial educational measures. Title I of the Act provides instructional programs for disadvantaged youth.

One view of Title I of Public Law 89-10 addresses the discriminatory nature of the Act:

What makes Title I significant is that for the first time the discrimination favors the poor and the culturally deprived.

Title I recognizes that these children may need more services and more dollars to reach the same levels of educational attainment as their middle-class peers. Applied to Indian children, this means that Title I funds should be spent on supplemental programs designed to meet their special and different needs (32, p.27).

Title II of the Act provides supplementary funds for library materials needed to reinforce special instructional programs. Title III provided special supplementary centers to support public schools in the development of new educational methodologies. Title IV provided funds for research. Fifteen Regional Educational Laboratories for research purposes were established by this portion of the Act.

The second half of the 60's was marked by a high level of interest in Indian affairs. This was evidenced by a number of studies and reports, some of which were responsible for recommendations that later became policy. Even though many studies failed to achieve their basic purposes of causing legislative enactment, they did succeed in making contributions which may be seen as significant to future legislation. For purposes of this study, the rhetoric in these reports is more significant than the specific outcomes.

The President in 1966 instructed the Secretary of the Interior to develop legislation equal in importance and promise to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. A White House Task Force was also established for the purpose of conducting a thorough review of the BIA and other Federal programs for the American Indian. A report with recommendations was to be prepared for the President. Senator George McGovern introduced Concurrent Resolution 11 on October 13, 1966 which called for a new national policy on Indian affairs.

Concurrent Resolution 11 seemed to address the plight of the American Indian in human terms as opposed to statistical analyses of past reform measures:

It pointed out that the "first" American was still the "last" American in terms of income, employment, health and education. Secondly, it pointed out that fluctuation in national policy had been a serious impediment in finding appropriate and workable solutions to the problems which the Indian faces, and had, in many instances, proved to be mistaken, resulting in a perpetuation of Indian poverty rather than alleviating it (28, p.181).

Senator Robert F. Kennedy in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on March 5, 1968, further addressed the element of human need:

I am concerned that too often in the past, out of ideological fervor for 'state responsibility', out of concern for lowering federal expenditures and demanding 'rapid assimilation - whatever the cost', we have forgotten the fate of the Indian child. I am concerned that far too often this transfer of responsibility is decided without the adequate involvement or acceptance of the Indian parents or Indian community (28, p.181).

The Department of the Interior responded to the request of the President and developed a bill which became known as the Indian Omnibus Bill, so named because it attempted meeting an extremely broad range of problems.

At the same time that the Indian Omnibus Bill was being formulated by the Department of the Interior, Commissioner Robert Bennett was conducting regional hearings among Indian leaders inviting their recommendations on what should be included and to build priorities for the legislation. A total of 1,945 separate recommendations were made during the hearings conducted. The bill itself, however, was being drafted without the apparent knowledge of Commissioner Bennett or the Indian leaders whose presentations were being heard at that time.

The first draft of the bill was made public before the hearings were concluded, making clear to the Indians that the Department of the Interior had no intentions of considering their recommendations. The bill was rejected in congressional action.

A Presidential Task Force on the American Indian was formed in the Fall of 1966. Deliberations lasted for three months and produced a report with recommendations to the President in January 1967. Education received top priority in the report.

The Report is particularly blunt on the failings of public schools. It states, 'Indian children attending BIA schools are more disadvantaged than those attending public schools. Even so, public schools are not notably more effective in educating Indian children than the Bureau schools, and, in many places, are considerably less effective'. The Report continues, 'Moreover, the strong factor of social prejudice is present in many areas where substantial Indian populations exist. These attitudes make for a very inhospitable climate for educating Indian children in public schools (28, p.184).

The report also made clear that research and development is a basic need among Indian people, not a frill. It further stated the belief that the effort and leadership needed to accomplish these things should come from the Federal government.

One recommendation from the report which appears in legislation at a much later date in somewhat changed form comes from this part of the report's counsel:

In addition to school boards, the Report called for Indian control at the top in the form of a National Advisory Board on Indian Education. It points out: 'Ideally, this should be a statutory board, but since it will take many months for Congress to consider and act on legislation, in the interim, the Secretary of the Interior could establish a twelve-member board of which at least half should be Indians; the others should be outstanding educators and private citizens with broad backgrounds in public affairs' (28, p.185).

Recommendations from the Presidential Task Force and a Second Interagency Task Force were selected and included in the Presidential Message on Indian Affairs to Congress on March 6, 1968. A major statement on educational goals comes from the Message:

I am asking the Secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to establish a 'model community school system' for Indians. These schools will have the finest teachers, familiar with Indian history, culture, and language - feature an enriched curriculum, special guidance and counseling programs, modern instructional material, a sound program to teach English as a second language - serve the local Indian population as a community center for activities ranging from adult education classes to social gatherings (28, p.188).

Unfortunately, neither funding nor methods were developed or mentioned which would allow implementation of these goals.

Ralph Nader responded to the President's Message by suggesting that the main issue, which he termed "bureaucratic malaise" in the BIA, had been overlooked in the Message. He summarized his view in this statement:

One hundred and nineteen years ago, the BIA was established in the Department of Interior with both presumed and actual missions. The former dealt with improving the lot of the Indian; the latter dealt with facilitating the encroachment on or exploitation of Indian lands and resources. Under the Bureau's aegis and congressional directive, the Indian land base shrunk from 150 million acres to the present 53 million acres - about the size of New England. For generations the Bureau presided over people without a future. Indians were called 'wards', were culturally devastated, physically pushed around, and entwined in a most intricate web of bureaucratic regulations and rules ever inflicted anywhere in this nation's history. They still are (28, p.190).

An interdepartmental report entitled, "Quality Education for American Indians, a Report on Organizational Location", was received by the Senate Education Subcommittee on May 11, 1967. Language contained by the recommendations suggests not only goals and purposes for education but also stressed a strong molding effect.

Education must be viewed as a single, continuing process which ranges from preschool through adulthood. Beginning with preschool experience for all Indian children, the research and developmental capacity of the appropriate agencies should be strengthened, in order to tailor educational programs to the needs of Indian people. Study should be made of the possible application of new educational technologies. Greater attention and support should be given to special education, since there is a high incidence of disability and handicaps among Indian children. Attention should be given to funding experimental programs at universities to assist Indian youth in adjusting to contemporary society. Consideration should be given to supporting a center for graduate study of the languages, history, and culture of American Indians (28, p.193).

Alvin M. Josephy Jr. was actively involved in several Indian projects in 1968. In addition to being an editor of the American Heritage Publishing Company, he had also authored several studies of the American Indian and played an important role in the establishment and support of the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. He had been a member of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the Department of the Interior. The White House requested him to prepare a study of the BIA with recommendations for reorganization in December 1968.

Several factors were named by Josephy which contributed to the situation of the BIA in Indian life. Some findings, however, were not limited to the BIA or to any other identifiable institution.

These findings were actually historical factors which have contributed greatly in creating problems faced by the American Indian. He listed the major findings in this fashion:

1. Basic deficiencies of knowledge about Indians among non-Indians who are responsible for policy formulation and the management of Indian affairs. Indians have long complained about officials who listen to them but don't seem to understand them, resulting in actions and programs that are imposed by well-intentioned whites, but bear no relation to the realities of what a tribe, fashioned by a particular history and culture, needed, desired, or could accept and carry out with success.

2. A general lack of vision and historical perspective. In the great mass of treaties, statutes, laws and regulations that have been built up during the long course of Federal-Indian relations, the non-Indian, either does not understand, or forgets certain truths about Indians that must never be forgotten.

- Indians have been here for thousands of years.
- This is their homeland.
- They evolved their own distinctive cultures, and did not share the points of view, attitudes, and thinking that came to the rest of the American population from Judeo-Christian, and Western Civilization legacies.
- Although the Indians were conquered militarily (and are the only portion of the American population that reflects that experience), they are confirming the lesson of history, namely, that no people has ever been coerced by another people into scuttling its own culture.
- Although acculturation and assimilation do occur, they occur only on the individual's own terms (28, pp.199-200).

The study asserts the following conclusions, among others, resulting from the investigation:

The education provided Indian children is a failure when measured by any reasonable set of criteria. The educational system has not succeeded in providing a majority of Indian children with the minimum level of competencies necessary to prepare them to be productive citizens in a larger society.

Additionally, very little attempt has been made to perpetuate the values and culture that might be unique to the Indian people, provide them with a sense of pride in their own heritage, or confidence that they can effectively control their own future development. It should be noted that the fault for these inadequacies in education does not lie entirely within the school; the whole system of relationships between the white majority community and the Indians is the source of the problem.

The crucial problem in the education of Indian children is the general relationship between white society and the Indian people. This relationship frequently demeans Indians, destroys their self-respect and self-confidence, develops or encourages apathy and a sense of alienation from the educational process, and deprives them of an opportunity to develop the ability and experience to control their own affairs through participation in effective local government (28, pp.203-204).

Investigative study, which is evidenced in abundance in the second half of the 60's, led to legislation specifically aimed at ameliorating many of the problems pointed out in those studies. The Indian Education Act, Title IV of Public Law 92-318, was signed into law on June 23, 1972. A U.S. Department of Education information brochure states the following as the specific reason for the appearance of this legislation:

The Indian Education Act came about as the result of a study initiated in 1967 by the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education. Recommendations from the 1969 Subcommittee Report; Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge, resulted in the introduction of the Act (S.659) on February 25, 1971, and it became law on June 23, 1972 (33, p.2).

The brochure enumerates other Federal education programs in which American Indians participate as a result of poverty or being eligible under handicapped or gifted criteria. Title IV, however, came about as a recognized need outside and beyond those areas.

However, members of Congress felt more specific legislation was needed to focus on the special educational needs of Indian students and to provide for increased Indian participation in federally funded education programs for Indians.

Thus, the Indian Education Act is designed to give schools and tribes maximum latitude in assessing their own needs and developing appropriate teaching materials and approaches (33, p.2).

The Act has four parts. Part A provides grants to local educational agencies and tribal schools on an entitlement basis according to the number of Indian children enrolled. A formula is used which multiplies the average per-pupil expenditure of the State involved to determine the financial entitlement of the individual district. Typical programs resulting from this part are described as:

Schools use the grants for such activities as developing curriculums dealing with tribal culture, history, and heritage; making available teacher aides and home-school coordinators from Indian communities; hiring tutors for pupils needing remedial instruction; and sponsoring such activities as field trips (33, p.2)

Part A was amended in 1978 by Public Law 95-561 which caused this part to:

(1) address "culturally related academic needs" of Indian children; (2) make qualifying tribally operated schools eligible for entitlement payments; (3) require an annual audit of one-third of the school districts receiving Part A funds; (4) provide a set-aside under Part A for competitive demonstration grants to public school districts; (5) make clear that persons serving in the place of the natural parent (in loco parentis) are eligible to serve on parent committees; (6) give parent committees input into hiring decisions and require parent committees to establish and adhere to by-laws (33, p.3).

Part B of the Act is discretionary in nature. Grants are made on the basis of national competition for available funding. Indian tribes, Indian organizations, Indian institutions, State and local educational agencies, and federally supported elementary and secondary schools for Indian children are eligible to submit proposals for competition. Individuals may also enter competition for grants under the Indian Fellowship Program.

As described in the brochure, this part

. . . authorizes grants to support planning, pilot, and demonstration projects; educational services not otherwise available in sufficient quantity or quality; training programs for persons serving Indian people as educational personnel; and fellowships for Indian students (33, p.3).

In 1974, Public Law 93-380 amended this part by providing authority for grants to be made which support special educational programs for teachers of Indian children. This amendment also extended fellowships for Indian students.

Part B was further amended by Public Law 95-561 in 1978. These amendments are described as serving the following purposes:

(1) broaden the scope of pilot and demonstration projects to include programs for the gifted and talented students; (2) expand existing teacher training programs to allow training of educators of Indian people (including adults) rather than just Indian children; (3) authorize the establishment of regional information centers; and (4) expand the fields for which fellowships may be made available to include fields of study leading toward post-baccalaureate degrees in medicine, law, education, and related fields; and toward undergraduate or graduate degrees in engineering, business administration, natural resources, and related fields (33, p.3).

Part C of the Indian Education Act provides educational services to adult Indians. They are discretionary in much the same way as described in Part B and those organizations eligible under Part B are also eligible in this part with the exception of federally supported elementary and secondary schools for Indian children and persons who have qualified and received grants as Indian fellows.

The final part of the Act, Part D, provides an administrative unit for the program. It also provides a panel to advise and evaluate governmental programs affecting Indian education. The Office of Indian Education functions as the administrative unit implementing the act.

It is housed in the Department of Education in Washington, D.C. and is charged with the responsibility of administering all portions of the Act. A National Advisory Council on Indian Education, made up of fifteen members who must be Indians or Alaskan Natives, has the responsibility of serving in advisory and evaluatory capacities for governmental programs of Indian education, including Title IV.

A document entitled A Handbook on Evaluation for Title IV Indian Education Act Projects was printed in Washington in 1976. The book is divided into five sections with each one addressing particular concerns in funding and operating Title IV programs.

The first section, needs assessment, suggests ways of determining priorities in needs of the Indian population. A definite guideline is stated concerning eligible activities and the involvement of Indian community members:

The Act states that the LEA must consider the inclusion of activities that build upon and support the heritage, traditions, and lifestyle of the community being served, in joint consultation with the Indian community and the parent committee (34, p.8).

The Handbook further emphasizes the requirement for Indian participation in planning and implementing all projects funded by the Act.

There is one point where the Act is specific to LEAs regarding needs assessment; Indian participation at all levels of project planning and implementation is mandated. Thus, any procedures for needs assessment must be designed to include Indian participants (34, pp.9-10).

Five techniques are discussed in the guide for gathering data to be compiled and used in a needs assessment: (1) the survey; (2) the group meeting; (3) the Delphi technique; (4) the use of a visiting expert or panel; and (5) the use of official records (31, p11).

Further insight into the beliefs upon which the program is based may be seen from this statement of purposes for assessment:

Assessment of educational needs is not only the beginning of the evaluation process, it is the beginning of the fulfillment process -- assuming that one must identify a need before one ministers to the need. Unless assessment reveals a deficit or shortcoming, no motivation exists to take action or remedy it (34, p.25).

This passage seems to suggest the belief that learners entering this program must exhibit deficits to qualify for participation. Hypothetically, the learner whose diagnostic profile shows strengths, not deficits, could not justify existence of a program or participation in programs already in existence. If a program exists for the purpose of addressing culturally related academic needs, as was stated as being a purpose for Title IV in previous reference, one must assume that some purpose exists for the learner in terms of outcomes which have no relation to cultural strengths inherent in the student's background.

The Handbook devotes twenty-three pages to a discussion of testing in section three. A comprehensive review of the relative strengths and weaknesses in various forms of testing procedures and instruments is presented. The first two paragraphs in this section state the view that:

Testing is a crucial part of the measurement aspect of evaluation and has often been considered synonymous with evaluation. Broader educational practices, however, now place it in a larger perspective in which the issue of what test should be used to measure the worth of a program is one of several critical aspects of decision making. Testing, nevertheless, remains an integral part of most evaluation schemes and thus deserves renewed attention.

Although in this presentation, testing refers primarily to standardized testing and is designed to serve as an aid to Title IV personnel in the selection, application, and interpretation of standardized tests, some limitations and cautions, as well as the useful and enhancing aspects of standardized testing are discussed. Because achievement testing is more widely used than any other forms of standardized testing (such as aptitude and intelligence or personality and attitude) in Title IV programs, when practical suggestions are made, they will focus here (34, p.1).

These paragraphs would suggest that the authors of this evaluation handbook support the wide usage of standardized testing in Title IV programs. These tests are, of course, both limited and limiting in terms of design and application. A test measures only that which it is intended to measure and in the realm of standardized instruments that area is relatively small. Addressing culturally related academic needs would be very difficult in terms of the content measured by even the most popular of these instruments.

The belief that a legitimate body of knowledge exists and is, therefore, exclusive of other forms of knowledge would allow a curriculum into which students must conform to standard expectations. The Handbook states the following assumptions about curriculum development:

The process of planning curriculum begins with formulated and specific goals, set either from theory or needs assessment. From these goals, specific objectives for what students are to learn then follow. Diagnosing student learning problems and limitations is a critical component both in determining which learning activities to present and in what order, as well as in evaluating how difficult the curriculum is. Curriculum evaluation must follow a similar pattern (34, pp. 3-4).

When the selection and sequence of learning activities is critically reliant upon diagnosis of student learning problems and limitations, a molding process seems to be connoted.

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, Public Law 93-638, became law on January 4, 1975. The purpose of the legislation stated in the statute is

To provide maximum Indian participation in the Government and education of the Indian people; to provide for the full participation of Indian tribes in programs and services conducted by the Federal Government for Indians and to encourage the development of human resources of the Indian people; to establish a program of assistance to upgrade Indian education; to support the right of Indian citizens to control their own educational activities; and for other purposes. (35, p. 2203).

Further justification of the law recognizes failures of the past and also recognizes the determination of American Indian people to retain control over their own relationships.

Sec. 2. (a) The Congress, after careful review of the Federal Government's historical and special legal relationship with, and resulting responsibilities to, American Indian people, finds that-

- (1) the prolonged Federal domination of Indian service programs has served to retard rather than enhance the progress of Indian people and their communities by depriving Indians of the full opportunity to develop leadership skills crucial to the realization of self-government, and has denied to the Indian people an effective voice in the planning and implementation of programs for the benefit of Indians which are responsive to the true needs of Indian communities; and
- (2) the Indian people will never surrender their desire to control their relationships both among themselves and with non-Indian governments, organizations, and persons.

(b) The Congress further finds that-

- (1) true self-determination in any society of people is dependent upon an educational process which will insure the development of qualified people to fulfill meaningful leadership roles;
 - (2) the Federal responsibility for and assistance to education of Indian children has not effected the desired level of educational achievement or created the diverse opportunities and personal satisfaction which education can and should provide; and
 - (3) parental and community control of the educational process is of crucial importance to the Indian people.
- (35, p. 2203).

The Declaration of Policy contained in the statute reaffirms Federal responsibility to American Indians and states the intention of transferring control of Indian programs and services to local and tribal entities.

Sec. 3. (a) The Congress hereby recognizes the obligation of the United States to respond to the strong expression of the Indian people for self-determination by assuring maximum Indian participation in the direction of educational as well as other Federal services to Indian communities so as to render such services more responsive to the needs and desires of those communities.

(b) The Congress declares its commitment to the maintenance of the Federal Government's unique and continuing relationship with and responsibility to the Indian people through the establishment of a meaningful Indian self-determination policy which will permit an orderly transition from Federal domination of programs for and services to Indians to effective and meaningful participation by the Indian people in the planning, conduct, and administration of those programs and services.

(c) The Congress declares that a major national goal of the United States is to provide the quantity and quality of educational services and opportunities which will permit Indian children to compete and excel in the life areas of their choice, and to achieve the measure of self-determination essential to their social and economic well-being (35, pp. 2203-2204).

This legislation appears to be aimed at refocusing both the design and control of Indian education programs. Fears of termination policy from the past have been specifically addressed and so have fears of past educational policy which was explicitly aimed at coercive assimilation.

The question raised at this point in legislative history is whether or not the point made earlier by Vallence concerning mainstream education, now pertains to Indian education. She was quoted in chapter two as stating that, "By the turn of the century it could be taken for granted that the schools were sufficiently homogeneous and regimented. The hidden curriculum was well ensconced" (8, p. 16). This would

suggest that the habits associated with educational design are difficult to change. We may tend to duplicate our experiences and build implicit beliefs into a learning situation of our own design. Until and unless a new model is presented, the same educational patterns will probably continue to be reproduced. Regardless of how well intentioned a law may be, the realization of potential change offered by its presence is left to those whose lives share its promise.

Concluding Remarks

The lust for land and power and the subsequent willingness to crush any form of opposition is not rare in world history. These were very evident traits in American history when viewed from the perspective of the American Indian. The total collection of events as seen from various levels ranging from that of the statesman to the grassroots population, reflect the zeitgeist of each stage. The American Indian fell subject to what might be termed a form of cultural genocide. Indian education frequently served as one tool among several in this process.

The purposes of education as an instrument of coercive acculturation can be seen clearly by tracing the history of Indian-White relations in American history. The beginnings of educational efforts in the missions and colonial settings were followed closely by further events and policies of the new government and its citizens.

Early educational efforts, however, were not cloaked by rhetoric as were those in the years to follow. Official action and policy, both spoken and written, stated goals which frequently contradicted the actions which resulted from them. Contracts in the form of treaties

stand as glaring examples of these contradictions. Overt methods of achieving assimilation gradually gave way to covert methods of accomplishing the same things in more recent years.

Today's federal education policy for Indians reflects many of the same policies which have been featured in it from the beginning. The language has changed, the tactics have softened and perhaps changed form to adapt to the zeitgeist of the 1980's but the intent is still the same. The struggle remains.

CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL CONTRASTS IN CONTEMPORARY

INDIAN EDUCATION

Introduction

Theorists were quoted in Chapter II whose views demonstrated the tendency of many researchers in the field of education to assert findings "produced as an abstraction from a simple context and then generalized as a basis for policy and practice" (24, p.37). This tendency was cited as one contributing factor to the propagation of the hidden curriculum in American schooling.

Unfortunately, too much has already been written and told about the ways of the American Indian as though each person was a duplication of all others. This study is not intended to follow in those footsteps. To pull any single element from a larger context and hold it as an example representing all others would only serve to purposely inject insincerity and inaccuracy into this study.

It would be beyond the scope of this study to seek out even a major portion of those forces, events, and values contributing to the various American Indian tribal cultures which contrast dominant cultural values found in America today. Each coalition, tribe, clan, and individual has a unique biography, thus a unique world-view upon which is built a set of values and a total personality.

Cultural elements will be selected from only one tribe in this study. A tribe has been selected with whom the writer of this study has spent a considerable amount of time and studied extensively. The tribe which has been chosen is also recognized as having retained one of the highest levels of traditional culture in the United States.

How the term Navajo came to be used as a name for this tribe is a matter of speculation in itself. A word which sounds very similar is used by some pueblo tribes which might be translated as "large area of cultivated lands". The spanish spelling which uses a "j" in the final syllable may come from a derivative of a word meaning a large or worthless piece of land. Regardless of how this name originated or became popular as a name for this tribe, it came from outsiders. The real name is Diné'é which roughly translates into English as The People.

It can be seen by this that the first contrast appears even before a name can be stated. Persons outside the tribe know its members as Navajos or in the English spelling Navahos. But those persons who know these people only by the term Navajo are outsiders and as such have little access to an understanding of the world as viewed by those whose language conveys much more than the name Diné'é. It would be extremely difficult if not impossible for an outsider to appreciate fully the sense of belonging with others who share the language or the sense of detachment from those who do not.

Zais (15) points out the close relationship existing between language and culture in this statement:

Research and linguistic science over the past several decades has shown that language is a significant aspect of culture, not so much because it operates as a vehicle for the expression of cultural ideas, but because it operates in extremely subtle and powerful ways as the very shaper of those ideas (pp. 166-167).

Young (36, p.iii) states much the same belief when he says that
 ✓ "a language is an integral part of the culture of the people who speak it; together a cultural and linguistic system establish a frame of reference within which its participants perceive the world about them".

If a language can be viewed as a codification of a culture, then it would seem reasonable that decoding the language would provide one means of delving into a culture. Kluckhohn and Leighton (31) expressed this concept somewhat differently.

Since the Navahos, like all other peoples, necessarily think with words, at least a superficial conception of the main peculiarities of the Navaho language must be gained before endeavoring to see the world as it appears to The People (p. 253).

It would not serve the purposes of this study to include an in-depth examination of all the sounds, words, and sentence patterns of the Navajo language to be compared to those of the English language. It will be helpful, however, to examine a few of the major differences, if for no other reason, to heighten appreciation for the overwhelming achievement of many Navajo youngsters who often function well in both languages very early in life.

Some Contrasts in the English and Navajo Languages

When vowel length is spoken of in English we are actually speaking of different sounds or phonemes used in the language. Vowel phonemes, some of which exist in common in both languages, do not present the greatest problem in comparing the vowel systems. Young (36, p.28) describes other differences found in the vowel systems of the languages when he explains that, "Unlike English, the features of vowel length, quality (nasal/oral), and fixed tonal pitch are used to distinguish

meaning in Navajo".

Young (36) explains that vowel length in the Navajo language is actually vowel duration, or length of the sound as sustained by the speaker:

In Navajo, a long vowel is, as the name implies, one in which production of the sound is prolonged. Thus the /a/ of the sha, sun, is short -- it is produced quickly and is very brief in duration; in contradistinction, its long counterpart (distinguished in writing by doubling the graphic symbol /aa/, as in shaa, to me, is prolonged.

All Navajo vowels and diphthongs (vowel clusters) occur short and long, and length is often the only feature that distinguishes between two homophonous words (p. 28).

The second feature, vowel quality, also distinguishes meaning in this system of vowels:

Navajo vowels occur in a nasal as well as an oral series, somewhat after the fashion of French. As in the instance of vowel length, oral/nasal quality is a feature of Navajo that serves to distinguish meaning. In fact, it may be the only distinguishing feature between otherwise homophonous words. Nasal vowels, like their counterparts occur both short and long. Nasality is indicated in writing by a subscript "nasal hook" (36, p.29).

Examples of vowel quality cited by Young include shí, meaning summer, which has the same grapheme except for the nasal hook as shí, meaning I, but is, of course, a completely different word. The last feature is vowel tone.

The vowel components of morphemes that compose Navajo words, including syllabic (n) carry an inherent tone-- that is, they are uttered at a relatively high, low, falling or rising voice level which serves to distinguish meaning. The important point is that tone (voice pitch) in Navajo, as in the Chinese languages, itself serves to distinguish meaning, sometimes between morphemes that are otherwise homophonous. High tone (voice pitch) is indicated graphically by an acute accent (´) placed over a vowel, including syllabic (n); and low tone by absence of a diacritic. Falling and rising tone occurs only on long vowels and diphthongs (or vowel clusters), and is indicated graphically by placing an acute accent mark (´) over the first letter of a long vowel or the first element of a diphthong if the tone is falling or over the second letter or element if the tone is rising (36, pp.29-30).

This description of differences between the vowel systems of English and those of Navajo is extremely brief and by no means complete. At best, it may be adequate to foster some insight into these systems which, complicated as they may seem, are the simplest to present and understand of all the contrasts in the two languages.

Young lists seven consonant phonemes which are found in English but have no correspondents in Navajo. He indicates sixteen consonant phonemes found in Navajo which have no correspondents in English. This does not, however, provide as much advantage for the native Navajo speaker who is learning English as a second language as might appear at first glance.

Although the English speaking learner of Navajo has the greater burden in the form of consonant phonemes that bear little or no resemblance to those of his own language, and which must therefore be learned without reference to his past experience, the Navajo speaking learner of English must acquire the ability to articulate a large variety of more or less familiar phonemes in unaccustomed word positions and, worse yet, he must learn to articulate a wide variety of consonantal clusters to which he is almost totally unaccustomed from his past experience (36, pp. 35-36).

A conversational trait apparent in the Navajo learner of English is described by Young as "choppiness". He attributes this to the glottal stop, written with the symbol ✓, which "does not occur as a distinctive phoneme in English, but has a high frequency rate in Navajo where it does function as such" (36, p. 42).

Intonation and juncture are features of the Navajo language which present sufficient difficulty to warrant mention in this review.

As we have noted, Navajo is a "tone-language" - one in which relative voice pitch is an inherent, integral feature of the morphemes, itself serving to distinguish meaning (36, p. 49).

Asking a question presents another contrast between the two languages.

Both languages utilize inflections, contrasting stresses, and similar features, but the patterns governing such use differ radically. In English, a rising voice pitch on the last sound in the sentence It was she? indicates interrogation; It was she. with a low pitch on she changes the meaning to a mere statement of fact. Navajo does not use this type of mechanism to convey the idea of interrogation (36, p.50).

Contrasting stress and intonation patterns present further difficulties in learning either language as a second language.

Navajo beginners read and speak English without the stress and intonation patterns that characterize the speech of native speakers of English. The English use of intonation and stress as devices to distinguish meaning is as foreign to Navajo as the tone and vowel length systems of Navajo are to English (36, p.50).

These few highlights of the contrasts between the phonemes or sounds and the morphemes or basic units of meaning between the English and Navajo languages will perhaps suffice to demonstrate the complexities in simply learning to utter either as a second language. Reproduction of the language, regardless of how difficult it may be, does not in itself provide an essential understanding of cultural implications within which the language is embedded. Frustrations with expression in the Navajo language by native English speakers is sometimes excused as inadequate vocabulary of the language itself or by passing the language off as primitive. A more accurate view might be that the speaker who merely learns to reproduce sounds and then to string them together into phrases which approximate expression knows little or nothing of the reality which the language functions to communicate.

Kluckhohn and Leighton (31) shed considerable light upon this problem with this explanation:

We learn such foreign languages as Spanish, French, Italian, and German with a minimum of difficulty because there exist so many analogies, both with respect to grammar and to words, with our own native English. Moreover, the pattern according to which we conceive and express our thoughts in English and in these common European languages is basically the same throughout.

On the other hand, the Navaho language presents a number of strange sounds which make the words very hard to remember at first. Secondly, the pattern of thought varies so greatly from our English pattern that we have no small difficulty in learning to think like, and subsequently to express ourselves like the Navaho (pp. 254-255).

Thus far examination of language contrasts in this study has been centered upon those problems found in utterance of the language by the person learning either language as a second language. This small sample of those problems is obviously far from complete. Aside from the obvious difficulty likely to be encountered in learning a language which is structurally different from one's own native language, the point has been taken that the structure of the language itself does not allow a world-view to be expressed as a simple or direct translation.

Word-for-word or even thought-for-thought translation is not attainable in these languages which serve to communicate and function within very different cultural beliefs about one's self, others, and universe. This does not occur simply because of the inability of grammatical structures to correspond between the two languages. Some concepts inherent in the Navajo language are likely to be less evident to the observer or investigator who is unskilled in linguistic analysis. They are, however, essential to an understanding of the world-view as seen through the cultural-linguistic window of the Navajo people.

The concept of a universe constantly in a state of motion usually brings to mind a chart of the solar system or a science lesson on planets and orbits in an elementary science textbook. Those of us who are accustomed to schedules and appointments being arranged by dissections of days, months and years and standardized for us by electronic and mechanical timepieces, seldom think of these time units in relation to things in nature. The English language easily allows separation of events and daily activities from the rest of the universe. We usually relate these things to those processes and natural events which restrict us or in some way directly affect our lives. Darkness restricts us and the cold of winter causes us to think in terms of natural movement having a direct relationship to time. For the most part, we are able to isolate time from natural movement by concentrating our purposes upon social events which relate to our dissected units of time. Some would say that we live our lives by the clock.

The Navajo culture builds heavily upon the concept of orderly progression in the succession of events throughout the universe and would therefore perceive of many types of events as facets of a broader concept.

Young (36) notes the importance of understanding this difference in this statement:

The principles of motion and progression as features of Navajo culture in general and of the language in particular could be illustrated by a long array of examples, and concern with these principles appears to be a major point of difference between the Navajo and Anglo-American peoples as they conceive of the world in which they live; as they react to it; and as they express the essential nature of events (p.58).

The Navajo language expresses motion throughout a very broad context in which single events are viewed as a part of the much larger orderly progression of things. The language structure reflects this perception.

By far the most important word class in the Navajo language is the verb, a fact which itself implies the relative importance of motion and action in the Navajo world-view (36, p.57).

A simple illustration of how this difference appears as expressions of the two languages can be seen in this example:

The concept denoted by English be (in position, at rest), as in "the hat is on the table", is expressed in Navajo by certain neuter static verb forms connoting that movement of an object, having ended, has resulted in a state of rest (36, p.52).

Another feature of the Navajo culture and subsequently of the language involves actors and the roles portrayed by them. This feature reflects the conspicuous absence of force in certain situations where force, or more specifically coercion, would be likely to be expressed in English.

Young (36) describes the purposes and functions of actors in the Navajo language in this way:

As expressed in Navajo, some types of movement are performed by the subject of the verb himself; some types are caused to take place by the subject of the verb; and still other types of movement involve a conveyance as the primary actor; lastly, the conveyance may be caused to move, transporting still another person or persons in addition to the agent.

The English concept to go may be expressed in a multiplicity of ways, in Navajo, reflecting the manner in which the movement takes place. One may go by walking, running, trotting, galloping, floating, flying, or an unspecified manner. These actions may be performed by a conveyance such as a horse, a mule, an automobile, a boat, or an airplane, and the person conveyed may be not only the one transported, but provided the conveyance is inanimate, lacking a will of its own, the person conveyed may be expressed as the agent who causes the movement.

He may not cause a horse to trot or gallop, following the same pattern, however, because a horse has a will of his own (p. 77).

A feature of the Navajo language which is closely related to the lack of coercion is the lack of an imperative mode as such. Future tense modes allow an obligatory sense to be communicated which, in a very indirect way, can serve an imperative function. A closely paraphrased interpretation of the language allows what would appear as descriptions of actions which are desired of others but no direct command can be expressed as in English.

A very simple example which may serve to illustrate this feature in the language can be seen in the direct translation of the English command, "give it to me", which could be expressed in Navajo as , (shaa, to me; ní'aah, you are in the act of giving it) (36, p.99).

Of course, language is only one means by which the world-view of the Navajo people can be understood. While it may be accurate to say that the language codifies the culture and would, therefore, ultimately transmit cultural beliefs at even the deepest level, to utilize this vehicle would require an exploration of it which far exceeds the scope of this study. Features included in this study have served to illustrate perceptual differences emulating from beliefs within the two cultures and expressed by the language structures.

Additional insight into the world-view of traditional Navajo culture can be gained by examining some of the beliefs about one's self, other beings, and the universe. This would not necessarily require reference to the language although it might be helpful in some instances.

The Navajo Self, Others and Universe

Motion throughout the universe was discussed earlier. A basic point from that discussion centered upon the concept that the world is perceived in a very large context wherein events move about in a systematic and progressive way. Isolation of events from the larger context is not inherent within the Navajo culture and thus contradicts the segmentalized units into which the dominant American culture divides days and years.

This same "oneness" can be viewed throughout the social order of the Navajo. Removing single aspects of the culture as though they were parts of a machine to be inspected and then replaced does an injustice when it leaves the observer with an impression that cultural elements exist in separate compartments which are individual and distinct from all others. This, of course, may be an accurate assumption for all cultures to one extent or another. When it can be seen, however, that a language reflects the extent of segmentalization inherent within the culture codified by it, it might be assumed that this offers one means by which the inseparability of beliefs and behavior can be examined.

Resistance of the language to verbal surgery suggests that the same resistance exists in the Navajo culture as well. This may possibly explain to a small extent why cultural transplants have been largely unsuccessful at any level deeper than the surface. The Navajo people have been quick to accept and adopt those elements from others which make living easier. Such things as the horse, gun, tools of any variety, pickups, manufactured clothing and building construction methods have been readily accepted within economic limitations.

Young (36, p.6) extends this notion in this way:

Material elements from non-Indian culture continued to be accepted and incorporated wholesale into that of the Navajo and other Indian tribes, but incorporation of the values, customs, concepts, language associated habits, and institutions of the outside community enter slowly and painfully, often as the result of heavy pressure.

The Navajo and the Pueblo did not junk his own religion for Christianity, discard his own language for Spanish or English, or drop his clan, kinship or other social system in favor of a borrowed replacement.

Further evidence of the indivisibility of belief and lifestyle is offered by these assertions from Kluckhohn and Leighton (31, p.179).

There is no word or phrase in their language which could possibly be translated as "religion". Their world is still a whole. Every daily act is colored by their conceptions of supernatural forces, ever present and ever threatening.

Zintz (37) relates this incident which further accents and illuminates the outlook of The People toward isolation of belief from daily living:

Older Navajos say, "We have always been here". Between the four mountains is their world. When one Navajo woman was questioned about the fact that Navajos did not build churches, her reply was that anywhere between the four mountains is a sacred place.

Navajo ethics in the traditional culture are not primarily based upon fixed regulatory restrictions and principles.

The Navajo never appeals to an abstract morality or to adherence to divine principles. He stresses mainly the practical considerations; "If you don't tell the truth, your fellows won't trust you and you'll shame your relatives (31, p.297).

Treatment of outsiders is viewed somewhat differently from treatment of one's own people. Since ethical behavior appears to be based upon practical rather than fixed principles, it would make sense that it would be flexible in its everyday form.

Zintz (37) points out how this creates problems within the school environment:

This makes understandable the numerous reports of teachers that among these children stealing and lying are bad only if caught, and behavior with strangers is classified differently than with clansmen (p. 144).

This same idea is expanded to include emotional aspects in this passage by Kluckhohn and Leighton (31).

This much, however, seems to be a distinctive part of the native attitude; a Navaho does not spend much time worrying over a lie or a theft when he is not found out; he seems to have almost no "guilt" feelings; but if he is caught he does experience a good deal of shame (p. 298).

Examination of these and other situations involving ethics points to a very strong regulating force in what has been commonly referred to as significant others in one's life. Those persons whose places occupy positions of closeness in the social order of Navajo individuals are afforded special treatment. Kluckhohn and Leighton (31, pp. 298-299) state that the ultimate goal in positive behaviors for The People is "to act to everybody as if they were your own relatives".

Separation of human nature into a dicotomy of good and evil is an alien pattern to the world-view of the Navajo. Both qualities are assumed to be blended into all persons from birth with little real possibility for changing the proportional balance of each individual.

This blending of good and evil would, again, point to the "oneness" of the Navajo world-view. Another practice which follows the same view is curing. Kluckhohn and Leighton (31) inject this opinion about two different approaches to medicine and curing.

The whole Navajo system of curing clearly takes it for granted that you cannot treat a man's "body" without treating his "mind" and vice versa. In this respect, Navahos are many generations ahead of white Americans, who are only now beginning to realize that it is the patient, not the disease, which must be treated (p. 309).

Safety in one's existence presents another form of the same overall view. Forces and events not understood or not resulting from a specific action by an individual present a need for some form of assurance of security. To the Navajo this assurance comes from believing that one's life is in tune with all things both seen and unseen.

The Navajo conceives safety either as restoration of the individual to the harmonies of the natural, human, and supernatural world or, secondarily, as restoration of an equilibrium among nonhuman forces (31, p.304).

Wealth presents another contrast between values in the traditional Navajo culture and the dominant American culture. Previous examples of Navajo values have pointed to a deep identity with members of one's family and other significant persons. The family occupies a position of prominence in viewing the matter of wealth.

Navajo ideas of accumulation are different from those of whites. Riches are not identified so much with a single individual as with the whole extended family and "outfit". Indeed the social pressure to support and share with relatives has a strong leveling effect. The members of a well-off family must spend freely, as in the white pattern of "conspicuous consumption". But all wealth is desired for this purpose and for security rather than as a means of enhancing the power and glory of specific individuals (31, p.301).

Health and strength are valued above all else, partly because these attributes provide one with the things most necessary for work. Work or productivity, in turn, provides support for living and within those limits encouraged by the social order, the accumulation of wealth.

Knowledge is closely related to the attributes of health and strength. Knowledge, however, falls subject to much of the same standard applied to wealth. A person who builds an excessive amount ✓ of wealth is often distrusted and feared at the same time he is admired and envied. Knowledge may be considered to be wealth in a sense. Kluckhohn and Leighton (31, p.300) relate an incident in which an old Navajo man told W.W. Hill, "I have always been a poor man. I do not know a single song." This knowledge, essential to performance of ceremonial traditions or duties shares a place with knowledge of skills and technology in the Navajo value system.

Traits which exhibit personal excellence are valued very highly by The People but personal success in the sense of accumulation of wealth is not.

Leadership also presents a problem to those who anticipate finding the same hierarchical arrangements in traditional Navajo communities as in white communities. Decisions at meetings must be unanimous. "To The People it is fundamentally indecent for a single individual to ✓ presume to make decisions for a group" (31, p.302).

This is, of course, extremely tiresome, frustrating, and seemingly a waste of time to outsiders. Life is much simpler when discussion is ✓ limited and may be stopped by a motion to question the issue on the floor. One has simply to take a vote and settle the issue. Kluckhohn and Leighton (31) provide a different view of this process from another angle.

But it is interesting to note that experiments with "group decision" in war industry have shown that the greatest increases in production have been attained when all workers ✓ in a unit concurred. Majority decisions often brought about disastrous results (p. 302).

Concluding Remarks

In any overview of contrasting elements between two cultures the danger exists of creating an image typifying individual members of either culture . No suggestion is intended from these descriptions that a stereotypical person exists who would be called a Navajo. This writer agrees with those who consider every person as having a unique biography ✓ and no individual could, therefore, be a duplicate of another.

The same principle applies to a depiction of Navajo culture. "In its totality, a cultural system is a frame of reference that shapes and governs one's picture of the world around him" (36, p.4). This description of a cultural system suggests that the ultimate reality is within the individual, not in an overarching and constraining force which might be called society. This is particularly important when one is considering the Navajo people in today's changing environment.

Young (36) helps clarify this thought with this viewpoint:

Neither culture generally, nor language in particular are static; both are in a constant state of change for a variety of reasons, including cultural and linguistic borrowing (p. 12).

A major factor which is now creating change in the Navajo cultural system and has been a cause of change in the past several generations is contact with other cultures, most notable of course is today's dominant American culture. The same principle of change, however, would apply to that culture also. The final analysis, then, presents a concept of fluidity of cultural systems which are in a constant state of change at various speeds in an unpredictable pattern of blending elements.

The Navajo Indian, as an individual, is subject to the same blending of cultural elements. Unlike the impersonal concept of society as an entity of forces and structures, this individual must form a picture of the world about him including, among other things, beliefs and perceptions of self, others, and his universe. His ontological and axiological foundations must be formed within this frame of reference.

This study is concerned with axiological perspectives and the processes by which they are asserted in American schooling. The contrasts shown between the traditional Navajo culture and the dominant American way of life will possibly provide further illumination of these processes. It is hoped that the cultural contrasts presented in this study are sufficient to provide the reader with some understanding of what a child might encounter whose world-view is subject to influences from these two very different perspectives. American classrooms provide one of the most intensive forms of this encounter.

CHAPTER V

THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM IN AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

Derivations of the Hidden Curriculum in American Indian Education

American schooling was viewed in a portion of Chapter II of this study as one of several tools comprising a process by which persons and groups of persons have exercised power to create and perpetuate a self-serving cultural system. Major elements of the cultural system seemed to follow a pattern of appearing, dominating, and finally subsiding. Once in domination, however, they never seem to fully disappear nor completely lose their influence upon society. From an historical perspective, some observers might describe the zeitgeist of any given age as a reflection of the rise and fall of those elements as they gain and lose influence in the changing consciousness of society.

Religion, as a dominant element of society, was at the peak of domination in the theocratic society of the Puritan. The influence of that element can be seen in many principles evident in American society today. Perhaps much of the preoccupation of certain individuals, groups and legislative bodies which seem determined to protect individuals from themselves can be traced to that period in American history. Other-world centered philosophies commonly recognize the right of ordained members to dominate and dictate behavior to others.

Robert Zeis (15) summarizes this point in this way:

In such times, obviously, important decisions affecting the society were not made democratically by the masses, but rather by ecclesiastical leaders and secular rulers. It was this select group that had most need of knowledge of the good, since it was they who were ordained by divine decree to lead the society to the good life (p. 129).

Both homogeneity and elitism can easily be justified when couched ✓
in the proselytizing nature of the puritan society.

Industrialization gave birth to a need for man to serve machine. Mass production created places where individuals would spend major portions of their lives in routine tasks where neither creativity nor spontaneity could survive. Other levels of the production process demanded different skills and other kinds of thinking which were suited to supervisory tasks and higher levels of administrative tasks. To supply these needs a sorting process was needed in America's schools. Beyond the sorting of individuals into classes there also existed the need for a curriculum which could inculcate values and beliefs into pupils which would prepare them for respective roles in society. Punctuality, silence, and discipline are traits specifically named as highly valued attributes in this setting. Issues surrounding this notion were discussed in chapter two as correspondence theory.

The technological society corresponds well with the earth-centered philosophy which views truth as the product of man's investigation into the mysteries of the universe. Individuals can be viewed as scientific objects whose behavior essentially reflects the essence of his existence. He becomes, in this view, scientifically explainable and would fit into ✓
any given mold if variables could be controlled.

Doctrines of equality and inherent rights of individuals became dominating thoughts in the nineteenth century. This gave rise to the cultural element called democratization. Perhaps the common theme of the "American dream" resulted primarily from this element. Individual success built upon and measured by materialistic acquisition and the ever present quest to move up into higher levels of socioeconomic strata would evidence this element in the American cultural system.

Nationalism was necessary as an element of cohesion and common purpose. Individuals who probe deeply and question assumptions frequently uncover embarrassments to any system and are, therefore, not encouraged by that system. Curriculum materials which were bought and incorporated into schools would, of course, be those most likely to emphasize events, traits and ideas which reflect the most favorable light upon those sanctioned by the system.

Prominent statesmen and acclaimed national heroes have often been rationalized and distorted so far out of character as to be unrecognizable to those persons victimized by their actions. Historical events may be viewed as glorious victories or devastating massacres depending upon the historian's point of view. Indian history stands as a prime example of this process. The scorched-earth policy followed by Kit Carson which resulted in starvation, surrender and captivity for eight-thousand Navajo people of all ages contrasts textbook versions of the image of Kit Carson. Those same textbooks have been presented to Navajo youngsters whose grandparents told them of The Long Walk to Fort Sumner in 1864.

It is evident from the policies and actions reviewed in Chapter III that the goals and purposes of early schooling for American Indian students were explicitly centered upon coercive assimilation at any and all costs. Fluctuations occurred which began to show a softening of this position and the introduction of more humanitarian approaches during the New Deal period. This was short-lived however, with the return to former policies and the trend toward termination of federal responsibilities to American Indian tribes in the late 1940's.

A change in the rhetoric of Indian education became apparent in the 1960's which closely resembles the change in rhetoric described by Vallence in Chapter II of this study. Vallence argues that the change in rhetoric in American schooling ushered in what has become known as the hidden curriculum. She further asserts that ✓

the hidden curriculum became hidden by the end of the nineteenth century simply because by that point the rhetoric had done its job. Schooling had evolved from a supplementary socializing influence to an active impositional force (8, p.16).

Giroux (18) offers a description of the hidden curriculum in American schooling which serves well in recapitulating the concept at this point. He includes in the hidden curriculum

those messages and values that are conveyed to students ✓
"silently" through the selection of specific forms of knowledge, the use of specific classroom relations, and the defining characteristics of the school organizational structure (p. 35).

How the concept may have emerged, what its major characteristics include, what effects it has upon schooling and individuals involved with schooling, and how it is sustained are the contexts within which it was reviewed in this study.

Regardless of the context within which it is viewed or what theorist asserts a contribution to broaden our understanding of the hidden curriculum, one quality stands out. Its overriding purpose is that of shaping and molding students in accordance with a set of values and assumptions existing, for the most part, in middle-class American ideology.

Evidence from American Indian history and particularly Indian educational history, portray the same overriding purpose. Beginning with explicit actions and beliefs, efforts to force assimilation gradually gave way to implicit means of accomplishing the same purpose in more recent years. The end result, that of conformity to cultural values and mores, was central to these efforts.

Recipients of the Hidden Curriculum

Chapter four attempts to provide some insight into several differences in the dominant American cultural system and the traditional cultural system of the Navajo Indian. Other than providing a vantage point for gaining a deeper understanding of the gap between these cultural systems, perhaps the most significant contribution of this comparison is in providing additional enlightenment concerning why, as Josephy (28, p.200) pointed out previously, "no people has ever been coerced by another people into scuttling its own culture."

A familiar concept often heard in various forms by educators of American Indian youth is that of existence between cultures. The common assumption being that Indian people are somewhere on a path leading from their traditional cultural system to that of the dominant American culture.

As can be seen in Chapter III of this study, the journey upon this path can be traced for more than four-hundred years. No observer would need to search far to see the reality of this journey nor the variety of detours, dead-end streets, and pitfalls in the path itself. The path has also been found to lead to many destinations since the dominant American culture changes shape and form in response to the struggle of its own cultural elements to gain a larger sphere of influence.

The point is, as stated previously, each Indian youth as an individual has his or her own unique biography and none is, therefore, an exact duplicate of another. It might be safe to assume that in many cases Indian youth face a greater conflict of beliefs and values within themselves than most persons because of the greater diversity of beliefs inherent in the two conflicting cultures in which they exist. Ontological issues, the meaning of existence or the philosophical underpinning of being, become very real issues to persons living in this situation. Anxiety, fear and distrust are frequent companions to conflicts of beliefs and the subsequent struggle to define what is real and what is true. Axiological arguments concerning what is good must be based upon these assumptions and in a state of conflicting ontological assumptions, have little basis upon which to be constructed.

Inequality of Opportunity

Inequality in schooling and the subsequent issue of inequality in society have been central issues in numerous studies. The team of Bowles and Nelson (38, pp. 112-120) produced significant findings from a large sampling which correlate educational attainment and personal income.

Intelligence quotient, as commonly measured in schools, was found to play a negligible role in passing economic status from parent to child. Differences in cognitive skills between workers with differing levels of education were found to have little bearing upon the relationship of economic success to schooling. In spite of these findings, however, the researchers found a strong correlation between educational attainment and personal income.

Sewell (39) reported similar findings in 1971 in a study which followed nine thousand high school students in Wisconsin. His findings show that:

High ability students from the top quartile in socioeconomic status were twice as likely to enroll in college as high ability students who were socioeconomically in the lowest quartile and were twice again as likely to graduate from college. The same students were further found to be 3.5 times as likely to enter graduate school (p. 103).

Among many possible explanations for this phenomenon, it would seem reasonable to connect academic success with financial backing to a large extent. Obviously, a student whose financial support is a constant source of concern has a number of disadvantages compared to the student whose support is adequate and stable. Regardless of how one might explain the findings of these and other researchers whose work supports these correlations, the evidence points toward a close hereditary factor in American socioeconomic status and a close relationship of American schooling to that status.

The book entitled Small Futures by deLone (39) presents a theory which asserts that a major source of inequality in America's schools stems from the coexistence of two opposed doctrines inherent in American liberalism.

American liberalism as an economic doctrine advocates a form of capitalism characterized by a free-market. Free competition by producers with free choice by workers and consumers theoretically would produce optimal distribution of goods and effort. Such a model would, of course, produce large disparities of wealth among its citizens because of the necessary incentives of wealth and enterprise. Economic inequalities are considered essential to the functioning of a liberal economy.

On the other hand, American liberalism as a political doctrine is committed to the greatest possible equality. This can be verified by such things as judicial decisions of the Supreme Court, extension of the vote, and numerous reform measures aimed at removing barriers to equal participation in governing society.

Each doctrine in itself, in its pure form, offers an acceptable form for use in social structure. The problem appears in the coexistence of economic and political liberalism and the resulting conflict. The wealth and prosperity inherent in the inegalitarian design of economic liberalism results in those citizens being able to gain social control of others through economic means. More power as consumers means more freedom to choose better quality products and a greater capacity to buy the services of others which leads in turn to provision of both opportunity and means to formulate new schemes for producing added wealth, and so the cycle repeats itself.

The obvious device for breaking this self-perpetuating pattern is political liberalism itself. Egalitarian efforts by government can be seen in reform measures throughout history.

These reform measures have not been designed or intended to narrow the gap between the distribution of economic rewards or social standings in the present generation, however. They have instead concentrated efforts toward uplifting the next generation. Those elements of economic and social inequality which we see existing in society have spurred efforts to improve the morality, character, skills, and intelligence of children hoping that these efforts will reduce social, economic, and racial inequality in the next generation. The mission of childhood, then, has been to fulfill the dreams of the children's parents. Those dreams include the promise of equal opportunity in society.

The mission of childhood, as viewed by deLone, would offer viable rationales for further exploration of the hidden curriculum in American schooling.

Options for Dealing with the Hidden Curriculum

Curriculum theorists and sociologists have approached the problem of solving the dilemma created by the hidden curriculum in a variety of ways. Perhaps the most profound solution is proposed by Illich (40) in a book entitled Deschooling Society. He argues that no society should require compulsory schooling in any form and that employers should be prevented by legislation from using hiring practices based upon the amount of an individual's schooling. Dependency upon teachers and other recognized experts is learned in the present form of schooling. This is closely paralleled by the recognition of a legitimate body of knowledge held by education which excludes from the formal curriculum other forms of knowledge.

Intellectual autonomy, the capacity to think for oneself, is believed by Illich to be untaught or at least ineffectually taught in schools.

Illich proposes a network of alternative institutions to replace the present form and system of American schools. An informal setting of matching learners with teachers and other learners would assemble groups with similar interests who wish to exchange and explore ideas and information.

Martin approaches the problem of acting upon aspects of the hidden curriculum in a very different manner from that of Illich. Her approach cautions that an objectionable hidden curriculum can be replaced with an even more objectionable one if that error is not guarded against by the agents who are producing change.

Once we recognize that any aspect of an educational setting can have learning states which are not openly intended, that changes in settings can produce such states, that the learning states produced by a setting may be different for every learner and that new learners constantly enter educational settings, then I think we must acknowledge that for any given setting hidden curricula cannot be avoided (12, p.141).

She further argues for an investigative approach to change.

If our concern is not simply to discover hidden curricula but to do something about them, we must find out which elements or aspects of a given setting help bring about which components of that setting's hidden curriculum. For if we do not know the sources of the learning states belonging to a hidden curriculum, we must either let that hidden curriculum be or do away with the whole setting (12, p.141).

The inevitability of hidden curriculum in any setting as proposed by Martin, would cause one to wonder what hidden curricula might appear in the system previously proposed by Illich. Justification for Illich's proposal by Martin's standards would come from not knowing the sources of the hidden curriculum causing concern.

Once educators have found both a hidden curriculum and its sources, Martin (12) suggests the following alternatives:

(1) We can do nothing: we can leave the setting alone rather than try to change it, in which case the relevant learning states become foreseen by us, whereas previously they were not, but they do not otherwise change; in particular, the hidden curriculum remains hidden.

(2) We can change our practices, procedures, environments, rules and the like in an effort to root out those learning states we consider undesirable.

(3) Instead of changing a setting we can simply abolish it.

(4) It is always possible that we will want to embrace rather than abolish the hidden curriculum we find.

(5) When we find a hidden curriculum we can show it to those destined to be its recipients (pp. 144-145).

Doing nothing is not intended as an alternative of despair. This is the course most likely to be taken when a hidden curriculum is found to be harmless.

The second alternative includes several components of what is commonly known as radical school-reform measures. Martin includes open-classroom advocates, free-school proponents, those wanting to decentralize the control of schools, deschoolers, and those who advocate minimal schooling. When learning states are found to be harmful they must be eliminated. Attitudes and traits such as competitiveness, self-hatred and hostility toward one's peers are ✓ examples of learning states which are undesirable.

Martin (12) cautions that:

Attitudes and traits such as these seldom have a single, easily isolated source; indeed, those which are most offensive, because very basic, are likely to be products of a complex set of interrelated and entrenched practices and structures. To give up or modify one of these may well accomplish very little (p. 145).

The third alternative, abolishing a setting, is similar to the second, changing internal components of a setting. It could possibly be thought of as an extension of the second alternative when those sources or causes are found to be too deep or too extensive to allow correction. This might be utilized when those causes of any given hidden curriculum cannot be located or determined.

Support for this alternative can be argued by the belief, as stated by Martin (12, p.146) that, "It is not just formal educational settings which have hidden curricula. Any setting can have and most do". Replacing learning states or settings can result in substituting new ones of the same or worse consequence. It is for these reasons that Martin (12, p.145) reminds us: "It has been pointed out that radical school reform can only succeed if it goes hand in hand with radical societal reform".

The fourth alternative, embracing a hidden curriculum, is not intended to include harmless curricula such as in the first. Martin (12) explains this course of action in this way:

There are many today who applaud the learning states of neatness and competitiveness, docility and obedience to authority attributed to the hidden curriculum of our public schools (e.g. Purcell 1976). They actually have two alternatives; (a) they can openly acknowledge these learning states, thereby shifting them from hidden curriculum to curriculum proper, or (b) they can intend these learning states, but not openly, in which case they remain part of the hidden curriculum (p. 145).

The final alternative, showing a hidden curriculum to its recipients, is a form of what is commonly known as consciousness raising with the purpose of counteracting the hidden curriculum. An intended recipient is in a better position to resist, should he or she choose to do so, if aware of what is going on.

Making recipients aware of hidden curricula can be done in a variety of ways. "It can take place in informal rap sessions or formal seminars and can be aimed at those in a setting, those about to enter it, or those who once were in it" (12, p.148).

Consciousness raising cannot be effective in an isolated setting apart from the larger society in which it exists. As long as the larger society remains unchanged, it is unlikely that schools will be allowed to foster values and attitudes contrary to those of surrounding institutions. Martin (12) extends the notion that schools should take an active role in disclosing the hidden curriculum:

One would hope that schools trying to abolish their own hidden curriculum while keeping students within their own walls would conduct consciousness-raising sessions about the hidden curricula in the larger society, too. Schools that did this would, in effect, become centers for the critique of social institutions.

Receptivity and perhaps even tolerance for this activity is highly unlikely in most communities. Martin (12, p.150) states that while she believes schools should serve this function, she cautions that "only an optimist would think they could or would serve it as long as they remain public and society remains the way it is".

Toward Change in American Indian Education

Curricular theorists, sociologists and historians whose points of view have been included in this study tend to support the belief that any real change in American Indian education would have to be accompanied by massive societal change. At the very least, societal change would have to occur in each local community in a manner suited to that particular setting.

This premise would possibly place the American Indian in the position of having two basic choices. The first choice would be to give up tribal identities and blend into mainstream American society or, secondly, the choice remains to retain identities and remain in the present state. One would have to assume that the benefits go with the territory. Retaining identities, for the most part, can be readily seen as offering very few materialistic benefits. An observer would not have to visit many tribes or reservations to confirm this fact. Yet, identities of many tribes have been retained. Many of these tribes have survived over four hundred years of coercive assimilation with every imaginable tactic having been employed at one time or another in efforts to complete this task.

Retaining identity has been costly for most tribes, not only in terms of material wealth, but in terms of health, infant mortality, and alcoholism. The least visible cost of identity is perhaps the most expensive, destroying the self-respect of individuals. Many of those who have paid this price for identity are children, more specifically children in school.

Only in recent decades have tactics of coercive assimilation softened enough to admit that American Indian parents do actually care for their children and that the American Indian family has a human right to exist as a family. The separation of children from their parents, as related in Chapter III of this study, shows evidence of this thinking as late as 1953.

Low self-esteem, confusion, poverty and dismay are often price tags of being an American Indian. Too often, this is the state of the American Indian and this is where change must begin to be significant.

The first working hypothesis resulting from this study involves growth in terms of understanding. This growth begins with a fuller understanding of and with our fellow man. Only when we become fully acquainted with ourselves as unique beings including our values, beliefs and origins, can we expect a fuller understanding of others to be feasible. A form of consciousness raising starting with ourselves and building outward is the beginning of change.

Will a more complete understanding of self, taken alone, ensure change in American Indian education? Probably not, very little change would result from this process alone. Significant change will have to involve the larger society and cannot be expected to occur all at once. The women's movement, as an example, did not cause massive changes overnight. Consciousness of society is relatively slow to change at best. The gradual awareness of harmful effects from sexist attitudes began without total social chaos. Unlike the American woman, however, the American Indian people usually stand apart from the larger society and face the added dimension of cultural differences.

A point made by Josephy (28) which was quoted in Chapter III of this study is worth repeating here.

The crucial problem in the education of Indian children is the general relationship between white society and the Indian people. This relationship frequently demeans Indians, destroys their self-respect and self-confidence, develops or encourages apathy and a sense of alienation from the educational process --- (p. 204).

Zintz (37) adds this dimension:

Manuelito, an old leader of The People, spoke of education as being the bridge which would help The People find a better life. It is the writer's feeling that this bridge must not, can not, be made for The People, but that it can only be built with The People.

This involves understanding. We must all try to begin where we find ourselves. It seems like more and more people are realizing the need of understanding and are trying to do something about it (p. 361).

As consciousness raising activities move outward from the center of the circle, recipients of hidden curricula in American Indian education would do well to bear in mind the advice previously cited from Martin regarding resistance from others in arenas of public domain. It would stand to reason that the strongest resistance to change would be from those who sustain the components of the hidden curriculum with the greatest resolve. Abolishing an educational setting is always an alternative when the sources of hidden curricula cannot be found or when they are found to be too firmly embedded to allow change within the setting. Concomitant growth in the larger society is necessary and educators occupy key positions for facilitating this growth process.

Giroux (18) stresses the importance of self-introspection by educators at all levels of education:

✓ Instead of mastering and refining the use of methodologies, teachers and administrators should approach education by examining their own perspectives about society, schools and emancipation. Rather than attempting to escape from their own ideologies and values, educators should confront them critically so as to understand how society has shaped them as individuals, what it is they believe, and to structure more positively the effects they have upon students and others (p. 39).

Teachers and the educational systems in which they strive can provide little real learning to the child from another culture without some mutual understanding of the differences in the two cultures. This understanding should include the value systems inherent in the settings and the persons within them. We are frequently guilty of providing information to these children which has little or no personal meaning to them.

One can hardly envision a fuller understanding of self and others without perceiving goals as a natural part of the process. From our values and experience we build our goals and design our means for reaching them.

Only when we find a universal set of values would we be likely to find a universal curriculum. Until that time, meaning in one's existence is likely to continue to be built from experience and prioritized by what we value. If curriculum is to have personal meaning it must occur within those dimensions of the human mind where meaning is structured. This premise provides the basis for the second working hypothesis for trial by praxis of curricula in American Indian schooling. A curriculum based upon this premise would provide a personal form of education.

When we take into consideration the enormous number of variables involved in perception and subsequent need within even the most homogeneous group of students, it is difficult to imagine a curriculum of universal utility. As discussed in chapter four of this study, American Indian students present an even more complex entanglement of variables as a result of world-views constructed within two very different cultures. It seems that the only reasonable curriculum in this situation would be one in which learning is based upon the student's freedom to choose.

Explicit designs of the past which were intent upon making Indian students into what they were not will have to be abandoned in this form of education. Educational designs and tactics are discussed in chapter three which illustrate that these designs were unsuccessful in the past in explicit form. Can we or should we expect the same designs to guide American Indian schooling in implicit form?

Eisner (41) presents this argument for personal relevance in the classroom :

A third orientation to curriculum is one that emphasizes the primacy of personal meaning and the school's responsibility to develop programs that make such meaning possible. In operational terms, this requires that teachers develop educational programs in concert with students rather than from a mandate handed down from the staff of a central office who don't know the child. The curriculum is to emerge out of the sympathetic interaction of teachers and students within a process called teacher-pupil planning.

A major argument supporting this orientation to curriculum is that for experience to be educational students must have some investment in it-must have some hand in its development-and that without actual participation or the availability of real choices within the curriculum schooling is likely to be little more than a series of meaningless routines, tasks undertaken to please someone else's conception of what is important (pp. 57-58).

The final working hypothesis resulting from this study involves the need to seek out elements of the hidden curriculum in American Indian schooling and then to choose appropriate courses of action from the alternatives present. Various authors in this and other chapters of this study have suggested choices for dealing with the hidden curriculum in American schools. The hidden curricula in American Indian schooling must be found and examined in each individual situation. When these curricula and their sources are found, those persons whose lives are affected by them have a number of options from which to choose when deciding how to deal with them. A number of considerations, however, have also been reviewed in this study which serve to caution us as we study these elements in preparation for effecting change. When making these decisions about schools and schooling, perhaps these thoughts from Giroux (18) might be useful:

Finally, any viable form of schooling needs to be informed by a passion and faith in the necessity of struggling in the interest of creating a better world.

These seem like strange words in a society that has elevated the notion of self-interest to the status of universal law (p. 39).

If efforts toward finding and dealing with hidden curricula in American Indian schooling are successful to the point that enough shackles of oppression are broken to allow at least one child to realize more of his or her human potential, those efforts will have been well worthwhile.

A Paradigm for Further Research

It was stated in Chapter I that this study would present a research paradigm for further inquiry into policies, practices and effects of hidden curricula in American Indian education. That paradigm is woven into this study and can be discussed in extracted form here.

This research form deals with perception and interpretation of a world-view. An underlying assumption of this research asserts that interpretation of any observed phenomenon relies upon personal insight deeply embedded within the value bias of the observer. "The more important question is not what am I seeing, but rather why am I seeing it" (41). Schmeck (42, p.384) recapitulates this concept when he refers to deep processing as a means of "devoting more attention to the meaning and classification of an idea suggested by a symbol than to the symbol itself".

When the person of an investigator becomes an instrument of research, an understanding of self becomes crucial. Knowing one's value bias enables findings and perceptions to be interpreted in a meaningful form. Art criticism provides a setting in which interpretation of what is observed through the eyes of an observer whose background, training,

interest and experience enable wider and deeper perspectives to be seen and described to a more casual observer. Interpreting art in this comparison is similar to the interpretation of curricula in schools.

Sensitivity for others whose world-view is seen through another cultural-linguistic window requires proximity of the observer to the observed. Emotional, social and psychological proximities are necessary in this form of research.

Cognitive awareness emanating from extensive inquiry into the history, culture and school experience of learners is another necessary facet of this research form. When viewing school experience it should be borne in mind that a complete picture cannot be seen unless one views both the explicit and implicit curriculums.

When the observed and the observer become linked in these proximities, a viable form of research through analysis has begun. In the opinion of this writer, it should be understood that value neutrality in matters of real importance does not exist in the arena of human events.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1) Friere, Paolo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.
- (2) Frondize, Risieri. What is Value: An Introduction to Axiology. La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1963.
- (3) Valente, William D. Law in the Schools. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1980.
- (4) Emans, Robert. "A Proposed Conceptual Framework for Curriculum Development." The Journal of Educational Research, 59 (1966), pp. 327-332.
- (5) Vallence, Elizabeth. "The Hidden Curriculum and Qualitative Inquiry as States of Mind." Journal of Education, 162 (1980), pp. 138-151.
- (6) Blumer, Herbert. "Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead." American Journal of Sociology, 71 (1966), pp. 535-544.
- (7) Cusick, Philip A. Inside High School: The Student's World. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.
- (8) Vallence, Elizabeth. "Hiding the Hidden Curriculum." Curriculum Theory Network, 4:1 (1973/74), pp. 5-21.
- (9) Mazza, Karen A. "Reconceptual Inquiry as an Alternative Mode of Curriculum Theory and Practice: A Critical Study." (unpub. Ed.D. dissertation, Library, University of New Hampshire, 1980.)
- (10) Seddon, T. "The Hidden Curriculum: An Overview." Curriculum Perspectives, 3:1 (May 1983), pp. 1-6.
- (11) Goodlad, John I. A Place Called School. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1984.
- (12) Martin, Jane R. "What Should We Do with a Hidden Curriculum When We Find One." Curriculum Inquiry, 6:2 (1976), pp. 135-151.
- (13) Jackson, Philip. Life in Classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

- (14) Apple, Michael W. and King, Nancy R. "What Do Schools Teach." Humanistic Education: Visions and Realities. Ed. Richard H. Weller. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Co., 1977, pp. 27-47.
- (15) Zais, Robert S. Curriculum: Principles and Foundations. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1976.
- (16) Tyack, David. Turning Points in American Educational History. Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1967.
- (17) Sharp, Rachel and Greene, Anthony. Education and Social Control: A Study in Progressive Primary Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.
- (18) Giroux, Henry A. "Rethinking the Language of Schooling." Language Arts. 61:1 (1984), pp. 33-40.
- (19) Apple, Michael W. Ideology and Curriculum. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.
- (20) Grumet, Madeleine R. "In Search of Theatre: Ritual, Confrontation and the Suspense of Form." Journal of Education, 162:1 (Winter 1980), pp.93-110.
- (21) Anyon, Jean. "Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work." Journal of Education, 162:1 (Winter 1980), pp. 67-92.
- (22) Apple, Michael W. "The Other Side of the Hidden Curriculum: Correspondence Theories and the Labor Process." Journal of Education, 162:1 (Winter 1980), pp. 47-66.
- (23) Giroux, Henry A. "Teacher Education and the Ideology of Social Control." Journal of Education, 162:1 (Winter 1980), pp. 5-27
- (24) Young, Michael F.D. "Ideology and Educational Research." Poverty, Power and Authority in Education: Cross-Cultural Perspectives. Ed. Edgar B. Gumbert. Atlanta: Georgia State University, 1981.
- (25) Dobson, Russell and Dobson, Judith. The Language of Schooling. Washington: University Press of America, Inc., 1981.
- (26) Adams, Evelyn C. American Indian Education. Morningside Heights, New York: King's Crown Press, 1946.
- (27) Coffer, William E. Phoenix: The Decline and Rebirth of the Indian People. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1979.

- (28) U.S. Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.
- (29) Schneckeblair, Lawrence F. The Office of Indian Affairs: Its History, Activities, and Organizations. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1927.
- (30) Reel, Estelle. Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901.
- (31) Kluckhohn, Clyde and Leighton, Dorothea. The Navaho. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1962.
- (32) NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. An Even Chance. Annadale, Virginia: Graphics 4, 1971.
- (33) U.S. Department of Education. The Indian Education Act of 1972: Answers to Your Questions. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980.
- (34) U.S. Office of Education. A Handbook on Evaluation for Title IV Indian Education Act Projects. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976.
- (35) _____. United States Statutes at Large, 1974 and Proclamations. Vol. 88 pt. 2, pp. 2203-2217. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976.
- (36) Young, Robert W. English as a Second Language for Navajos. Albuquerque: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1967.
- (37) Zintz, Miles V. Education Across Cultures. Dubuque: William C. Brown Co., 1963.
- (38) Bowles, Samuel and Gintis, Herbert. Schooling in Capitalist America. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1976.
- (39) deLone, Richard H. Small Futures. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1979.
- (40) Illich, Ivan. Deschooling Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- (41) Eisner, Elliott. The Educational Imagination: On the Design and Evaluation of School Programs. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1979.
- (42) Dobson, Russell. Personal Interview. Stillwater, Oklahoma, July 13, 1984.

- (43) Schmeck, R.R. "Improving Learning by Improving Thinking."
Educational Leadership, 38 (1981), pp. 384-387.

2

VITA

Larry Dean Foreman

Candidate for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

Thesis: POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM IN AMERICAN SCHOOLING
UPON THE AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENT

Major Field: Curriculum and Instruction

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, September 12, 1939,
the son of John D. and Aileen C. Foreman.

Education: Graduated from Tahlequah Senior High School, Tahlequah, Oklahoma on May 24, 1957. Attended Wichita State University and Friends University in Wichita, Kansas before receiving the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education from Northeastern Oklahoma State University in Tahlequah, Oklahoma on August 4, 1961. Continued education at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, New Mexico before receiving the degree of Master of Teaching from Northeastern Oklahoma State University in Tahlequah, Oklahoma on July 30, 1965. Furthered education at New Mexico Highlands University at Las Vegas, New Mexico, Oregon College of Education at Monmouth, Oregon and New Mexico State University at Las Cruces, New Mexico before completing requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, Oklahoma in December, 1984.

Professional Experience: Classroom teacher, Rowland Union School District in La Puente, California, September, 1961 to June, 1963; employed by Gallup-McKinley County Schools in Gallup, New Mexico, August, 1963 to May, 1975 as classroom teacher seven years and supervisor four years; taught and directed Native American Studies Program at Rogers State College in Claremore, Oklahoma, July, 1978 to June, 1979; Executive Director of Tulsa Indian Youth Council, Inc., July, 1979 to August, 1982.