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INDIAN STUDENTS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS: THE RESPONSES OF KIOWA AND SEMINOLE CHILDREN TO TWO PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN OKLAHOMA

A DISSERTATION

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INDIAN STUDENTS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS: THE RESPONSES OF KIOWA AND SEMINOLE CHILDREN TO TWO PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN OKLAHOMA

APPROVED BY

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Native Americans in the United States often characterize their views toward education in the contradictory terms of despair and hope. They despair at the treatment they and their children receive in public schools while remaining hopeful that the educational system will someday fulfill its promise by providing them some means for success. This is only one of the problems encountered by Native Americans in schools. The historical and developmental relationships with the dominant culture have produced a situation beset with paradoxes and contradictions for Native Americans. This, in turn, continues the development of pathological situations within both the schools and the larger society.

Numerous investigations, from the Merriam report of 1928 to the Kennedy report of 1969, have documented the reasons for despair and have, in turn, contributed to the continuation

of hope. That is, within the context of the situation, these investigations provide further fuel for the dilemma by condemning the situations in the schools and then suggesting that a series of changes within the schools will improve those situations. This study will seek to demonstrate that the conditions for Native Americans in schools are contingent upon and adaptive to conditions in the larger socio-cultural milieu and that, by and large, schools function as conservative institutions within the social system.

For the last one hundred years or more, the American Indian has been subjected to various assimilative processes, the most ubiquitous of which has been the educative process. In that period of time, the educational approach to assimilating Native Americans into American society has been dramatic in its failure. Native American socio-cultural systems have changed, but almost invariably <u>not</u> in the directions sought by those in charge of the educational systems. Instead, the adaptive pressures arising from contact with the dominant socio-cultural system have generally led away from assimilation and toward increasing cultural differences, albeit differences which reflect dependency and/or symbiotic relationships and which might be termed pathological or "maladaptive." The policies pursued in relation to education and Native Americans have been, and continue to be, intricately involved in this adaptive process. That is, the policies pursued most often have had the opposite effect from that which was

intended. American Indians were supposed to be moved from indigenous cultures to mainstream American culture through their contact with educational institutions. Instead, their indigenous cultures have been modified to form a number of distinct and subordinate, though still recognizably Native American, socio-cultural systems set within the larger system. In its broadest aspect, this research will attempt to address this facet of American Indian education.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, the federal government sought to direct Indian education policies toward the goal of assimilation. The federal government hoped to end the prior policy of physical extermination of aboriginal Americans and replace it with one which would eradicate all vestiges of aboriginal cultures through education. At the same time, Indians would be given the opportunity to adopt the "civilization" of American society. Mission schools had already begun this process to some extent. Federal boarding schools, however, really implemented this policy. These schools removed Indian children from their homes to schools located in abandoned army forts, forbade the use of native language under threat of corporal punishment, boarded children out to White families during vacation, and suppressed native religions (Fuchs and Havighurst 1972:6). By denying the children the influence of the home and tribe, the boarding school hoped to furnish Indian children with both literacy for citizenship, and vocational training (primarily

agricultural or homemaking) for self-sufficiency. For numerous reasons, including difficulty in forcing participation, the federal program was a failure. It did demonstrate to Native Americans the lengths to which American society would go to eradicate any unwanted differences among its people.

As the failure of the educational program and its long-range economic implications became more apparent, the federal government began turning the educational responsibility over to the states. Contracts were made with various states at the turn of the twentieth century in an attempt to enlist public schools in the effort to civilize the Indian. The federal government remained active in Indian education through its boarding school program and by directing the efforts of public schools, although the entire educational program was deteriorating. By 1928 things were so bad in the Indian administration that a Senate investigation was conducted and the report that resulted (Merriam 1928) attacked the schools serving Indians as ". . . overcrowded, rigid, overly demanding in their schedule of work and study, and deficient in health services and food. Teachers were considered poorly trained and salaries too low to attract better personnel" (Fuchs and Havighurst 1972:10). During the thirties and early forties, John Collier, Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, made attempts to reform the more flagrant abuses of the federal program. Federal day schools on reservations

were instituted to relieve the problems of the boarding schools, and with the passage of the Johnson-O'Malley Act (1934, 1936), public schools were encouraged to accept more Indian students. This act provided reimbursement to states for the education of Indians in public schools. The stated goal of Collier's new program continued to be accommodation of Indians to American culture, although attempts were being made to provide more Indian oriented materials for schools within Indian communities.

Beginning in 1948, an effort was made by the federal government to end all responsibilities to the Indians. During this period, attempts were made to end federal financing of Native American groups by terminating the special treaty and legal relationships they held with the federal government. In education, this meant attempting to turn over even more responsibility to the public schools as well as ending the community schools and boarding schools. This move was a reversal of the trend of the thirties, when attempts had been made to stress the worth of native cultures while adjusting them to American society. The termination policy of the fifties was a blatant attempt to disrupt native cultural and community life so that individuals would have no choice but to assimilate.

This trend continued through the middle sixties, when various factors focused attention again on the inequities of Indian education. These factors included an end to the

termination policy, an increased awareness of the "Indian problem," and an increased participation in civil rights activities and Office of Economic Opportunity poverty programs. These activities culminated in a report published by the special subcommittee on Indian education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (1969). For the first time, recommendations were made to increase Indian control over their own education. Since then, efforts have been made to do just this, including the Rough Rock Demonstration School, Johnson-O'Malley, and Title IV parent committees. These efforts met with mixed results due, in part, to the failure of the Indians to adopt a clearly defined goal for education. While self-determination for Indians is a laudable goal, few Native Americans or their White counterparts in education have been able to clearly enunciate the direction which self-determination should take. Further, few have viewed education as a part of a larger process in which Indians become "adapted" to a low social position in the dominant society or that educational systems primarily function as conservatory or stabilizing agencies in most socio-cultural systems (Gearing 1973).

Research in Indian education has become a burgeoning field in the last decade with several trends emerging. Murray Wax, his wife Rosalie, and several students (including Robert Dumont) have contributed numerous studies about how schools relate to their larger environment; how Indian

cultural differences manifest themselves in classroom behavior; classroom dynamics; and the strategies of silence, absenteeism, and cultural translation used by Indian children in schools (Wax and Wax, 1971; Wax, Wax and Dumont 1964; R. Wax 1970; Dumont and Wax 1969). Another research trend concerns the use of language by Native American children in the classroom and the conflicts that are created. These studies concentrate on socio-linguistic aspects of language use and tend to show the value of various strategies of language use in the classroom (Povey 1969, Hopkins 1969, Mishler 1972, John 1972, Dumont 1972, Philips 1972). Others have made long-term participant observational studies of Indian schools (Wolcott 1967, King 1969) which attempt to show the complexities of Indian participation in schools on a day-to-day basis. Still others have concentrated on studying Indian I.Q. and achievement in schools in attempts to prove or disprove Indian differences in mental ability (Havighurst 1968, Rohner 1965, R. Cohen 1969, Bryde 1970). Another group of researchers has investigated psychological conflict in schools resulting from differing cultural values and socialization patterns (Erikson 1937, Eggan 1956, Parmee 1968, Sindell 1968). Some research has been done concerning the cross-cultural implications for teachers of Indian students (Burger 1968, Greenburg 1968, Lesser 1973), and a number of general studies concerning the effects of education on Indian children have been made (particularly Fuchs

and Havighurst 1972, and also Barnhardt 1970, Tax and Thomas 1969, Hobart and Brant 1965, Thomas and Wahrhaftig 1971).

The results of these research efforts have generally been to show that schools fail in the overt purpose of making good middle-class citizens of their Indian students. They show that, for a variety of reasons, Indian children do not get from school what their White peers get. Instead, they learn behaviors that are appropriate to their position in the larger socio-economic system; in other words, how to continue to live in poverty-level, provincial, and unskilled lower socio-economic groups. While the research is not yet clear as to precisely how this adaptive process occurs, several of the areas indicated above are suggestive. For instance, there seems to be ample evidence that language and other communicative behavior involve Indian, Black, and poor White students in cycles that reinforce for both the teacher and student behaviors and perceptions that the schools are trying to avoid (Dumont 1972, Philips 1972). This and other research in anthropology and sociology of education reinforce the view held here that schools, or education in general, serve a conservative or normative function for the larger society (see Herskovits 1943).

At this point it becomes necessary to make a number of assumptions about education, schools, and Indian education explicit. The foregoing has already indicated the importance of viewing schools as institutions which promote

the status quo. Several concepts and assumptions are bound up in this idea. First is the assumption that schools are major socializing institutions in United States society. This is supported by research and by even a cursory contact with the schools themselves. Their content, organization, and stated goals all have socialization as a primary focus. It is therefore important to ask the question: socialization for what? A major assumption of this research is that the socialization process in American education prepares children for a social reality which, for the most part, is incompatible with professed ideals and goals of the American educational system. Rather, the schools themselves become part of the larger system by adjusting their charges to fit the needs of an industrialized and bureaucratized society, not a democratic and egalitarian society. Amazingly, they do this in spite of both curriculum and teaching behaviors which seem to conform to the idealized goals. The egalitarian and democratic ideals held by most Americans are rarely matched by the behavior of those Americans in or out of schools. Identifiable ethnic minorities (including American Indians) find themselves caught in institutions whose overt purposes are to provide them with means for better integration (particularly economic) into American society while the behavior of people within the institutions perpetuates their lower socio-economic position. This dilemma is apparent in the ambivalent attitudes of hope and despair held by many

informants during this research and further contributes to the social "pathology" of the situation. The view that schools were the primary focus for the "melting pot" of early twentieth century immigrants is being seriously challenged (see Ravitch 1974) by growing evidence that until economic and political power were gained by minority groups (e.g., Irish, Italian) the schools offered few avenues for social advancement.

Since the content of instruction and behavior in schools seems overtly to follow the idealized goals, why then are lower socio-economic groups denied access to the mechanisms of mobility purportedly offered by the schools? A partial answer is provided by the following concept: a crucial aspect of the educative process is not the content of instruction but the context of instruction; not <u>what</u> is taught but the <u>way</u> it is taught. This contention is supported by much of the research in anthropology of education. It shows that when a majority tradition is being fostered and supported in schools, those with significantly different traditions will be relegated to the extremes of the socio-economic scale. This results at least partially because the way materials are offered generally conflicts with certain contextual aspects (values, attitudes, styles of learning, linguistic behavior) of the minority culture (see Wax and Wax 1971, Y. Cohen 1970, 1971). It is important to note that this situation exists despite the best intentions of the individual personalities

involved. Thus, a major problem consists in convincing people whose intentions are benevolent that what they are doing is, in fact, having the opposite effect. It becomes even more difficult when they must be told that this is due to the context rather than the content ("But we're giving them Indian History!").

A final underlying assumption of this research is that causal linkages in social settings (in this case, schools) are circular and multiple, not linear and single. This assumption has long-standing support in anthropological method and theory (going back at least to Boas) but is worth restating here in the context of American Indian education. It means that the problems Indians have in schools (not to mention other areas) exist in part through their own actions, not simply because of the actions of school personnel or government bureaucrats. In order to understand (or explain) what happens to Indian children in school, one must view the behavior of all concerned (powerful and powerless) as a complex interactional network with patterns of causation which rebound from one participant (or group of participants) to another. Instead of a single stimulus causing a simple response, there are multiple stimuli which, in interaction, result in multiple responses, which in turn become new stimuli, feeding back upon the original stimulators (and so on ad infinitum). At least two types of patterns are discernible here. In one pattern the process tends toward promoting equilibrium in

the relationships of the participants, while in the other, it tends toward changing the relationships between the participants. These two patterns are convenient foci for determining the process of adaptation and will be used as such in this research.

The primary emphasis in this research is to show that the treatment of Native Americans in United States schools both produces and reinforces behavior roughly appropriate to the role that has developed for Indians both as ethnic groups and as individuals in American society and to demonstrate that public schools will be one of the last places that a change in that role will be manifested. It will attempt to shed light on the process of adaptation in response to educational policies and practices in two small communities in Oklahoma, keeping in mind that these policies and practices are in large part shaped by the exigencies of the larger socio-cultural context. More specifically, the project will focus on comparing the types of ecological settings, the communities, the school institutions, the school personnel, and the ethnic groups in the two systems. It will attempt to relate the discernible similarities and differences to differing pressures and responses in the adaptive process occurring in Native American cultures.

A central aspect of the problems confronted in this research is the ethnographic description of the two schools involved. While ethnographies are the central focus of practically all anthropological endeavor and should need little

justification or explanation in this context, several comments concerning their application should be made. Although there have been several ethnographic studies made concerning American Indian education (Wolcott 1967, King 1967), none has been made with the emphasis on testing a broad theoretical perspective nor have they been comparative in nature. A large portion of the other research in Native American education has concentrated on narrow and rather specifically defined problems --silence, language function, styles of learning. While efforts have been made to relate these problems to the larger social context, the narrow problems have usually received more emphasis. Further, little research has been undertaken concerning Indian education in multi-ethnic, public school situations (see Dumont and Wax 1969, Fuchs and Havighurst 1972, Thomas and Wahrhaftig 1971, Barnhardt 1971, and Parmee 1968). With this lack of an established descriptive framework, it was felt that a contribution could be made with more emphasis in the area of a broad theoretical perspective combined with a generalized descriptive and comparative approach.

In a comparative study such as this, it should be remembered that similarities in surface phenomena are often misleading. This research will attempt to compare the structural or underlying aspects of the two situations and not the particulars of the entities and events located in them. In other words, the descriptions will focus on discovering the kinds of relationships which exist between entities and events

in the schools and larger communities (in this case conceived as adaptive pressures and responses) and will make comparisons based on the similarities and differences in these relationships. The particular response of Indian children confronted with a regularly occurring phenomenon (e.g. stereotyping) may vary (silence or drug abuse), but the strategy underlying the response may be the same (avoidance).

This investigation will overlap two areas of long-standing anthropological interest: socialization/enculturation and assimilation/acculturation. Both descriptive and theoretical tools were drawn from these areas. However, they do not provide the overall theoretical superstructure, and therefore their theoretical articulation will be somewhat problematic. An attempt will be made to shed light on some of the problems in these areas by considering them as two different views of the adaptive process. The phenomena considered in both areas may be viewed from at least two perspectives--the individual or the social. Thus, enculturation/socialization research may consider either the process of an individual learning his culture or the structure of the process of learning as produced by the society. Assimilation/acculturation phenomena may be considered from the point of view of the individual learning to get along in a new society or of a socio-cultural system adjusting to a new society. When considered as parts of the larger adaptive process, these combine to form at least four ways of viewing that process:

(1) an individual learning his culture and learning to get along in a new society; (2) an individual learning his culture which is in the process of adjusting to a new, superordinate society; (3) the society structuring the learning of its individuals, some of whom are attempting to learn how to get along in a new society; and (4) the society's structuring of the learning of its individuals while a subordinate society is adjusting to a new, superordinate society. The literature of the two areas combined in this way is utilized both to gain insights into relevant approaches and as a source of useful comparative data from a broader range than available in the two communities.

As has already been indicated, the data utilized are primarily ethnographic and descriptive. That is to say, most of the data collected are behavioral and observed in the contexts of the situations under study: classrooms, playgrounds, cafeterias, offices of the superintendents, principals, and counselors, homes, and places of business in the communities; and in more formal contexts--interviews and meetings with the staff. In addition to observation, a great deal of participation took place, both formally, as an Indian "expert" to the staff, and informally, from taking part in classroom exercises to discussing sex on the playground with sixth grade boys. The approach was to develop a description of the way the schools operated within their respective communities and to pinpoint areas within this

operation which seemed to most dramatically affect Indian children.

Two schools were chosen in different parts of the states of Oklahoma. They both have significant populations of Indian children (25-33 percent) and are located in small, rural towns (2,500-5,000 population) which are approximately seventy-five miles from the nearest large urban center and some twenty miles from a regional center. The schools each have a single elementary, junior high, and high school within the system although they receive ninth grade students from several dependent schools in their areas. One of these dependent schools was visited primarily to gain a broader perspective on Indian education in the area but also to test several hypotheses regarding one of the major schools.

Carnegie is a small town of 2,500 inhabitants located in western Oklahoma on the Washita River. It sits on a bluff within a bend of the river with a view across the plains to the Wichita Mountains to the south. It is principally a farming community with peanut growing and drying a major activity. The schools consist of a new high school-junior high school-football stadium complex on the western edge of town, a twenty-year old elementary building which houses kindergarten through third grade, and a forty-year old elementary building for third through sixth grades. All of the schools are organized in the traditional manner with the high school and junior high offering traditional subjects

and the elementary school operating from "self-contained" classrooms. The school district encompasses a large area outside the city limits of Carnegie, extending some fifteen miles south of town and about six miles north. Native Americans (Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache) make up about 33 percent of the school population and are the only significant minority in the schools (there are a few families of Chicano children and one family of Blacks). At one time the area was part of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache reservation and allotments to Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache comprise approximately one-fourth to one-third of the land holdings in the area.

Located in the woodlands of eastern Oklahoma, Wewoka lies to the east of a hilly scrubland along Wewoka Creek. With a population of about five thousand, its economy is divided approximately equally among oil production, agriculture, and light to medium industry. The high school and junior high are located in separate areas of town in thirty to forty-year old buildings and are traditionally organized. The elementary building is much newer (nine years old), is located next to the high school, and is organized as an "open" school. The school district extends only one-half mile outside the city limits, although some of the children from two defunct dependent districts are bussed in. Wewoka was the capital of the Seminole Nation and still has a large population of Seminoles living in town (20-25 percent). The population of the school breaks down to about 25 percent Native American, 35 percent Black, and 40 percent White.

A decision was made early in the field work to limit the research to the elementary schools of the two systems involved. Some time was spent in the high school at Carnegie, but it soon became apparent that this would be ineffective. In both instances, the decision to concentrate on the elementary level proved worthwhile. It allowed the researcher to focus on a specific building and to build a strong rapport with the staff and children. It also provided an arena in which the primary molding and shaping of young children to an institutional situation took place. More important, it provided a wide range of ages (4-12) of children who were generally located in the same classroom throughout the day. This greatly facilitated the study of both peer group activities and teacher-student interaction.

Since the two schools have different approaches to education, access to classroom situations were different and should be mentioned. Wewoka elementary is an open school, with each grade level (usually four classes) sharing an open space. This large room consisted of four activity areas (one for each teacher and his or her class) and a central nucleus for storage and smaller group activity. Usually, the large room is open along portions of one wall to the room of the next grade. Because of the innovative nature of this school, teachers and staff from other schools often come to observe. This situation provided an ideal research situation. It was possible to enter any class with very

little disruption to either the children or staff, to view several classes at work from one position, and to wander from one grade level to another without ever leaving the classroom. There were certain drawbacks to this, however. In the beginning it was difficult not to be overwhelmed by the confusing variety of activities taking place or to have one's attention drawn to a particular novel episode which would eventually prove extraneous.

Carnegie elementary school is organized in the traditional self-contained classroom style. Each teacher conducts class in a single room, in charge of twenty to thirty children for the entire day. This situation proved more difficult for research since it meant that the researcher had much more limited access to actual classroom behaviors. His appearance at the door of a class tended to be viewed as an annoyance by the teacher and as a novelty to be exploited by the children. As a result, until enough time had passed for considerable rapport to be established with children and teachers, most contact within the school was limited to peripheral personnel (janitors, cafeteria workers, special education and music teachers) and administrators (principals and assistant superintendent). Eventually, students and teachers became familiar enough with the researcher so that adequate access was possible.

Primary attention was directed toward interaction between students and teachers, students and other students,

and teachers and other teachers and staff. These patterns of behavior ranged from overt expressions of various relationships (i.e., teacher giving directions) to extremely subtle techniques for the manipulation of the environment (i.e., baiting teacher by tone of voice). Access to other data about the schools included both formal and informal interviewing of staff and children, being around areas where informal discussions might occur (playgrounds, lunchrooms, teachers' lounges, and local cafes), visiting in the homes of parents and other patrons of the schools, attending meetings concerning local school policies (particularly Indian education), visiting with outside groups operating projects in the school (drug abuse program), and obtaining written data concerning school policies and memoranda, federal and state school law, B.I.A. regulations, and demographic and scholastic records.

Before turning to the data concerned directly with the schools, several preliminary avenues must be explored. A close examination of the theory and methodology which form the underpinnings of this research is made. Several basic assumptions have already been stated. These are further explored and several concepts are introduced and defined, particularly the concept of adaptive strategies. A review of the literature concerning American Indian education is undertaken in order to provide both a context for this project and to further refine concepts and methodology.

This literature review also covers relevant aspects of acculturation and socialization. A survey of the cultural histories of the two tribes (Kiowa and Seminole) follows, along with a brief history and description of the two communities involved. Then the data resulting from the research is presented. The formal and informal organizations of the two schools is described, with particular attention paid to the place of Native Americans within these organizations, the organizations' effects on the Indian children, and their effects on the organizations. The two school situations are then compared and generalized statements are made concerning the similarities and differences in the two schools and the resulting similarities and differences in the behaviors of Native American students. There follows an attempt to relate these generalizations to the larger body of information concerning Indian education and education in general.

It is felt that the approach followed in this research should provide both theoretical and methodological contributions to the study of Indian education. It provides substantive information concerning Indian education in two public schools in Oklahoma within a comparative framework. It does not, however, provide easy answers to the problems of American Indians in general. It remains for Native Americans themselves to become aware of their own situations and to work out solutions based on these perspectives. In several instances during this research, these steps (however painful) were beginning to be taken.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Theory has at least two meanings. It can mean a particular frame of reference or "theoretical perspective" or it can mean the process or act of conceptualizing the problems of research and the contexts of their resolution. Both of these meanings will be used in this chapter as we explicate the underlying theoretical perspective of this research as well as outline the specific avenues followed in formulating the descriptive and comparative problems it addresses. There will also be an examination of the methods used to gather the data necessary for the proper resolution of those problems.

Ecological anthropology is an approach to the study of man and his socio-cultural system which attempts to fit the dynamics of socio-cultural life into an evolutionary perspective. It has sought inspiration from the processes of natural selection to explain continuity and change in human socio-cultural systems. Both inter-species and

intra-species competition for available environmental resources produce patterns of behavior which provide for both stability and flexibility in man's socio-cultural systems. Early studies concentrated on exploring those relationships most closely associated with the physical environment (technological, economic). More recently, ecological anthropology has been broadened by studies which investigated relationships far removed from the environment (ritual, kinship). These neo-functionalist and neo-evolutionary studies continued the materialist strategies which characterized most early studies.

During the last decade or so, ecological anthropology has been broadened even further. Materialist strategies have been coupled with idealist strategies in a recognition that individual decision making is mediated by cultural, historical, and psychological factors as well as by the environment. This processual ecological anthropology (see Orlove 1980) seeks to understand change as well as stability. Studies have addressed the problems of time-frame, large and small scale units of analysis (complex societies, individuals), and decision making. These studies show a greater reliance on socio-cultural concepts and a greater awareness of historical and cultural factors in generating comparative frameworks.

In particular, two areas from processual ecological anthropology seem relevant to our own study. Closer interaction between biological ecologists and ecological

anthropologists has led to a more cautious use of biological analogies. However, the concept of adaptation continues to provide a useful tool for research in ecological anthropology and will be examined in more detail. In another area, ecological studies of ethnicity have provided insight into the formation and continuation of ethnic groups and ethnic boundaries. These studies point to competition for economic resources as a major determinant of ethnic groups. A discussion of relevant aspects of this research follows.

Beginning with Barth (1956, 1961, 1969), a number of ecological anthropologists have attempted to explain the maintenance of ethnic identities as a result of competition for resources in the cultural and physical environment. Barth's work with ethnic groups in Iran and Pakistan demonstrates that ethnicity is maintained and organized by factors affecting the competition for environmental resources. Work by A. Cohen (1969) in Africa, Despres (1967, 1975) and Whitten (1978) in South America, and Collier (1976) in Mexico furthers this view. Whitten and Cohen show that despite pressures to merge with majority groups, ethnic minorities have powerful incentives for retaining their identities. Cohen's Hausa migrants can exploit a resource their competitors cannot through trade networks in the Hausa homeland. Whitten describes how Ecuadorian lowland populations maintain Quechua identities at one level and Indian identities at another in order to secure and expand important resource

domains under competition from mestizos and blancos (Despres 1975). Collier and Despres broaden this perspective by revealing that some ethnic groups are maintained in part by the negative effects of their competition for resources with more powerful elites. This insight is particularly helpful in explaining the maintenance of Indian ethnic identity. On the one hand, Native Americans have access to resources unavailable to other groups (federal treaty obligations and payments, federal and state programs, and kin and tribal based obligations). On the other hand, Indians as a group are both exploited for their labor and meager economic resources and maintained as an underclass to avoid competition for resources with more powerful groups in the social system. We suggest that a major mechanism for the production of this "underclass" identity is to be found in schools.

The concept of adaptation and its concomitant term "adaptive strategy" will be one focus for the study of Indian students in schools. Several attributes of adaptation should be noted. In biological terms adaptation is generally conceived as the result of ". . . heritable variation in <u>different</u> directions . . . followed by <u>differential</u> survival and multiplication of the variants" (Muller 1949). Additionally, self-regulation (the maintenance of the organism in the face of minor fluctuations in the environment) and self-organization (major shifts in the organization of an organism and its descendants in response to a major

environmental change) are two facets of adaptation which provide for either flexibility through self-regulation or efficiency through self-organization. An important indicator of adaptation appears to be the irreversibility of change that takes place as an organism sacrifices the flexibility of self-regulation for the efficiency of self-organization.

We shall now attempt to generate some statements about the adaptive process as it occurs at the individual and socio-cultural levels of behavior. For a number of reasons, including genetic inheritance, socialization, learning, maturation, and cognition, individuals are produced with a large variability within any given culture. Further, this variability results in differential success in the ability to interact with other individuals and the environment in that culture. Because of the need to maintain an organization of the self, personalities are capable of problem solving, or making individual adjustments in the face of complex situations which threaten their integrity and autonomy. This ability to change to maintain the self can lead to short term regulatory effects or long term irreversible shifts in the organization of the personality. We are emphasizing with Bennett ". . . the problem solving, creative, or coping element in human behavior that permits a dynamic approach to the environment" (1969:19).

Following Bennett (1969) we will attempt to link up the adaptive process as it occurs at the individual

level with that of the socio-cultural level. We are interested in the roles that certain institutions (schools) have within the socio-cultural system and the effects individual adjustments have on these processes. We shall examine the patterns created by the many individual adjustments people devise to solve the problems confronting them. We will refer to these patterns of behavior as adaptive strategies (see Bennett 1969:14). Patterns of adaptive strategies also emerge and are what anthropologists term roles, institutions, sub-cultures, and the various other parts of the socio-cultural system.

This investigation is at one level concerned with adaptive strategies. We will focus on the many individual adjustments Indian students make to their school environment, and, by implication, to the larger socio-cultural environment. Some of these adjustments have become patterned responses or adaptive strategies, learned by groups of Indian students in a given school or in all schools. Many of these adaptive strategies have become culturally sanctioned within the Indian student peer group. Indian students look upon these behaviors as the way Indian students ought to behave, with pressure put on non-conforming students. Many alternative responses to a given situation are possible out of the range of strategies available to the Indian student. The source of these strategies might be as local as the student's own kin group or as wide as his national culture.

Once Indian student adaptive strategies are identified, it is important to determine what these strategies do. Some groups of adaptive strategies operate as self-regulating mechanisms seeking to maintain certain variables within certain limits. Some of these variables include the following: a cohesive personality, an Indian ethnic identity, mechanisms to deal with bigotry and stereotyping, methods of autonomous action, and skills necessary for economic success. The changes inherent in the maintenance of these variables can lead to major shifts in adaptive strategies as conditions in the larger socio-cultural system change.

Schools, as institutions of the larger socio-cultural system, are one of the most obvious areas which generate pressures on Indian students. Schools have developed their own patterns of adaptive strategies and are seeking to regulate themselves in an environment. We are only peripherally concerned with developing a description of these processes since they are important only as they relate to the production of pressures on Indian students. Further, much research has already been done on these processes. The following is an outline of the major results of those investigations. In particular, we believe that this research in large part substantiates the assumption that schools act as institutions which support the status quo in socio-cultural systems.

There is a large body of literature in the social sciences about schools, education, and socialization. It

is obvious that these three areas are connected. Connecting them in a general, theoretical way, however, is difficult since most of the research in these areas reflects a diversity of interests. The following will attempt to sketch the importance of each area to the problem at hand and to indicate the relationships between them. We will begin by outlining the major features of schools and the functions they serve in the larger society, and then we will examine the role schooling plays in the more general processes of education and socialization.

We define schools as those formal institutions in which education takes place. Schooling is the process of education that occurs in school buildings and classrooms. Formal educational institutions are found in most societies; they appear with increasing frequency and ubiquitousness, however, in state-level societies (Y. Cohen 1970). Schools as defined here exist in a variety of contexts--from initiation ceremonies and bush schools, to associations, to apprenticeships and universities. While this definition appears to cover a wide assortment of situations and types of institutions, much research (see Fortes 1938, Raum 1938, Herskovits 1943, Hart 1955) suggests that they all share several common features. Most importantly, aside from their formal organization and their instructional objectives, Hart's comparison of initiation ceremonies and schools demonstrates that they impart ". . . precisely those symbols that embody the initiates

widest identity, as tribesmen or whatever, as may be required by the social structure of his community and of its wider social environs" (Gearing 1973a:1233). Hart holds that a major function of schools is to produce students who identify "appropriately" with the largest socio-political system with which they must interact. This process appears to be less important in societies which are not organized around a principle of "exclusive, unifying identity" (Gearing 1973a:1234), and becomes increasingly important as societies grow larger, more heterogeneous, and more industrialized.

This point is reinforced in work done by Y. Cohen (1970, 1971) and Wax and Wax (1971). Cohen applies cross-cultural analyses to schools and sees them emerging with state-level societies. He believes schools are a type of institution generated by those processes occurring during the development of a state in an attempt to undercut local loyalties and replace them with nationalistic ideologies. This serves an important function in maintaining the integration of a widely dispersed, diversely skilled heterogeneous population. Our earlier discussion of Hart and Gearing demonstrates the availability of formal educational institutions in non-state level societies which could serve as models, or perhaps vehicles, for the evolution of more complex schools serving these functions in state level societies.

Wax and Wax (1971) provide a more detailed examination of the generation of conflict between local loyalties and

national loyalties in school. They point out that schools are invariably staffed and organized in ways that reflect national ideologies because teachers and administrators come in large part from outside the community, and the curriculum is largely determined by outside forces. Some local input is possible by way of school boards, PTA, etc., but it is largely impotent in the face of the power of the national ideologies. Wax and Wax further demonstrate that when the local tradition deviates very far from the national tradition, conflict will be generated in the schools. Among those groups whose local tradition is exceedingly deviant from the national norms--ethnic groups and the poor--the conflict generated produces not only a decrease in the learning of national loyalties but an increase in the deviancy and withdrawal of the local tradition (see also Thomas and Wahrhaftig 1971).

We will briefly review the following additional functions of schools: a. the transmission of broad cultural ideology; b. the transmission of technical information and skills; and c. gatekeeping. In conjunction with the stimulation of national loyalties, schools often convey much information about the larger society. Wylie (1957) reports in his study of a village in France that the schools impart a general intellectual stance, that of seeking general principles in the vast and shifting array of particularities. Others, like Henry (1957), Warren (1967), and Singleton (1967) report similar instances in schools in the United States, Germany,

and Japan. The discovery of this "hidden curriculum" has done much to stimulate interest and research away from what is said to be taught to what is actually being taught. This idea has carried over into the examination of the teaching of specific skills and technical information. It has been discovered that quite often children are not learning the actual skills a teacher is trying to get across but a pattern of actions that simulate those skills. Teachers are frequently frustrated to discover that a skill developed in the classroom cannot be used in other contexts. What has been learned, though, are a variety of techniques used to convey to the teacher the notion that the task has been learned. Skills and technical information do get transmitted in schools and we have only to refer to the large literature on learning to understand how these intermittent successes occur. Some investigators are beginning to approach the problems of how and why learning occurs in some instances and not in others from a socio-cultural level. This research suggests that many factors--including shared values, linguistic skills, and differential role and status--in the social context of learning have a much larger impact than supposed concerning the successful or unsuccessful transmission of information and skills (see Gearing 1973b).

Finally, schools function as gatekeepers, or institutions, which help select who shall rise to what levels in a stratified society. This function is especially important

in societies with achieved rather than ascribed status. By using entrance requirements, achievement testing, I.Q. measures, aptitude tests, grading, and a host of other evaluating and sorting mechanisms, schools serve to make decisions as to who fills the various occupational and status roles available in that society. They also prepare the student along the way such that their status expectations are commensurate with the place schools have assigned them. This is often referred to in the literature as the "pygmalion effect." In schools with populations which do not deviate radically from the national tradition, the gatekeeping function seems to perform reasonably well (Wylie 1957). In schools with deviant populations, gatekeeping works less efficiently, admitting into the process of selection only those who can adapt to the national tradition and tracking those who cannot, despite their talents, into the lowest socio-economic sectors of the society (Gearing 1973a). However, since every industrial nation needs a pool of unskilled labor to draw on from time to time, this particular dysfunction may in fact be functional in large industrialized nations.

We must now place these comments on schools in the context of thought on education and socialization. There seems to be no clear consensus on how to distinguish the concept of socialization from the concept of education. Several differences in emphasis emerge. Socialization research has concentrated more, though not exclusively, on informal and

unconscious processes of cultural transmission while educational research has emphasized the more formal and conscious aspects. This has led to an interest in variation and diversity in socialization studies while educational research has tended to analyze uniformity. Also, socialization research has been concerned with learning in the earliest years of life while that of education has dealt with slightly older subjects. The results of these differences of emphasis have been research which investigates much of the same processes but which tends to emphasize different aspects of these same processes. While recognizing the similarity of process in socialization and education, we will follow the distinction as outlined above. Socialization will include all of the processes by which a child learns the multitude of appropriate behaviors which already make up his social world as well as how to make his own individual adjustments in the face of a changing environment. Education will emphasize those processes in which some formal attention is directed toward the transmission of culturally appropriate behavior from school organization to student. Given our previous discussion of schools, we believe that this distinction brings greater clarity to the rise of the phenomena of schools and further underlines our contention that schools tend to conserve their cultures (production of uniformity) rather than serve as vehicles for change (production of diversity). In the following discussion, the terms "education" and

"socialization" will be used to mark this difference in emphasis even though the process under consideration is virtually the same.

Fortes (1938), in an ethnographic account of education and socialization among the Tallensi, identifies three facets of the socialization process: teaching-learning relationships; maturation (physiological, psychological, and socio-cultural); and learning. Several aspects of the teaching-learning relationships are seen to be important--whether they are formal or informal, conscious or unconscious, and from where in the social environment the members of the relationship are drawn. This last aspect is emphasized by Fortes, who sees a widening of social space as the child grows and is taught by increasingly distant members of his society. Concerning maturation, Fortes describes the acquisition of knowledge about one's culture as an unfolding of "schemas" or the development of ideas from a more or less embryonic stage to a complete or mature stage. He sees these as linked to the physiological and psychological processes of growth and gives credit to Piaget for stimulating his thinking on them. Important to this concept is the idea that knowledge is not gained additively, but that basic skeletons of fact are acquired early and are fleshed out with ever increasing detail. Finally, Fortes identifies three main learning processes: imitation (learning through play), identification (learning by identifying with older members

of the society), and co-operation (learning through helping others in imitative and necessary activities). Fortes notes that identification and co-operation function adequately only if imitation and play are available to the child.

Much research in both socialization and education has taken place which addresses many of the issues raised by Fortes. Some of this work has already been mentioned in earlier discussion of schools. Several areas remain to be considered, however. In the area of teaching-learning relationships, many investigators have studied the effects of differences in cultural values, attitudes, and perspectives on learning. In these "bi-cultural" learning" situations research indicates that these relationships are problematic and that learning which occurs is seldom what was intended (see Cazden, John and Hymes, 1972; Labov 1969; Gay and Cole 1967; Wax et al. 1964; Parmee 1966; Wolcott 1967). In more specific studies socialization researchers have been able to distinguish between the kinds of cognitive operations associated with the following two different types of learning situations: "formal" learning and "informal" or "observational" learning. Some of the characteristics of informal learning include (a) learning is context based, (b) instruction is by example, (c) verbal instructions play a minimal role, and (d) affective teaching-learning relationships create an environment in which problem solving tends to be directed toward finding solutions to single, discrete cases.

Formal learning is characteristically: (a) devoid of context, (b) verbally oriented, (c) guided by an un-related impersonal teacher, and (d) supportive of a generalizing mental set which seeks underlying similarities in many problems and their common solution (Scribner and Cole 1973). Many investigators in bi-cultural education have called attention to differences in learning "style" (see above) as an impediment to learning for minority children. It appears likely that Scribner and Cole and other researchers in cognition and socialization will shed more light on the particulars of a learning "style" as well as point to aspects of the social environment which contribute to its development (see also Price-Williams et al. 1969, Monroe and Monroe 1971, Williams 1969). Additionally, a number of investigations in this area have been stimulated by the work done by Piaget in development and maturation. The relationship of learning and socialization to development has been characterized in terms of physiological "readiness" of individuals to acquire certain cognitive and motor skills. Cross-cultural work suggests that given different socio-cultural contexts, different times of "readiness" for the learning of types of cognitive skills are obtained (Cole and Scribner 1974; Cole, Gay, Glick and Sharp 1971). In fact, Gay and Cole in work among the Kpelle in Liberia (1967) indicate that certain socio-cultural settings may impede the reaching of "readiness" for certain kinds of cognitive tasks (in this case "New

Math"). In Fortes' terms, the inclusion of certain learning processes in early development and socialization produces an individual "ready" to learn in certain situations but not in others. If material is presented without a recognition of these processes, it will be unlikely to be learned. This work is by no means complete, although it does seem to suggest that remedial programs (Headstart and the like) are not successful because middle-class educational institutions do not recognize and treat as acceptable the learning "styles" of their nonmiddle-class charges. Given the work of Y. Cohen and Wax and Wax discussed earlier, we might predict that a change of this type would be difficult for schools to make. Finally, much of this work recognizes that contact with schools and "formal" learning styles brings about changes in cognitive style of the nonwestern students. Questions as to the effect this change has on the lives and society of the students have yet to be answered. Our research suggests that the changes brought about are massive but are not in the direction of modernity and assimilation to western values. Rather, given other restraints and inputs (socio-economic, function, role of schools, etc.), the nonwestern socio-cultural system will develop in ways which reflect its dependency status and alienation from the larger, more powerful system to which it is responding.

At this point, a number of issues raised by acculturation and culturalchange studies seem relevant. In the

history of Indian-White relations, schools have played a large role in the attempted assimilation of American Indians into White society (see Szasz 1974). Indeed, the evidence presented above concerning the function of schools within cultures requiring broad social identification (e.g., nation states) indicates that schools serve this function for all their students. Broadly speaking, schools operate to "assimilate" their charges into the larger "unifying themes" of their society or Great Tradition. In the case of Indians and other minorities, the process runs less smoothly than with White middle class children. In addition to the education research outlined above, acculturation studies shed some light on why this is so. In schools we see a replication of the processes and structures occurring in acculturation situations as outlined by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovitz (1936) and Spicer (1961). We see a definite contact community structure in which roles with sanctions are played by members of the dominant society. The situation is one of directed change with sanctions expected if behavior is deviant. Importantly, the behavior expectations derive not from local traditions but from the traditions of the larger society. In the case of most Whites, social integration is accomplished through the merging of systems while in the case of most non-Whites the integration is accomplished through bi-cultural behavior (maintaining two sets of behavior for each appropriate cultural context).

Finally, various types of cultural integration are accomplished through the schools. For Whites, most new values, attitudes, and concepts introduced from the larger society conform roughly to the values and functions within the local tradition. These are incorporated into the behaviors of White students with little conflict. Non-Whites, however, share fewer similarities in value and function traits and incorporation is rarer. Some non-Whites, given the lack of incorporative possibilities and the pressure to change by the dominant tradition, are willing to replace certain elements of their culture or consciously assimilate some of the values and behavior patterns of the larger society. Others are able to fuse elements of the two cultures in a syncretistic fashion and still others operate bi-culturally by accepting elements from the dominant culture but never integrating them into areas of similar function in their own culture. Education itself is a good example of this.

If we examine the consequences of these kinds of directed change situations in, for instance, Bruner's discussion of the Mandan (1961), we become aware of how the schools have produced the kinds of pressures leading to present attitudes and behaviors of Indian students. Some Indian students opt for becoming White and do so successfully. These assimilated Indians must separate themselves from other Indians and thus begin a process which isolates them from participation in the Indian traditions of their community. This has been

altered somewhat recently by a resurgence of Indian identification on the part of many second generation assimilated Indian youths. This process has, in part, given rise to a progressive/conservative factional split which is an effective mechanism "which prevents full cultural assimilation to the American way of life" (Bruner 1961:269). Secondly, the vacillation of policies toward the Indian students from federal, state, and local sources between strong, coercive measures and paternalistic assistance has produced a process whereby a uniquely "Indian" culture has been able to persist. As force has been applied to Indians to change, certain items have been replaced while other areas have resisted. Herskovits (1961:182-84) discusses directed change in the "culture focus," or areas of greatest cognitive awareness as being least likely to succeed. Bruner (1956, 1961) hypothesizes that the learning which occurs early in life is most resistant to change and helps determine the acceptance or rejection of various traits. Thus, during periods of coercion Indian groups give ground slowly in some areas while developing mechanisms to maintain other aspects of their culture. In periods of assistance, when the pressure is less, Indian groups are able to "consolidate and to preserve aspects of their traditional culture" (Bruner 1961). Given our earlier discussion, it should not be surprising that the processes through which assimilation is to be accomplished are the very processes which produce conflict, alientation, and dependency in Indian cultures.

The more schools insist that Indians be like middle-class Americans, the more difficult the achievement of that result becomes. Thus, schools, as a major site of acculturation for non-Whites, replicate the processes of directed culture change as seen in the larger society and produce alienation, dependency, subordination, and a number of other problems in most of their Indian students.

Let us return to the initial concerns of this chapter. We must now begin to draw in the individual threads of the preceding arguments in order to show how they will be organized. We believe that an ecological perspective allows us to look at and organize perceptions of the behavior of Indians and others in schools by viewing both individual and collective behavior in terms of adjustments made to maintain and organize the existence of the individual and the group. Several key aspects of this process have been noted, principally the notions of flexibility, efficiency, and irreversibility. Schools themselves are organized around patterns of behavior that reflect adaptive processes in that they have developed strategies for maintenance and regulation and are capable of reorganizing in the face of change in the larger socio-cultural system. Indeed, schools have been seen to be major mechanisms in the larger society for effecting maintenance of social integration through the transmissions of certain broad and unifying cultural values. Schools have organized themselves into increasingly complex institutions during

the evolution to state levels of socio-cultural integration. With that increasing complexity has come increasing efficiency at the cost of flexibility. Loss of flexibility has produced an inability to deal with cultural systems that diverge radically from the national norm such that conflict and alienation are generated rather than acceptance of that norm. This in turn has caused a process of accommodation and adaptation to occur in these divergent groups in which conflict and alienation produce increasing cultural differences which, again, produce conflict in a never ending vicious circle. For a number of specific reasons, Indian students are less able to learn or incorporate the broad cultural matters transmitted by schools or the specific technical skills and information. Therefore, Indians and other minorities are caught by the various gatekeeping mechanisms and sorted into the lowest socio-economic sectors of the larger societies. As we have indicated, this may in itself be an important maintenance mechanism for an industrialized society.

The broader processes of education, socialization, and acculturation add further to this perspective: As an individual increases his abilities of locomotion and communication, he widens his sphere of social interaction. This developmental process appears to interpenetrate from physical skills to cognitive skills, from cognitive skills to social skills, and from social skills back to physical skills. This view puts emphasis on the individual's ability to

self-organize by systematically expanding his knowledge about the world he inhabits through the learning processes of imitation, identification, and co-operation. But this process is also self-maintaining for it usually produces individuals able to successfully exploit their physical and social environments. In addition, most socio-cultural systems exhibit socialization/education processes which maintain a balance between efficiency and flexibility in their members. That is, while the need for uniformity and cultural conformity is stressed, the need for variability is also recognized. In homogeneous societies, these processes seem to function adequately. However, when large, heterogeneous plural societies are considered, problems begin to appear. In bi-cultural situations, differences in emphasis in various educational processes may produce striking differences in the kinds of interactions taking place. Particularly in cases of acculturation and assimilation through schools, these processes tend to generate conflict and alienation. This seems to set up a vicious circle through which the subordinate culture is able to maintain both its separate identity and to organize such that it increases to some extent the differences between it and the dominant culture. Finally, as heterogeneous socio-cultural systems grow larger and more complex, efficiency needs become paramount. Thus, the educational system becomes even less tolerant of the flexibility of variability, and those individuals from divergent cultural backgrounds

tend to be excluded from all but the lower socio-eccnomic levels of their society.

When an Indian child enters school for the first time, he encounters pressures from a variety of sources. Teachers, administrators, and many of his White peers expect an acceptance and understanding of the world of White middle-class America. Portions of the Indian community and most of his Indian peers expect him to exhibit and develop behaviors which reflect an "Indian" world view. Some pressure from the already assimilated portion of the Indian community exists, but it usually results from pressure from one individual Indian to another, often from parent to child. The behavior of the Indian student, as well as many of the behavioral strategies of the Indian peer group, will reflect the conflict and alienation inherent in the schooling process for Indians. This research seeks to describe the organization of the two schools under study as it relates to the production of these pressures and conflicts and will describe the individual adjustments and adaptive strategies of Indian students as reflective of those pressures.

The field work undertaken for this research began during a period of resurgence of interest in American Indian problems. This interest has generated a number of new activities in education concerning American Indians, including ethnic studies, textbook reform, and increased federal program support. As a result, access to the two schools was

easily obtained and individuals in the schools, with few exceptions, were ready to co-operate in the research. Contacts with the two schools were initially made through the school superintendents, although some idea of their feasibility as research sites had been obtained earlier from sources who either had worked in the schools or were currently working there. In both schools, contact with the superintendents was limited to these initial meetings. In Carnegie, the principal administrative informant was an assistant superintendent who handled the federal Indian programs. The principal of the elementary school, who also handled federal Indian programs, was a major source of information in Wewoka.

Research in the two schools was enhanced by previous experience as a high school teacher. This experience had been a factor in shaping the research interest and was to prove invaluable in anticipating the various problems of doing field work in schools. It allowed this researcher to indicate areas of shared concern with teachers and administrators and to state the objectives of the research in ways most likely to be taken as either helpful or at least unobtrusive to those it might affect. The earlier teaching experience was also helpful in making decisions concerning the initial methods of data collection.

Familiarity with the teachers and other school personnel was first gained by contacts outside the classroom,

mainly in the teachers lounge, cafeteria, playground, and hallways, prior to asking permission to observe classroom behavior. Teachers are seldom comfortable enough to allow a stranger into their classroom without a noticeable effect on their behavior. Even after several months, some teachers were still nervous about allowing observations to take place. In the open schools, these considerations were less important since the teachers were accustomed to observation by their fellow teachers across the room and by frequent visitors from other schools and colleges. My experience as a high school teacher was also helpful in picking up various types of behavior by both teachers and students that might have otherwise been overlooked or misunderstood. Teachers and students develop a veritable arsenal of techniques and behaviors in order to manipulate their social environment. For instance, a teacher may resort to a variety of actions or behaviors to maintain control or discipline in the classroom. Some of these actions may be expressed in very subtle ways, such as the raising of eyebrows. Experience in these subtle communicational strategies allowed me to become aware of these processes early in the research. In addition, not so subtle but misleading techniques were also used. It is important to be able to get at the shared meanings of various behaviors which may on their surface seem entirely different. Mock anger, surprise, and other theatrics, as well as joking and teasing, may have entirely different meanings for classroom

participants than for the outside observer. My prior experience helped make me cognizant of these possibilities.

Prior experience affected the field worker in another, perhaps more critical, way in that the researcher was already familiar with most of the routines, attitudes, role relationships, and other formal and informal aspects of schools. This familiarity made it more difficult to perceive the commonplace and ordinary events of schooling that are taken for granted by participants. It required a constant struggle to remain alert to social behaviors and not get swept into lessons and other activities. Among the methods used to check this bias were: notes were checked periodically for major gaps in behaviors, a conscious effort was made from time to time to record all behavior in a particular group for significant segments of time, informants were asked to describe their daily routine, and participation was actively sought from time to time in order to differentiate periods of observational research and periods of participatory research.

Several important differences in the physical layout and educational philosophies of the two schools have already been discussed (see pp. 16-19) along with the effect these differences had on field work. A number of other features of the schools and their communities also had an impact on the research. These range from the boundaries of the school district to the number and size of cafeterias. Other physical factors included the clustering of some schools and

the isolation of others, the age and spaciousness (or lack of it) of the school buildings, and the accessability of administrative offices and support services. Also of importance was the design of the building and grounds as it relates to various school activities. Finally, the physical layout and size of the communities and their contrasting economics and physical environment played a role in determining various research strategies.

Faced with the decision to make ethnographic description a principal objective of this research and given the characteristics of the researcher and the research sites outlined above, three major methods were chosen to obtain the necessary data: participant observation, informant-interview, and analysis of written and documentary materials generated by and about the schools and communities under view. Following is a brief introduction to my use of these techniques and a brief review of the methodological rationale of each.

Participant observation has long been the preeminent stock-in-trade method for gathering data in anthropology, although recently the technique has been adopted by other social sciences. Traditionally, participant observation has meant the immersion of the researcher in another culture through which, by careful observation of and participation in the daily life of the people, an understanding of the culture is gained. Observational research aims at obtaining an accurate portrayal of behavior and the patterns or structures

made by recurrent behaviors. When this observational strategy is combined with active participation, an increasingly accurate picture is gained because to participate means to learn the kinds of behaviors appropriate to given relational contexts. Further, participation adds to the degree in which meaning may be attached to particular behaviors or patterns of behavior. In other words, ideas about the function of various aspects of a culture are likely to be generated through participation in addition to the more obvious functional relationships amenable to observational strategies. Much has been written about the methods of participant observation, from methodological chapters in ethnographic works (e.g., Malinowski 1922) to major works on the method itself (e.g., Powdermaker 1966). A major contribution has been the exhaustive cultural outlines produced by the Royal Ethnological Society (Notes and Queries 1951) and Murdoch (Outline of Cultural Materials, 1961). Jules Henry (1966) has produced A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education which provides a similar exhaustive list of observational goals for use in schools.

My work involved a great deal of observation, primarily in the classroom, but also in other areas of the school, particularly the playground, cafeteria, in staff meetings and administrative offices, and in limited areas of the community such as businesses and homes. Participation in the classroom included teaching behavior, student behavior, and caretaking.

At times, the researcher was asked to contribute to the class as an anthropological specialist or as a person knowledgeable in some areas (e.g., math, science, reading). There were times when it was possible to enter into class discussion, take part in group exercises, participate at learning centers with teaching machines, go on field trips, and otherwise behave much as the students were required to behave. Finally, in instances where teachers needed to leave the room or area, the researcher was left "in charge" of the class with no requirement other than making sure no one got out of hand.

Information about the schools and communities and the people who participated in them was also obtained by asking questions. In some cases a formal interview was used in which a prepared list of questions was asked of a number of people and their answers recorded (see Appendix). In other cases, more general questions were asked informally and the discussion would continue along one line or another until the topic was exhausted. Quite often this technique raised new questions for the researcher such that several hours could have been spent in one sitting. Unfortunately, the time pressures of organizational scheduling prevented the effective follow-up of many of the questions. The two techniques (formal vs. informal) were complimentary in that one provided much specific information in a short period of time and the other allowed the pursuance of a limited number of topics in depth. Thus, major areas of concern identified with the

formal method could be explored more deeply through the informal method.

Finally, many questions were asked and answers given in situations which fall outside of these two techniques. Quite often casual observances or asides were directed toward the researcher which were assumed to be of interest, and many times similar casual or personal inquiries brought back information concerning the research. Occasionally, the simple appearance of the researcher in the classroom or teacher's lounge stimulated discussions oriented toward his interests. Thus, the role assumed by the researcher played a part in the way information was gathered.

A great deal of written documentary information is generated by and about schools, both in the local community and in state and federal agencies. These data sources were used to gain information about such items as revenue programs, special revenues for Indians (Title IV, J.-O.'M., etc.), school law (federal and state), school related community programs (local, state, and federal), and parents' organizations and committees. In addition, other documentary sources provided material on local histories, local economic conditions, tribal and other local Indian affairs, community resources, BIA programs for Indians, health services, and Indian/White relationships. These sources included local newspapers, tribal and Indian committee newsletters, reports and bulletins from local USDA agencies, OSU extension

service reports, BIA reports and materials, local history projects, and census information. Within the schools themselves, all memoranda and bulletins sent to faculty and staff were collected as were student newspapers and yearbooks. Limited access to I.Q. scores and achievement test records was gained, although this type of data is of secondary importance to this research. Documentary sources were important for establishing historical, economic, and environmental contexts for the communities under study. They provided easy access to enormous amounts of material that would otherwise be impossible to obtain, given the limits on the time and resources of the researcher. The primary use of documentary materials will be limited, however, to providing a background against which a description of two schools will be made.

CHAPTER 3

ETHNOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE KIOWA AND SEMINOLE

In order to understand the present conditions of Native Americans in the educational system, it is necessary to look briefly at their existence prior to massive White contact and the history of their relationship with White society. This chapter will reconstruct briefly an account of the life the Seminole and Kiowa were leading just before massive intervention occurred (1790-1820 for the Seminole, 1810-1850 for the Kiowa.) It should be noted that the life-styles of both groups had been significantly altered by White influence and are, therefore, not descriptions of aboriginal cultures. Enough time and local autonomy were available, however, for the groups to make adjustments to the new "pressures" in such a way that much of the precontact culture remained viable. When we turn to the later history of these two groups, we find forcible removal from native lands and massive disruption of cultural life due to both intentional and unintentional policies on the part of the American

government. This period will be examined because we believe that the management of Indian affairs during this time contributed directly to the kinds of problems Indians experience today.

While it is possible to trace Indian problems in education to past events and cultural states, the researcher's position is that the processes of adjustment and accommodation contribute more to an understanding of present problems. This is not to deny the importance of knowledge about prior states and events but rather to emphasize their inclusion in a broader perspective, one that includes the dynamics of social change. Therefore, this chapter will characterize the sociocultural systems of the Seminole and the Kiowa as they seem to have existed after White contact but before the crushing military defeats that both were forced to endure. Kiowa ethnographic data will be drawn primarily from Mooney (1898) and from several more recent sources (Mishkin 1940, Levy 1961). Ethnographic data for the Seminole prior to removal from Florida is almost non-existent (see Bartram 1958). The data that are available primarily concern the life of Florida Seminoles after the removal of the bulk of the population to Oklahoma. We contend that most of this information describes a culture considerably altered by the disruptions of twenty years of war and adjustments to the radically different ecosystem of the Everglades. We will rely heavily on Swanton's ethnography of the Creek (1928) to augment the

available Seminole literature. It is generally concluded that Seminole origins may be directly traced to the Creek during historic times.

Considerably more information is available concerning the periods of intensive contact with Whites for the Seminole and the Kiowa. Both groups engaged in a long period of resistance to White encroachment of their territories. This resistance and the effects of removal and settlement on reservations, as well as more recent events, have been well documented. In particular, an understanding of the recent history of these two groups is closely tied to an understanding of federal policies toward relations with Native Americans.

A complete description of the culture history and ethnography of the Seminole and Kiowa is not the purpose of this chapter. Rather, we shall summarize briefly the relevant aspects of life for these people just prior to and during contact with White culture. The natural environment of both groups will be discussed briefly, together with their origins, and linguistic and cultural relationships with other groups in each area. Subsistence techniques, social organization, and ideology will be considered. This will be followed by a limited examination of the histories of the relationships of the two groups with White culture, particularly in terms of the types of stress placed on the two cultures and their respective responses. This investigation will

consider the role played by education in both the stress and responses of the Kiowa and Seminole.

The original area inhabited by the Seminole consisted primarily of the northern two-thirds of Florida including the southern border of Georgia. This area is characterized as a coastal plain with two discernible sub-regions --the coastal "Flatwoods" and the "inner belt." The Flatwoods extend back from the shore from twenty to forty miles and consist of unbroken stretches of conifer and scrub oak in the north and palmetto, savannah grasses, and cane in the south. At slightly higher elevations (200-300 feet) the Flatwood gives way to the inner belt, a broad plain cut by meandering and sluggish rivers which build alluvial floodplains. In these valleys typical vegetation include cypress, tupelo, and red gum, while the rest of the plain is covered with longleaf and loblolly pine and scrub oak except for occasional intrusions of hardwoods along the higher northern borders.

As we shall see, the origin of the Seminole is intimately tied to the Creek and other Muskogean speakers of the Southeast and the territory occupied by them does not correspond to that just described. The Creek occupied a more interior position in central and northern Georgia, eastern Alabama, and southwestern South Carolina. This area consists of several distinct physiographic regions. The Southern Appalachian Mountains extend down into southern Georgia, raising above two thousand feet in altitude.

Agriculture was possible only in valley bottoms or lower slopes, although game was abundant. These elevations produced the southern hardwood forests of chestnut, chestnut oak, yellow poplar, and hickory. West of the Appalachians in central and western Georgia lies a lower portion of the Great Valley, an elevated series of depressions which give rise to a number of important rivers, including the Shenandoah, James, Roanoke, Coosa, and Tennessee. South of the Great Valley stretches the Black Belt, a fertile crescent of land bordering the Coastal Plain to the south. The Appalachian and Cumberland Plateaus are located to the west and north of the Great Valley and Black Belt and mark the transition to the Great Interior Plain. Thus the area of origin for much of Seminole culture differs in certain respects from the area in which they are found eventually. In particular, the diversity of the land in central Georgia is an important factor.

The origin of the Seminole is relatively recent, probably within the last three hundred years. The people who came to be called the Seminole were groups of Muskogean speakers, primarily Creek, who moved into northern and western Florida after the original inhabitants were decimated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Fairbanks 1974: 8-23). Fairbanks cites three factors responsible for this depopulation: 1) disease introduced by Europeans, 2) military actions by the Spanish and French, and 3) slave raids

by the Carolinians and their Indian allies (Creek and Yamasee). With the formation of Georgia colony (1732), hostilities and pressure intensified on the various groups of Creek and their allies (e.g., Yamasee, Hitchiti, Alabama, Oconee). Fairbanks asserts that those individuals, families, and towns least interested in dealing with Whites began to remove to the recently emptied Florida country. Others (Swanton 1928) suggest that many fugitive and outlaw Creeks sought to avoid punishment by moving to Florida. Certainly, with an expanse of depopulated and fertile land abundant with grass, groups from contiguous areas with any of these reasons can be expected to have made something of the opportunity. Because of the variety of tribal and ethnic elements (especially Black) which made up the Seminole, the other "civilized" tribes tended to have little to do with them and treated them as inferiors. This has continued down to the present.

The name Seminole to a certain extent reflects elements of this explanation. There are two interpretations of the derivation of the word, both suggesting similar meanings. Fairbanks (1974) argues that Seminole is derived from the Spanish term "Cimmarron" which originally meant marrooned but came to refer to "wild" or "recalcitrant." He finds the word used in certain Spanish and English documents to refer to the Indians of north Florida and suggests that Muskogean sound shifts would have produced "Seminole" from "Cimmarron." Swanton (1928) and others hold that the term is Muskogean for "runaway."

Like the Creek Confederacy, the Seminole do not reflect a linguistic homogeneity. They are all Muskogean speakers (a major stock of the Gulf phylum; see Spencer et al. 1965:407-8), although some authors suggest that the remnants of the earlier inhabitants of Florida may have been incorporated into Seminole groups. Two languages are represented within the Seminole tribe: Seminole proper, which is mutually intelligible with Creek; and Mikasuki or Hitchiti, which is a more distantly related Muskogean language.

Since Seminole culture was almost wholly derived from Creek, most of the following discussion will be drawn from sources on Creek ethnography (Swanton 1928, Spencer and Jennings et al. 1965). It is also necessary to examine Creek origins and relationships briefly. Considerable evidence suggests a long occupation of the Southeast for the Creek and related groups. Within the Creek confederacy languages were Muskogean, including Creek proper, Alabama-Koasati, and Mikasuki-Hithchiti. Other Muskogean languages include the Choctaw and Chickasaw and still more distantly related languages were others of the Gulf stock found throughout the Southeast (Tunica, Natchez, Chitimaca, and Atakapa). The position of these languages, particularly Muskogean, in the interior uplands suggests that Gulf speakers have occupied the Southeast for some time, some estimate from 1,000 to 4,000 years (Willey, 1956:266). This would place proto-Creek and others as early as the Archaic archeological

tradition in the Southeast. Ethnographic and archeological evidence suggest that contact Creek culture developed out of Mississippian and Southern Appalachian constituents (Spencer and Jennings et al. 1965), which in turn had roots in earlier Adena-Hopewell and the Gulf traditions. These traditions are noted for their complex social and ceremonial components which seem to indicate Meso-American influences (Willey 1958).

For subsistence, the Creek and Seminole relied on two major sources: hunting the abundant game of their area and corn or maize production in communal "plantations" (Swanton 1928). Hunting took place after spring planting and after fall harvest and was known to depopulate villages for up to six months a year. Major animals included deer and bear with smaller game taken at opportunity, particularly when attracted to the corn fields. Fishing was also a major activity and included the use of fish poison. Agricultural activity began in the spring with organized communal cultivation and planting of the cornfields, continued through the summer with individual and group cultivation and guarding efforts, and ended in the fall with a communal harvest. Each family had rights to a particular plot in the fields, separated by grass strips, and during harvest gathered corn from only its plot. Additionally, a small garden was kept within the family compound and was tended by the women of the family. Late in the summer (July-August) the Busk or Green Corn

ceremony was celebrated and appears to have been a major ceremonial in a ritual round related to subsistence and cultural continuance (Swanton 1928, Spencer and Jennings et al. 1965). Hunting paraphernalia included the bow and arrow, blow guns, clubs, traps, snares, fish weirs, hook and line, and fish poison. Agriculture implements were the hoe and digging stick, with no crop rotation or fertilizer. Fields were apparently abandoned and moved every few years. Crops included corn, beans, squash, melons, and more recently, rice and potatoes. Tobacco and certain greens (amaranth and chenopodium) were undoubtedly present in the household garden.

Creek and Seminole social organization consisted of a matrilineal or "Crow" kinship system. In the classic Crow system the mother's sisters and the father's brothers are merged with the parents while the mother's brother and father's sister are terminologically distinct. The mother's brother (Pawa in Creek) is the central figure in the lineage and his term is unique to his position. The father's sisters term is merged with all of the other females of the father's lineage (father's mother, father's sister's daughter, etc.). Eggan (1937) and Spoehr (1942, 1947) have argued that certain patrilineal tendencies within Creek and other Southeastern kinship systems are the result of acculturation and that the more conservative Seminole system shows evidence of the "purer" Crow terminology. Marriage preference was apparently given to the mother's father's sister's offspring;

therefore, the merging of the father's female relatives was of major importance to the next generation.

Clan membership also determined marriage. Clans were matrilineal and exogamous and much evidence also suggests that the father's clan was avoided. The number of clans in Creek and Seminole society varies from thirty to fifty (Swanton 1928) and in most instances a number of clans were lumped together in seven or eight phratric associations. Swanton (1928) finds that these associations vary from town to town but that certain continuing clan to clan associations are evident. Swanton suggests that this is evidence for the older clan organization from which the present clans have fissioned. This older clan organization may also be related to the increased privilege and status of some clans over others. Finally, a dual division of the tribe is evident, both within each town and within the larger associations of towns. This moiety system consisted of those clans associated with Hathagalga or "Whites" and those associated with Tcilokogalgi or "different speech" or sometimes "Reds." No evidence is available which suggests that this division was related to marriage practices. The Whites were related to peace and the Reds to war and the major clans within each moiety seem to have supplied the candidates for political positions in those towns which were designated respectively Red or White (Swanton 1928).

Political organization was based on the Talwi or town which was a semi-autonomous tribelet. The Creek

Confederacy seems to have been an alliance among a number of these related and semi-related towns with some suggestion of fissioning of older towns to produce new towns. Each town consisted of a number of neighborhoods (probably with extended kinship ties) scattered over a site and connected by trails. The town maintained a ceremonial center consisting of a public square with four open buildings or arbors; a rotunda, or large enclosed public building sometimes built on a mound; and a Chunkey yard, or ball game court. Every town was governed by a Miko or chief; his assistants or mikalgi; the Henihalgi or director of public works and internal affairs; and the itsi atcagagi or "revered" men; all of whom formed a town council. The warriors or Tastanagi were made up of three classes and had some police functions within the town, particularly during ceremonies and other communal activities. Among the Seminole, the Tastanagi seem to have displaced the Henihalgi. The Miko and his council acted to coordinate internal activities, organized ceremonies, adjudicated legal matters, and regulated affairs with outsiders. In this last instance, warfare seems to have been the major activity. Besides acting as an integrating mechanism and providing means for social advancement, the constant warfare undoubtedly played a role in the establishment of rights over hunting territory for the town and its allies. The political organization associated with war (War chiefs and the war council) was to ultimately play a major role in the increased

unification of the Creek and Seminole during late White contact (1780-1830).

Ritual and ceremonial observances played an important part in everyday life as well as in special events for the Creek and Seminole. The drinking of acee, a powerful emetic, opened the day for most Creek and Seminole males and was used to mark participation in various rituals (the Busk, ballgames, war, etc.). Religious participation was generally open to the whole group, although some priestly specialization appears to have emerged for the itsi atcagagi who organized the yearly Green Corn or Busk ceremony. Other religious specialists included prophets, doctors, and weather controllers. Rigorous training, as well as supernatural power, was necessary for the acquisition of the skills of a medical practitioner. Gaining supernatural power could enhance a personal reputation but carried with it the risk of accusations of witchcraft. The Busk ceremony involved four days of feasting, dancing, and stick ball playing (similar to la crosse) which appears to have marked a tribal renewal and rejuvenation. The ball games were played at other times and strongly suggests replacement activities for war.

Overt educational activities were limited to the schools held by shamen and doctors for their apprentices. However, for reinforcement of certain types of behavior, parents and kin had recourse to certain forms of punishment (scratching with the teeth of a gar jaw, and, later, steel

needles). We may surmise that learning and acquisition of skills took place among peer groups and the family as was described by Fortes (1936) (summarized in chapter 2).

Creek and Seminole contact history are inextricably mixed. The Seminole are themselves a contact phenomenon with the pressures generated by Whites on the Creeks and others in the Southeast a major cause of their existence. Pressures from the North and Northwest on the part of Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee neighbors of the Creek led to the increased unification of the Creek Confederacy. These pressures were generated by movements of Iroquoian and Shawnee groups into the border regions of the Southeast, and were, in turn, generally due to pressures caused by White settlements on the eastern seaboard. In time other pressures appeared; the Spanish and French to the South and Southwest as well as direct contact with English colonies in North and South Carolina and eventually, Georgia. The Creek response was to attempt a balance of power by playing off one colonial group against another. This appears to have been a successful strategy until colonial authority began to wane and local interests assumed increasing power and control. The shifts of power and authority locally were much more unstable and unlikely to afford any lengthy "balance." At the same time local White interests were able to penetrate into Creek society (through the economic relationships of trading) with these interests attempting to manipulate the Indians to their

own advantages. Matrilineal kinship enabled half-breed sons of White traders to gain ascendency in Creek politics (e.g., Alexander McGillivray) and the decades from 1860 to 1820 were marked by increasing hostility with outsiders (other Indian groups, Anglo colonists, British, French, and Spanish authorities, and the American government). Internally, factions arose which allied themselves with these various external groups.

It is believed that during this period considerable numbers of dissident and conservative Creeks swelled the ranks of those who had already made their way into the depopulated regions of Florida (Fairbanks 1974). By the middle 1700s, these groups had established themselves in northern Florida and had adjusted to the somewhat different conditions afforded by the coastal plain as opposed to the interior plateaus from whence they came. To an agricultural base they had added cattle raising, an occupation introduced to earlier Florida inhabitants by the Spanish. Using this economic strategy, the Seminole were able to maintain a social and cultural organization roughly similar to that described for the Creeks. (Spoehr 1947 has argued that it resisted change even better than the Creek.) Two major areas of occupation have been identified; in north-central and northeastern Florida from present day Jacksonville to Saint Augustine; and in western Florida around the Alabama and Coosa rivers and near present day Apalachicoola. Groups associated with the eastern area

include Oconee and Yamasee with the principal town at Alachua. The major town of the western area was Apalachee and included groups from Hitchiti, Coweta, Kasihta, and the Yuchi (Fairbanks 1974).

Of major importance in a consideration of the pressures on the Seminole is a description of the changes in colonial authority in Florida. Like the Creeks, the Seminole attempted to effect a balance of power in their relations with Whites. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Florida was part of the Spanish Empire, although Spanish activity was limited to minor trading and the establishment of a mission system. It was at this time that the original inhabitants of Florida were exterminated. As Creeks and others moved in they assumed relations with the Spanish similar to their predecessors. At the close of the French and Indian War, Spain ceded Florida to Britain in exchange for Cuba (1763). Actual control of the area was limited as had been the case with the Spanish. The British did attempt to become increasingly active economically in Florida. At the end of the American Revolution, the British were forced to return Florida to the Spanish, who were unable to regain any kind of effective control of the area. Throughout this period, the conservative Seminole were able to maintain and consolidate control over most of Florida, partially through the balancing strategy but also because the colonial authorities lacked power locally and because little competition for the area existed with other local groups (White or Indian).

Finally, late in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth, events made northern Florida increasingly attractive to both local interests and to the American government. Florida represented the last large unit of accessible land on the eastern seaboard. Secondly, Blacks had with increasing frequency taken to escaping from southern plantations and crossing into the relative safety of Spanish Florida. Black slaves among the Seminole were given considerably more freedom and had become a major political and economic force in Seminole society. This situation along with the deterioration of relations between the factions of Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee on the one hand, and the U.S. government on the other (particularly the Creek War of 1814) brought U.S. military forces into the area. By 1818, Spain was forced to cede Florida to the U.S. and the U.S. government began to try to remove the Seminole to reservations, first in Florida and then in Oklahoma. From 1818 to 1842, numerous Seminole groups battled with U.S and Indian (primarily Creek) forces in an attempt to maintain some control over their destinies. This tenacious and bloody resistance was finally ended with the removal of most Seminole to Oklahoma, although a small number (180-300) found refuge in the Everglades and remained behind in Florida.

In spite of a number of major disruptions including the devastation of transport from Florida to Oklahoma, lack of provisions and support upon arrival, difficulties in

obtaining land separate from the Creeks, and the Civil War, by the 1870s the Seminole had established a stable and relatively prosperous existence in Oklahoma. Like the other "civilized" tribes removed to Oklahoma, they had modified their tribal organization into a semi-corporate group which was capable of effectively dealing with internal affairs as well as regulating relations with outsiders. Some aspects of White culture were selectively adopted especially through the influence of missionaries and White-educated Seminoles. Newspapers were founded and several mission boarding schools were set up to educate Seminole children. The capital of the Nation was established in Wewoka and a number of prominent Seminoles founded the Wewoka Trading Company, a business which played a major role in Seminole affairs.

The intransigence of the Indians of the plains prevented White settlement in the plains states. Once the Plains Indians were settled on reservations and deprived of the ability to carry on warfare, pressure for White settlement intensified. The Dawes Act of 1887 set forth the principle which was to end the stable and relatively well functioning existence of the Seminole and other "civilized" Indians. Although they were able to delay allotment until the turn of the century (1902), the Seminole lacked the power to prevent White settlement and the dissolution of Indian sovereignty in Oklahoma. While some powerful figures from the Seminole Nation emerged as political

and business leaders in Oklahoma, particularly those associated with the Wewoka Trading Company, and the discovery of oil on Seminole lands provided some opportunities for wealth, the bulk of the Seminole population soon lost out to Whites in the competition for business and political success. Most remained roughly where they were at allotment--at a subsistence level with little participation in other than the local economy. Without the political and economic protection of group organization and isolation, the progress of a Seminole accommodation with the White world was once again disrupted and Seminole life today remains much as it has been for the last seventy-five years--fragmented and dispersed among an alien culture with some elements of the culture maintaining Seminole identity and others emphasizing individual accommodation.

The history of educational efforts among and by the Seminole parallels that of general contact. During earliest contact times, some individuals were "educated" by colonists and missionaries; later individuals were able to exploit educational opportunities in White society and return to set up schools and other types of White institutions. Once in Oklahoma, these efforts were of major importance. Before the war between the states, an educated Seminole, John Bemo, founded a boarding school for Indian youths. He was joined by several White missionaries and after the disruptions of the war, several boarding schools were in operation in the

Seminole Nation. By the time of allotment and statehood the Seminole and various churches had developed a system of day schools and academies throughout the Nation. Statehood brought an end to Seminole sovereignty and an end to Seminole control over educational policy. The federal government, through the Indian Administration, developed Indian boarding schools in an effort to remove children from the influence of the home. State supported schools in the former Seminole Nation were primarily for Whites. This meant that educational opportunities for Seminole children were restricted to the federal Indian schools like Carlisle, Riverside, Chilocco, or Concho, and that Seminole influence on educational policy was non-existent. During the thirties, attempts were made to alleviate this by allowing Indians to go to state supported schools. In Oklahoma, dependent schools (grades 1-8) in rural areas of Indian concentration became available to Seminole children as an alternative to federal schools. Control of these schools, however, remained in the hands of the local White power structure, even though Indians usually comprised a majority of the patrons of the school. This situation has continued to the present with many dependent schools consolidating into independent districts (grades 1-12) with an even further loss of input and control of policy. Several federal programs (Title IV, Johnson-O'Malley) have attempted to redress this erosion of Indian control by giving local Indian parent groups some say in the spending of federal aid

to schools for Indians. Needless to say, this research will address later at greater lengths the results of this action.

The Kiowa and an affiliated group, the Kiowa-Apache, lived in the southern region of the Great Plains: a high, unbroken grassland which sweeps from the Rio Grande in Texas to northern Alberta and Saskatchewan. It is bordered on the west by the foothills of the Rockies and on the east by the edge of the Mississippi River valley (roughly the 97th meridian). Physiographically, the Plains are a steppe, rising slightly in elevation from east to west and broken only occasionally by local variations like the Wichita Mountains in the south and the Black Hills in the north. The higher, more eroded western plains are dryer than the rolling eastern section. The Missouri-Mississippi River system drains the region flowing down across the northern Plains and along the eastern edge of the Gulf of Mexico. Tributary streams flow from west to east bringing water across the Plains from the Rocky Mountains. A continental climate causes wide seasonal variations in weather with hot, humid summers and cold, and moist to dry winters. Rainfall peaks in the spring and fall with an average of fifteen inches per year in the west to thirty inches in the east. Moisture patterns influence the vegetation patterns, with short-grass plains existing west of the 20-inch isohyet and tall-grass prairies extending eastward to the margins of the deciduously forested Missouri-Mississippi basin, and, beyond into southern

Illinois and Indiana. Some areas of the western Plains are forested with scrub cedar and juniper and along watercourses there are occasional oak, box-elder, and cottonwood. In the east, fingers of deciduous forest follow the eastern flowing streams with oak and elm being found. Animal life on the Plains included bison, antelope, deer, elk, a selection of carnivores (coyote, wolf, bear, badger), numerous rodents (rabbit, squirrel, prairie dog), a variety of birds (particularly grouse), and some fish. Both hunting and gathering and farming were possible subsistence strategies on the Plains, although archeological evidence suggests that population densities were kept at low levels, due possibly to the vagaries of the climate and the lack of an efficient means of exploiting the bison until the introduction of the horse.

On the Plains, the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache were located in the south-central region and controlled an area from the Arkansas river south to the Wichita Mountains and the headwaters of the Red River. They were bordered on the west and south by the Comanche, with whom they had allied at an early date (roughly 1790), on the north by the Southern Cheyenne, and on the east by the Osage and Wichita (Mooney 1898). Origins as given in tribal tradition locate the Kiowa at earliest times in western Montana at the headwaters of the Yellowstone. They moved east out onto the plains, obtaining horses and establishing a long lasting relationship with the Crow (probably around 1700). The Kiowa

continued to drift south and east, first to the neighborhood of the Black Hills, then to the North Platte (where Lewis and Clark locate them in 1805), and finally past the Smokey Hill and Republican rivers in Kansas to the Arkansas. They were able to hold this region until placed on a reservation in 1868. Linguistically, the Kiowa are related to no other groups on the Plains but rather to Tanoan speakers in the Rio Grande Pueblo area of the Southwest (Harrington 1910). Some have suggested that this indicates a southern origin for the group while others argue that the length of time since separation (up to 3,000 years, Davis 1959) could accommodate a more northern origin (see Hale 1967, Trager and Trager 1959, and Whorf and Trager 1937).

Kiowa subsistence follows the typical Plains mounted bison hunting pattern. They show no shift from horticulture to hunting and gathering upon entering the Plains (see Oliver 1962) and, thus, are assumed to have been hunting and gathering peoples prior to their acquisition of the horse. The bison was a primary source for food as well as raw material for shelter, clothing, and tools. Other subsistence resources included horse and slave raiding down into Texas and Mexico and among neighboring tribal groups. These activities varied according to the seasons, with small group hunting and some raiding during the winter, larger groups coming together to exploit the increasingly large herds of bison in the spring, culminating in early

summer with a tribal encampment during which communal hunts and large scale raiding took place. During the fall, hunting activity intensified among the smaller herds of bison returning south in preparation for winter. A major variable influencing hunting and raiding activity and size of gatherings was the availablility of forage for both bison and horses.

The three major resources utilized by the Kiowa were a direct result of the acquisition of the horse, a topic which has received major treatment in the literature on the Plains Indian (see Ewers 1955). The expansion of resource base and increase in mobility gave the nomadic Plains groups a distinct advantage over their more sedentary neighbors. The Kiowa, by virtue of their position in the southern Plains and their ability to effect alliances with neighboring groups, particularly the Comanche, were able to use the horse, both as a technological means and a medium of trade, to a great advantage. They were able to efficiently hunt buffalo; to raid and trade into Texas, Mexico, and New Mexico; to effectively trade surplus horses to Plains tribes to their north; and to gather annually in tribal wide encampments. They were thus able to increase their material well being considerably over what it had been in the recent past as pedestrian hunters and gatherers of the northern Plains and intermontane region. It is probably that due to ecological relations (particularly the relative amounts of forage available for horses and bison

and a cycle of wet and dry years affecting that forage) the Kiowa had reached a limit of expansion in terms of population by the 1840s (Levy 1961). This further suggests that, while the population of the Plains had increased, the population of the Kiowa had remained relatively stable (1,500, Levy 1961) in the transition from pedestrian to equestrian nomads, with an increase in material wealth rather than population.

Kiowa social organization is generally typical of other nomadic Plains tribes with the exception of an increased system of status ranking. Kinship was reckoned bilaterally and the terminology was Hawaiian with all children of ego's parent's siblings merged as either "brother" or "sister." The smallest kin unit was the nuclear family with sororal polygyny and the levirate occurring. The basic socio-political kin unit was the extended family; an older male, his wife, their children, sons and daughters-in-law, and their children. At times an elderly relative might be attached as well as other more distantly related dependents. This group formed the nucleus for expansion of social organization into topadoga (or un-named bands) when hunting conditions allowed. The topadoga were groupings of related extended families usually along the lines of male siblings (biological, classificatory, and fictive) and were fluid both in size and obligations of membership. Size generally indicated the relative prestige of the topadoki, or headman, and there appear to have been between ten and twenty of these bands among the Kiowa.

An even larger grouping, known as named bands, were related to the amorphous bands which existed prior to tribal unification. An individual could affiliate with his band through either birth or a marriage partner. The five named bands for the Kiowa included the Kiowa-Arikara, the Elk, the Kiowa Proper, the Big Shields, and the Black Boys (or Sindi's Children) and each had a place in the tribal encampments for the Sun Dance and communal hunts. Tribal political authority rested among the most powerful topadoki, the chiefs of the named bands, and a nominal tribal chief. This authority was wielded during tribal encampments in situations concerning relations with outsiders and in regulating internal ceremonials, like the Sun Dance, and communal hunts.

Once their position on the south Plains was secure, the Kiowa were able to exploit, along with the Comanche, the great potential for wealth in horse and slave raiding in Mexico and subsequent trading with Indian groups to their north. This greater wealth in comparison with other Plains tribes produced a system of status differentiation and hierarchy (see Mishkin 1940); something found with relative infrequency among the other Plains tribes. The four levels or ranks of Kiowa status effected leadership structure, warrior societies, and certain religious societies. These four ranks, from highest to lowest, included: Onde ongop, Onde gupai, Kaan, and Dapom. Due to the amount of surplus wealth

accumulated, there developed mechanisms for upward mobility, leveling, and social and economic insurance.

Another development associated with increased tribal cohesion and typical of most Plains groups were the warrior societies. For the Kiowa, these societies appear to have developed rather late (circa 1830, Mooney, 1898) and most authorities feel that, except for the boys' societies, they were ranked. There were two boys' societies: Rabbit for younger boys and Sheep (Adaltoyai) for older youths. In order of rank, the men's societies include: Principal Dogs (Kaitsenko), Gourd Dancers (Taimpego), Black Legs (Tonkonko), and Horses Headresses (Tsentenmo). The Gourd Dancers functioned as police during the tribal-wide Sun Dance and communal hunt. A women's group also existed--the Old Women's Society (Mooney 1898).

Warfare among the Kiowa consisted of two types of activity: individual raiding initiated by one or more individuals in an effort to increase wealth and status, and activities which mobilized the entire tribe. The latter case usually involved infrequent retaliation against other tribal groups, although at times the raiding into Mexico became an extensive tribal and inter-tribal affair. Numerous religious sanctions surrounded behavior during warfare and other limitations were related to considerations of prestige and status. Besides increased wealth and status, warfare on the Plains is thought to have played a role in establishing bison

rights and to have contributed to group consolidation through the threat of intermittent raids from other groups.

Kiowa religious orientation was primarily individual with attention directed toward gaining individual access to supernatural power through various means. A major mechanism for gaining a source of power was the vision quest. Failing that (apparently a common occurrence), an individual could buy power from another, inherit it from relatives, and gain it through association with a religious society (e.g., shield societies) or dancing in the Sun Dance. Group religious practices centered around the Sun Dance which was held each year at the tribal encampment to insure a plentiful supply of bison and the general well-being of the tribe. The Ten Grandmothers (Adalbeahya) or tribal medicine bundles were another focus of group religious concern in that their presence promoted tribal harmony and sanctioned underlying tribal values (Mooney 1898).

Overt educational activities among the Kiowa appear to be limited to instruction of initiates into the various religious and warrior societies and instruction associated with the transfer of supernatural power (especially for healing purposes) from one individual to another. Children learned both proper behavior and the skills necessary for survival informally through play, cooperative activities, and role identification.

By as early as the 1840s, efforts began on the part of the Texans, the Spanish and Mexican governments of Mexico,

and the U.S. government to remove the threat of Indian hostilities on the Plains. These efforts included military and civilian actions aimed at forcible removal, destruction of subsistence base, and negotiation by treaty. The tribes of the southern Plains (Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Wichita) were removed to a reservation by the Medicine Lodge Treaty (1867) prior to a major military defeat and continued to enjoy access to hunting territories off the reservation. An outbreak in 1874 led to military action against the tribes and became an opportunity to strip the Kiowa of their horses, weapons, and most material goods. This action destroyed any means of resistance to government actions and made the Kiowa totally dependent on the government for subsistence. This dependency status and the frustration, despondency, and destruction of culture that accompanied it remains one of the most salient features of Kiowa life.

Life for the Kiowa from removal up to 1901 contained some hope of maintenance of authority and control over their lives. Cattle interests to the south actively supported keeping the reservation intact in order to provide a swath of un-fenced lands available for pasturage during trail drives. This position was opposed by those of the agrarian East who preferred a homestead policy. Vacillation between these two policies prevented either from being effectively implemented. It would appear that the cattle policy would have had better chance for success and would have provided Indians with some

means to control their own lives (particularly as competitors in the regional and national economy). During this period, several revitalization movements took place, including the Ghost Dance and Peyotism, as well as active missionization by Christian churches. In addition, the tribal medicines continued to be maintained by their individual owners.

With allotment in 1901, the possibility of a viable Kiowa tribe disappeared. As with the Seminole, the loss of potential authority over tribal lands, the dispersal of people to individual allotments, and the penetration of Whites into the Kiowa territory produced a situation in which the Kiowa were ill-equipped to compete. In fact, the situation in western Oklahoma was difficult (if not impossible) even for most Whites. The Kiowa, like most others on the southern Plains, were reduced to abject poverty, except that, unlike Whites, they were unable to migrate to other areas in search of better conditions. Relief finally came during the 1930s when the conditions that had existed on the Plains became more widespread and the federal government began to offer aid to the Indians as well as other distressed groups. Indian policy under John Collier reversed the trend toward increased alienation of Indian land and tribal autonomy in an attempt to preserve certain aspects of Indian life in their incorporation into American society. When conditions improved for the Kiowa with the better economic situation during and after World War II, the federal government once again reversed its

Indian policy and increased its efforts to terminate its relationship with the Kiowa. However, since the Kiowa had never incorporated as a tribal group during the thirties, this reversal had less impact on them than on other groups. Today, in spite of renewed federal efforts to aid Indians, the majority of the Kiowa remain in rural Oklahoma in the lower echelons of society, unable to take advantage of the improved conditions or to compete economically against their more politically and economically powerful White neighbors.

Attempts to provide educational services for the Kiowa began shortly after confinement to the reservation. In 1871, a Quaker, Thomas Battey, set up a school for the Caddoes at Anadarko. During his term there, he was approached by Kicking Bird, a major chief of the Kiowa, with the possibility of setting up a Kiowa school. The next year he returned to the Kiowa and began teaching in the Kiowa camps out of a tent and wagon (Battey, 1968). Eventually a school was established near Fort Sill (Rainy Mountain) and several missionary schools (Methvin) were set up in Anadarko (Episcopal, Methodist, and Catholic). The major aim of all these schools, including the sympathetic Battey's efforts, was to do away with the Kiowa way of life and to substitute a White lifestyle. Schooling for the Kiowa differed from the Seminole in that very few (or no) Kiowa had extensively experienced White society and returned to work in schools as brokers between the two cultures as had occurred among the Seminole and

other eastern groups. Indian schools throughout the state and the central portions of the U.S. were the source of education for Kiowa through the 1930s. By this time, Johnson-O'Malley legislation made it possible for Indians to attend public schools. Today a majority of Kiowas attend public schools and a large minority go to BIA boarding schools. The same processes described in the Seminole section of this chapter have occurred among the Kiowa (e.g., dependent schools with large Indian populations, consolidation with larger White schools, and erosion of Indian authority in the schools) and will be attended to in greater detail in the next chapters.

CHAPTER 4

CARNEGIE AND WEWOKA: THE COMMUNITY SETTINGS

The two communities examined in this research have a varied and contrasting historical and environmental context. This chapter will review briefly the physiographic and ecological settings of the two communities, discuss the settlement and history of the two towns, and quickly sketch the current social and economic organization. Certain differences in the organization of the educational system in each community are attributable to these variations in environmental and historical contexts. However, from the point of view of Indian education, the similarities and parallels one finds among Indians in both schools are far more striking. Thus, while local and regional history and environment provide variety and color, the major themes for Indian development in education seem to have been determined by larger historical and environmental forces (e.g., relations with the federal government). Later chapters will deal more extensively with the structural similarities and their roots. This

chapter will concentrate on the individual histories and settings of the two communities today in an effort to explain those variations in surface phenomena.

Carnegie is situated deep in the plains ecosystem surrounded by the territory once controlled by the Kiowa. It is near the middle of what was once the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache and Wichita Reservation. Specifically, Carnegie sits astride the Washita River, near a large bend, or oxbow, which creates a large flat plain just east of town. Terraces on both the north and south sides of the river rise slightly leaving the town below the level of the surrounding plains. Once away from the river the gently rolling topography of the high plains takes over. It is broken by the Wichita Mountains far to the south. There are a few trees growing closer to the river which were planted and tended by the residents. There is a large park right on the river in town with many massive cottonwoods, a cool, shaded oasis after the intense brightness of the plains.

The weather in Carnegie is characteristic of a semi-arid steppe with hot, somewhat humid summers followed by cold-dry winters. The most dramatic weather patterns are in spring and early summer with thunderstorms a regular feature of the afternoon and evening and an occasional tornado to relieve the monotony. The wind blows regularly throughout the year, usually out of the north in the winter and the south in the summer. With nothing to interrupt it, wind gusts up to fifty

miles per hour are not uncommon. The wind is a constant and something to be considered and dealt with the year around.

The weather, in conjunction with the land, determines the kind of plants and animals on the plains. Numerous grasses have adapted to the soils and aridity of the plains. Those found in the vicinity of Carnegie are primarily the bluestems and wire grass. The taller grasses near Carnegie begin to give way to short grass varieties revealing a shift in rainfall patterns from the wetter east to the dryer west (twenty inches a year and less). In addition to grass, many flowering perennials and annuals add variety to the biotic communities on the plains. Along the water courses cottonwood, willow, and cedar trees rise up to offer occasional relief from the sea of grass. These plant communities show remarkable flexibility in adapting to the rigors of the plains. They tend to have both drought-sustaining and drought-resisting characteristics (Kraenzel 1955:29-34). The major hoofed mammals of the plains, the bison and the pronghorn antelope, utilize these plants for food. In historic times there were added the horse, and more recently, cattle and sheep. Other animals include the jack rabbit, the coyote, the prairie dog, and the grasshopper. These and other mammals, birds, reptiles, and insects make the plains their home. They, too, have adapted to an arid existence and show flexibility, mobility, and endurance in the face of an extreme environment (Kraenzel 1955:35-41).

The plains system has always been limiting concerning economic exploitation. The earliest inhabitants made do with hunting and gathering. More recently, agriculture was introduced in the more watered river valleys but was generally confined to the eastern edge of the plains. With the arrival of the horse, a hunting economy exploiting the vast bison herds was temporarily successful. Eventually, this was replaced by ranching and farming. Around Carnegie, these two modes continue to be the major economic activities. Raising cattle was an obvious economic possibility in an arid grassland, but eventually this activity gave ground to farming which was more aggressively pursued. Capital intensification farming has been a viable option in the area surrounding Carnegie. Both dryland farming and the even more intensive irrigation farming is practiced in the immediate vicinity. Principal crops include wheat, peanuts, cotton, and potatoes. In marginally productive areas further away from watercourses, cattle raising is practiced more often. Farming and ranching are the principal modes of economic exploitation in Carnegie. However, the means of capital intensification, in the main through credit, is the third leg on which Carnegie's economy stands.

Prehistorically, human occupation of the plains near Carnegie began some 8-10,000 years ago with hunting and gathering peoples utilizing the readily available big game. Hunting and gathering continued to be important up to modern

time with occasional forays by agriculturalists into the river bottoms beginning around 1,000 years ago. The Washita River in the region around Carnegie was undoubtedly used this way during wetter periods until the appearance of the horse and the development of the plains bison-hunting cultures of the 1790s to 1860s. As the last Southern Plains tribes (Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Comanche, Arapahoe, and Cheyenne) were brought into reservations in the 1860s (Medicine Lodge and Little Arkansas Treaties), the area, including present-day Carnegie, became part of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache and Wichita Reservation. For the next twenty years the Indians were stripped of their means of warfare and food production and were encouraged in various ways to take up agriculture and other "civilized" pursuits. The federal government provided relief and instruction but failed to involve Indians in the transition to modern agriculture. The Indians were able, with the help of their agents, to rent large areas of grass-land to pasture stock on their way to railheads in Kansas. By the 1890s, this system came under increasing pressure in the federal government and was cited, along with further reductions in the size of the reservations, as reason for allotting the reservation lands to make each Indian a landholder/agriculturalist. This move was strongly resisted by the Indians, their agents, and the Texas cattle interests. In the end, agricultural interests won out and the KCA-W lands were allotted. Excess lands were awarded to Whites

in the lottery. The city of Carnegie was platted on the day of the lottery (August 6, 1901) and came into existence overnight (Shirk 1965).

As homesteaders entered the country surrounding Carnegie, farming became the principal economic activity. The Rock Island Railroad provided much needed ancillary support with the transportation of supplies, especially fuel, and by furnishing ready access to markets for products. Most of the homesteads changed hands frequently since 160 acres were rarely productive enough to allow the homesteader to intensify his argicultural activities successfully. The small size of holdings combined with aridity of the area worked against the farmer being able to pay back loans for equipment, seed, and improvements. This led to sale of the property to avoid default or outright default. Thus, banks and land speculators ended up holding large sections of land which in turn were bought by farming entrepreneurs in sizes large enough to make intensification pay. Curiously, this process worked in reverse but with nearly the same consequences for the Indian lands. Since Indian land was not allowed to be sold, it became increasingly fragmented as it was inherited in shares. Today it is not unusual to find Indians with a 1/64th share of the original 160 acre allotment. However, as the Indian allotments proved as unproductive (or impractical) as homesteads, Indians began to lease their land to neighboring farmers and ranchers. Thus, while now reduced

to fragments of the original allotments in legal ownership, most Indian lands in terms of actual use reflect the same size patterns as those of their White neighbors.

By 1914, due to the railroad, Carnegie had become a secondary commercial center with a population of 1,000. Two banks were busy intensifying agriculture and adjusting the size of land holdings, two lumber yards were providing materials for improvements (and further debt) in the treeless region, and three mills and elevators and two cotton gins were storing and processing agricultural products. The U.S. Post Office and the Rock Island Railroad provided transportation and communication services, a school, water, fire protection, and lights were offered as city services (Sanborn Map Co. 1914).

In 1922, the town had grown to 2,000 with additions of two grain mills and storage elevators, two broomcorn warehouses, a third bank, and three oil companies (Sanborn Map Co. 1922). These new businesses and the increase in population suggest an economic prosperity based on the original efforts at agricultural intensification. Grains (corn and wheat) seem to have played the largest role in this intensification with some experimentation in new crops better fitted to the arid environment (e.g., broomcorn). The advent of the oil companies suggests the arrival of the automobile as an alternative to the railroad or horse and buggy. But it may also presage the introduction of the tractor as increasingly

larger landholdings became necessary to keep up with intensification costs.

As in all types of intensification, at some point the fiddler must be paid his due. In 1930, on the eve of the Depression, Carnegie had begun to feel the strains of intensification. Population was 2,200, up a modest 200 from eight years earlier. Grain production was in decline, the number of mills and elevators was reduced from five to two. Cotton production was up with three new gins to a total of five. This could represent a last minute rush to stave off disaster as productivity declined in capital intensive grains, or with a return to labor intensive cotton as markets for cotton went up; nonetheless, it reflects an effort guaranteed to bring an increasing environmental toll. Another indicator of strain was the end to experimentation (the broomcorn warehouses are gone) along with the move to tried and true producers like cotton. One of the three banks closed its doors, taking with it investors, credit opportunities, and undoubtedly leaving the remaining two banks more cautious. Finally, all oil companies were gone by 1930, signaling both an end to the private automobile and the demise of the tractor, an intensification innovation that had arrived before its time.

By the end of the 1930s western Oklahoma was part of the classic "dust bowl." Intensification via widespread plowing of native grasslands, combined with the aridity of the region, had helped to produce the Depression, an economic

disaster. Land was again consolidated into larger holdings as farmers sold out or went bankrupt. The federal government began to supply farmers with information concerning conservation techniques aimed at regaining lost topsoil and re-establishing native grasses on marginal lands. New crops were introduced and by the mid-1940s commercial farming had returned. The extremely large size of landholdings required for commercial success brought back the tractor and other mechanized equipment as well as fertilizers and pesticides. In an attempt to control the natural dryness, irrigation techniques were begun. All of these efforts at intensification were successful, but they required tremendous capitalization efforts, obtainable only through banks. Thus, the move from family farm to corporation began to take place. Also important to the success of these efforts was the continuing support through subsidization, price supports, and education of the federal government.

The trajectory of development begun after World War II continues today in Carnegie. A rural town in middle America, it has become increasingly enmeshed in an industrial society, largely dependent on inputs of energy, implements, and capital from outside sources. Its farm products in turn are dependent on markets which are distant from western Oklahoma and thus on the availability of storage and transport and on the vagaries of international relations. In spite of this loss of local control, the people of Carnegie appear to be optimistic about their town and its future.

Carnegie looks like many small towns in the western Great Plains of North America. It is situated on a river and a railroad, both traveling roughly in an east-west direction. These two features once formed the north and south boundaries of the town. The original townsite was between the first and second southern terraces of the river with the railroad at the crest of the second terrace. Today, the town has extended out past these two boundaries, along the newer forms of transportation arteries, two intersecting state highways. Highway 58 travels north and south and goes through the middle of town. It connects Carnegie on the north to Alfalfa and on the south to Boone-Apache and eventually Lawton. The east-west route is Highway 9 which connects Mountain View to the west and Ft. Cobb to the east. It eventually reaches Anadarko, the county seat and a regional marketing/economic center. Highway 9 is located just south of the railroad tracks as it goes through Carnegie, having crossed both the river and the railway by bridges somewhat to the east of town. Both highways have attracted secondary businesses (gas stations, garages, drive-in restaurants, and motels), particularly at their crossroad.

The main business district continues to be in the original townsite along two or three "main" streets. Most retail stores, professional services, the bank, city offices, and agricultural suppliers are located there. Grain elevators and cotton gins are located south of the business district along the railroad. The oldest residential sections

are north of the business district toward the river. Newer residential districts have grown up west of downtown and south of the railroad to Highway 9. The newest residential developments are south of Highway 9, west of Highway 58, and north of the river west of Highway 58.

Along the river on the east side of Highway 58 is a large piece of city property which includes a large city park, an amusement park, a swimming pool, and a water treatment facility. The area is covered with huge cottonwood trees and provides a cool, shaded break from the bright sunny plains in the summer. Indians often gather there in the summer to hold pow-wows and other tribal and pan-tribal ceremonies. At the limits of town development, streets end and farmland takes over, extending away on all sides of the town. The only roads here are the two highways and county section lines, located at one mile intervals forming a grid of north-south and east-west dirt roads.

Carnegie's population is approximately 2,000. The 1970 U.S. census listed the population as 1,723. Rough estimates would put between 150-300 Indians living in Carnegie and perhaps 200-300 more living in the surrounding countryside. The following discussion of Carnegie's social, political, and economic life takes place with little regard to conditions outside the local boundaries. This descriptive strategy is not meant to imply that Carnegie exists in such isolation in reality.

Carnegie is incorporated and has a town form of government with a Board of Trustees elected from three wards. Also elected are a City Clerk, a City Treasurer, and a Justice of the Peace. These elected officials manage the town's affairs by hiring various officials to run the police department, fire department, water treatment plant, sewage plant, swimming pool, park, and library. They also operate jointly with Ft. Cobb a sanitary landfill operation. Other governmental entities which operate in Carnegie include the Post Office, an Indian Health Station (BIA), an Indian Soil Conservation office (Department of Agriculture), Conservation Commission, Community Action Center, VISTA, and the Kiowa Tribal Chairman.

An important governmental entity is the Carnegie School District (I-33). It includes an area a great deal larger than just Carnegie and has a high school, a junior high school, an upper elementary school (4-6), a lower elementary school (K-3), a bus barn, a band room, and a superintendent's office on three different sites. Headstart leases several classrooms in the upper elementary building.

Community health is provided for by three MDs, a chiropractor, a dentist, an optometrist, and a veterinarian. There is a local hospital and ambulance service, a medical center, a nursing home, and a funeral home. Already mentioned is the Indian Health Station, which helps local Indians obtain health care from the Indian Health Service in Lawton.

Carnegie is served by two electric power sources: Public Service Company in town and Caddo Electric Co-op in rural areas. Natural gas is supplied in town by Oklahoma Natural Gas. Carnegie Telephone Company is a locally owned telephone exchange. The town is served by the Rock Island Lines Railroad, which transports goods only and has recently gone out of business (1982). It has no other means of transportation except a local trucking company and the private automobile. Local news can be found in the weekly newspaper, The Carnegie Herald, while daily newspapers from Oklahoma City, Lawton, Hobart, and Anadarko are available. Television and radio stations are available, with the proper receiving equipment, from Lawton, Oklahoma City (TV and radio), Anadarko, Hobart, and Weatherford (radio).

Religious life in Carnegie is exclusively Protestant unless one counts the Native American Church which is active among Indians.[1] There are eight churches in the area, including Methodist, Christian, Baptist, Church of Christ, Assembly of God, Pentecostal Holiness, LDS (Morman), and Missionary Baptist. The latter two contain a larger percentage of Indians than the others. Also active in town is a chapter of Gideons International (the Bible Society), the only voluntary organization found in Carnegie.

It should be obvious that the chief economic activity in the Carnegie region is agriculture. Principal farm crops include wheat, cotton, peanuts, and potatoes,

with minor crops including corn and silage (hay and alfalfa). Prime agricultural land is on the river and creek bottoms with the higher, rockier land used as pasture for cattle. Some feed lots for cattle have begun to enter the picture (especially west of Carnegie) and at least one attempt at greenhouse vegetables has been made. Businesses related to agriculture form a major core of economic activity in the town. As mentioned earlier, the remaining bank provides the capital necessary for the intensification efforts by local farmers and ranchers. It should be noted, however, that local farmers and ranchers, as well as townspeople, are not adverse to traveling some distance to do their banking. Banks in the neighboring communities undoubtedly attract Carnegians as do the larger metropolitan banks. It is doubtful, however, whether these other banks would have the awareness to be very active in local economic decision making. That is, the local bank is more likely to make decisions based on a broad range of economic, political, and social factors than a distant institution looking for short-term economic gain. Other economic interests concerned with agriculture are two grain and peanut storage elevators, two cotton gins, one aerial spraying service, three irrigation related businesses (pumps, pipe, well drilling), four farm supply companies, a nursery, one farm implement sales and service, a bulldozer service, a livestock auction, and two agricultural trucking concerns. This last business and the railroad are the major transportation

methods for agricultural produce. The only other primary production activities in Carnegie are two furniture manufacturing enterprises, one of which was set up with federal help in an effort to stimulate economic activity for local people (primarily Indian). These factories have not been especially successful.

All other businesses in Carnegie provide ancillary support for the people living and/or working in and around Carnegie. In addition to the health practitioners mentioned earlier, Carnegie has another professional person, a lawyer. Personal services include three cleaners and laundries, six beauty shops, three insurance agencies, two tax accountants, one pest controller, two motels, and one hotel. Surprisingly, there are not realtors or real estate offices in Carnegie. Perhaps the high percentage of Indian lands accounts for this or, more likely, realtors in neighboring towns (Ft. Cobb-Anadarko) provide this service. There are two construction contractors, three plumbers, two painters, two building materials suppliers, a cabinet shop, and a steel building contractor. In addition, there are two mobile home parks in Carnegie.

Retail trade business includes eight grocery and convenience stores, six restaurants and drive-ins, two appliance repair stores, two furniture stores, three general merchandise stores, one upholstery shop, two flower shops, two bulk propane dealers, and one shopping center management

office. There are four types of entertainment offered in Carnegie: four lounges, one theater, one retail liquor store, and a skating rink. Since the private automobile and trucks are the major form of transportation, there are a large number of businesses related to this activity. There are ten gas stations (one wholesale), fourteen auto repair garages (including mechanical and body repair), and three automobile and truck dealers. The three trucking businesses (one commercial and two agricultural) and the railroad complete the transportation sources for Carnegie.

Social organization in Carnegie was not investigated sufficiently to make more than a broadly suggestive outline of social class, and political and economic structures. There are three major ethnic groups--White, Indian, and Chicano. They are convenient markers in the social class divisions. Our major criterion concerning social class has to do with the amount of power (economic, political, social) one has in order to affect decisions which might effect one's own life. Thus, Carnegie appears to have five classes. The first has more access to power than the others and consists of old landed farmers and ranchers who have gained their property in the past through purchase (or homestead) or, more recently, through inheritance. These families (probably no more than five or ten), while powerful, probably <u>appear</u> less successful than those from town who are their equals, and those from the next lower social level. Most

likely one or two town families have an equal access to power through their long success at business enterprises (e.g., the banker and perhaps an old established farm equipment dealer). The next level would include smaller and newer farmers and ranchers, professionals (doctors, lawyers, school administrators, who are mostly in-migrants) and successful small businessmen. The bulk of the population of Carnegie falls into the third tier--the workers; skilled and semi-skilled people who are salaried; teachers; beginning small businessmen; and marginal farmers and ranchers. Some Indians have penetrated to this level but do so at the risk of estranging themselves from other Indians, who occupy the next or fourth social level. It should be noted that within the Indian level there are sources of power not available to nonIndians. Therefore, there are levels within this Indian level. The fifth and lowest level is occupied by Chicanos who form a pool of unskilled labor for farming and ranching work. They tend to be migratory workers who do not stay long in the community. Probably until recently Indians formed this labor pool and a few can still be found there.

Undoubtedly, further research would have linked participation and membership in various organizations (like churches) to status and social class. There are no social clubs, lodges, or societies in Carnegie except the Gideon Bible Society. It is probable that membership by Carnegians in these types of organizations takes place outside the local community.

Finally, when one meets the people of Carnegie over a period of time, certain personality traits appear to predominate. Since time and research design did not offer opportunities for more intensive research, the following impressionistic account is offered. Carnegians tend to be an optimistic and open group of people. They are not difficult to get to talk about even more personal topics and problems. They also tend to be progressive people, interested in experiment and tolerant to a degree of differences of opinion. They also are very hard-working and hard-playing, with little distinction made between the two. Carnegians are generally fundamentalist in their religious beliefs but not overly serious about it, perhaps tempered by their tolerance. Most of the White people in Carnegie do not feel hemmed in by their social environment or a rigid social order. They feel that they are in control of their own destinies and desire to maintain this independence in order to meet the demands of the swiftly changing environment, both physical and social, of the plains.

Moving almost due east approximately 150 miles to Wewoka, Oklahoma, one finds striking changes in landform and ecology. The ecosystem around Wewoka consists of a deciduous woodland interspersed with small prairies. In addition to the appearance of trees, other marked differences include the hills and the increased moisture. The gently rolling plains topography has given way to a hilly, broken relief.

Many small intermittent streams cut their way down to broad creek bottoms which in turn wind down to even broader river bottoms. This relative abundance of moisture produces a lush growth of trees and other plant life, especially in the river bottoms. The hilly, broken terrain combined with the impenetrable nature of the foliage has made travel and transportation difficult and thus produced a relatively isolated region. Instead of the broad expanse of earth and sky found in Carnegie, Wewokans see a leafy green canopy or a nearby treeline and hillsides.

In the forest, one finds a large variety of deciduous trees. Several types of oak, hickory, and elm predominate with occasional pecan, walnut, cedar, cottonwood, persimmon, and plum. Since the trees do not grow extremely tall, bushes, shrubs, creepers, vines, and other plantlife inhabit the forest floor. This "thicket"--like appearance of the forest creates additional problems in traveling through the area. However, north of Wewoka this woodland gives way to occasional broad clearings or prairies. These startling and utilitarian nonconformities are probably due to fires (both man-made and natural). Once native grasses have taken over, they keep advancing seedling trees at bay.

Major animal species include deer, raccoon, oppossum, skunk, squirrel, rabbit, and, in the past, bison, bear, wolf, coyote, and fox. Birds include quail, crow, prairie chicken, dove, blackbird, and turkey (Gallagher 1951:34). Before oil

was discovered, fish occupied the many streams of the region. Undoubtedly, the variety of habitats made for an abundance of animal life in the area around Wewoka.

Weather patterns in the area are conditioned as much by the neighboring plains as by the dense woodlands. Rainfall amounts range from thirty inches to fifty inches per year and, of course, contribute to the topography as well as the lushness. Winters are cool and humid, often characterized through January, February, and March by freezing drizzle, sleet, and some snow. Summers are hot and humid, at least through July, with thunderstorm patterns rising out on the plains and moving eastward toward the Mississippi Valley. These thunderstorms bring with them locally heavy rains and flooding, high winds, and tornadoes.

Although the region around Wewoka receives a greater amount of water than Carnegie, the physiographic features make agriculture considerably more difficult. Except in the natural prairies, the woodlands and the hills prevent farmers from access to much arable land. Clearing farm and pasture land takes much time and energy and preventing its return to scrub even more. Agriculture, therefore, has tended to be less emphasized and remained at a subsistence level much longer than at Carnegie. On the other hand, alternative economic resources became available near Wewoka at the turn of the century (1895-1920). Oil was discovered not far from town and local entrepreneurs were not long in realizing its

economic potential. This boom did not last forever and more recently capital intensive farming and ranching, as well as a variety of light industrial activities, primarily clothing manufacturers, have become important.

Prehistorically, the earliest evidence of human occupation around Wewoka is at about 4,000-6,000 years ago from sites of the Archaic tradition. These people, found across much of North America following the earlier Big Game Hunting tradition, were generalized hunter-gatherers who exploited a variety of resources in the central woodlands and prairies of North America. Two especially important technological innovations were nut and seed mullers and textiles. In Oklahoma, the Archaic tradition is represented by the Grove and Fourche Moline foci (Jennings 1968:131-32).

The next people identified in this region between 3,000 and 1,500 years ago were incipient agriculturalists. These people continued to exploit hunting and gathering resources and are called Woodland or, more recently, Hopewellian. More efficient exploitation of food resources enabled the population growth begun during the Archaic to continue. The Hopewellian groups in Oklahoma were concentrated along water courses where agriculture was possible (Jennings 1968:181-85). This tradition was transitional in Oklahoma to the more fully agricultural people of the Mississippian tradition.

The Mississippians in Oklahoma (1,500 to 800 years ago) are thought to be the immediate precursors of the Caddoans

of historic times. They represent a full blown adaptation to agriculture with larger population centers and complex social organization. Especially important are complex ceremonial centers like Spiro mounds which seem to have dominated whole regions (Jennings 1968:226-27).

Sporadic White contact in this region begins in the late sixteenth century and continued intermittently through the beginning of the nineteenth century. During that time the Mississippian cultures changed rapidly with the introduction of the horse and other European items. The horse induced the people living on the fringes of the plains to reorient their subsistence activities toward bison hunting with continued farming in the off-season. Trade routes through this area, especially from the south to the north, made it possible for these people to become middlemen in the exchange of European goods. Modern Caddoan and Wichita tribes have been identified in this region. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the woodlands of eastern Oklahoma had declined from their previous population highs. This led Whites to push for its designation (along with parts of Kansas and Arkansas) as an "Indian Territory," set aside for those tribes being pushed from their territories further east. Beginning in the 1820s, the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, and finally the Seminoles were removed from their homes and relocated in eastern Oklahoma. Numerous other tribes were also removed to this area in addition to the indigenous Plains tribes and the Caddoans already there.

The dismal tale of the removal of the Seminole from Florida is beyond the scope of this study. However, details of how they ended up in Seminole County need to be sketched. The first Seminole to arrive in Oklahoma came by boat in 1837 and arrived at Fort Gibson. They were supposed to live among the Creeks but for various reasons (Creeks believed Seminoles were inferior because of intermarriage with Black slaves, Creeks coveted Seminole Blacks, and Creeks were instrumental in helping Whites in the Seminole wars), most refused to move from Fort Gibson. Some even drifted over to Cherokee territory. By 1845, a new treaty with the Florida Seminole established more formally the rights and responsibilities of the Seminole vis-a-vs the Creeks. By 1848, a number of Seminole had settled in the Little River region of the Creek Nation. The first settlement in the vicinity of Wewoka was a Black community (town) established by Gopher John, a Black freedman (Gallagher 1951:17.) The Seminole continued to be unhappy about the Creeks and agitated through their agent for a separate nation. The first efforts at schooling occurred between 1842 and 1847 with the arrival of John Bemo, an educated Seminole sent by the Presbyterians and later aided by John and Mary Ann Lilly, Presbyterian missionaries (McReynolds 1957:282-85).

In 1855, the headman drew up a list of grievances and presented them to the government through their agent. This resulted in a new treaty (1856) which established a

nation for the Seminole. Two million acres were bought from the Creeks stretching from a north-south boundary line in the middle of present day Pottawatomie County between the North Canadian and Canadian Rivers northeast to the Texas Panhandle (Carter 1932:8-9). In 1859, with the arrival of the last group of Indians from Florida under Chief Bowlegs, the Seminole population stood at 2,250 (Carter 1932:9).

At this point the Civil War began, disrupting the lives of the recently settled Seminole for five more years. The government stopped its financial support and withdrew troops from Indian Territory. Agents quit and joined the Confederacy, which in turn made treaties with several tribes, including the Seminole. This act split the Seminole, with about half of the tribe removing to Kansas to remain loyal and the rest staying in the hotly contested Indian Territory with the Confederacy.

At the end of the war, the Seminole returned to their homes to be met with new demands for cession of their lands. In the treaty of 1866, they gave up their two million acres for two hundred thousand acres of Creek land further west between the North Canadian and Canadian Rivers along Little River. The treaty was signed by John Chupco, principal chief, C. Harjo, F. Harjo, and John F. Brown, a representative for the Southern faction of the tribe. Brown was born in Indian Territory in 1843, the son of a Scottish physician who had accompanied the first wave of Seminole

from Florida, and Lucy Redbird, a Seminole of the Tiger Clan (McReynolds 1957:331-35). In 1866, he and his brother, A. J. Brown, opened a store at Sasakwa, beginning his long career as businessman and leader among the Seminole.

In 1866, as Seminoles moved to their new reservation, Agent E. J. Brown (no relation to J. F. Brown) began a store on the site of present day Wewoka. Agency buildings and Seminole National Council buildings were soon located there. Three miles north a Presbyterian missionary established the Seminole Mission and School. Also active in education and missionary work was the Baptist J. S. Morrow. Because of an error in surveying the new territory, it was determined that Wewoka and other nearby settlements had been built east of the Seminole boundary on Creek lands. This led to a petition to include these lands in the Seminole Nation. Beginning in 1873, negotiations took place to add 175,000 acres. In 1882, this area was added to the Seminole Nation at a cost of $175,000, making the territory exactly the same as present-day Seminole County (Carter 1932:13).

The growth of Wewoka during this time was determined by its being designated the Seminole National Capitol, by a government remount station nearby on the Ft. Gibson to Ft. Sill trail, and by the trading post begun by Brown. The store was soon (1871) bought by D. N. Robb, then went to W.B. Helm and C. L. Long in 1874. Long sold out to John F. Brown and his brother A. J. Brown in 1880. The Browns

already had their store in Sasakwa and were thus able to establish a mercantile monopoly in the Seminole Nation. Long returned in 1891 and bought back a share of the business, which became known as the Wewoka Trading Company.

In addition to his activities as a businessman, John Brown continued his political activities and in 1885 became principal chief of the Seminoles. He was thus able to integrate political and economic interests and apply the force of his office and business toward accommodating the Seminole Nation to American society. At one point, Brown mixed business and tribal politics too blatantly. He and his brother were able to persuade the Wewoka Townsite Commission to sell them much of the townsite. Sites had previously been available only to Seminoles. After Brown manipulated the property through several transactions, his company regained possession and began selling sites to anyone (1901). The motivations of the "deal" were sufficiently apparant that it became an issue in the election for principal chief in 1901. Brown lost and was replaced for four years by Hulputta Micco (McReynolds 1957:346-50).

Education in the Seminole Nation was consolidated in 1880 into the Sasakwa Female Academy (at Sasakwa) and the Seminole Academy for Boys (at Mekusukey). These were originally supported by the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Seminole Nation. In 1887, W. P. Blake, a Baptist missionary, took over the schools, which were moved into new

buildings (Emahaka--near Wewoka, and Mekusukey--at Mekusukey) in 1893. Local schools were open intermittently in the towns with the most promising students sponsored to the academies by their town chiefs.

Between 1885 and 1889, Creeks and Seminoles negotiated the sale of the unassigned lands they had given up in 1866. These lands (except for the Pottawatomie Reservation directly west of the Seminole Nation) were sought for settlement by Whites but were restricted to Indian use by the treaty of 1866. In 1889, the lands were returned to the federal government. This land was ultimately opened to White settlement (1889), and, in 1891, the unassigned lands of Pottawatomie County were opened. This put White settlers on the boundary of the Seminole Nation. Several small towns sprang up primarily, it appears, to offer alcohol and other services to Indians which were prohibited in the Seminole Nation.

This encroachment by Whites put increasing pressures on the Seminole and other tribes to accept cessation of tribal autonomy and allotment of tribal lands to individuals. The Dawes Commission undertook the task of negotiating this in 1893, received the go-ahead in 1895, and began taking the Seminole Tribal Roll. This task was completed in 1902 along with a survey of land and assignment of that land into three categories. Almost 375,000 acres of land were allotted in 1902 with equal shares going to each Seminole (about one-third of whom were freedman).

Shares were determined by the quality of the land and thus acreages varied. Remaining land was again allotted in 1905 and 1914 to individuals born after 1902. While no land was available to Whites in the Seminole Nation, freedmen and some Indians could sell their land. By 1907, there were four Whites for every Indian in the county.

With allotment, the Seminoles quickly lost whatever autonomy they had over their affairs. Only Brown and a few other leaders were able to continue their positions, primarily as businessmen, but also through various statewide political connections made prior to statehood. Nowhere is this loss of autonomy so obvious than in the loss of control of schools. The academies build by the Seminoles were immediately sought by the new state and county governments. The Seminoles at first refused but later turned over the administration of these two schools and eventually all the local schools to the Whites. Emahaka was subsequently lost to the Tribe owing to a survey and title problem and Mekusukey eventually became administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs which shut it down in 1927 (Carter 1932:25).

Following its position as capitol of the Seminole Nation, Wewoka became the county seat of Seminole County. In 1908 and 1920, this was challenged by the towns of Konawa and Seminole. In both elections, Wewoka won and in 1924 consolidated its control by building a county courthouse on the site of the old Seminole National Council house

(Carter 1932:40-42). The population of Wewoka in 1907 was 794 and in 1910 was 1,022. Wewoka Trading Company continued its economic presence and in 1907 brought in the first producing oil well in Seminole County. Other businesses, a White school, and several White churches were in operation at statehood. The town continued to grow slowly (1,300--1917, 1,520--1920) through the Great War and became a small agricultural center (cotton ginning--railroad transportation) (Carter 1932:92-105) by the early 1920s.

In 1923, the discovery of oil outside Wewoka by R. H. Smith started one of the largest oil booms in Oklahoma. Wewoka grew overnight from a sleepy agricultural town of under 2,000 to a bustling city of 10,000 (1930). By 1930, the oil boom had moved on from Seminole County and the tremendous economic investment in discovery was gone. Small refineries remained, scattered in rural areas, with one small refinery located in Wewoka. These, together with the mechanics of production (maintenance of wells, pumps, pipelines, storage, etc.), were the tangible remains of the oil boom. As this economic opportunity faded, Wewokans turned back to agricultural pursuits, only to be faced with the Depression and World War II. Seminole County lost population through the war, with Wewoka declining from a high of 10,401 (1930) to 6,227 in 1940. It should be noted that few Indians prospered in the oil years. By 1930, only 40,000 of the 375,000 allotted acres of Seminole County remained in the hands of Indians or

freedmen. Much of this land was purchased from the Indians during the oil boom period.

By the end of the war, growth had returned to Wewoka. Agricultural intensification took place, with arable land cleared using heavy machinery. Cattle became an important resource as pastures were created and natural prairies utilized. This intensification continued through the 1950s, with the addition of small scale industries, primarily clothing manufacturing. Other industries included brick and tile manufacturing and animal slaughter and packing plants. Population decline had stopped at about 5,000.

Today, Wewoka continues its energetic participation in Oklahoma economic and political affairs. As county seat, Wewoka exerts considerable influence over its more populous neighboring city Seminole and has considerable statewide political muscle. Economically, light industrial growth continues, primarily in clothing manufature, but also in oil related ventures, especially as oil resources are depleted and once non-productive wells are re-opened. Thus, Wewoka continues to exert a considerable influence both locally and statewide, even though the same national and international forces that shape Carnegie are at play in Wewoka.

Wewoka's prosperity is evident in its appearance. It looks like a town of prominence, belying its relatively small population of 5,000. Wewoka sits on the boundary of two watersheds. North of town streams flow into the North

Canadian River and toward the south they flow into Little River. Wewoka Creek, flowing from west to east and eventually into the North Canadian, forms the major northern boundary of Wewoka. In broken and somewhat higher relief northwest of town are two creeks flowing south into Wewoka Creek. On these two creeks are two manmade lakes, Sportsman Lake on Tiger Creek and Wewoka Lake on Coon Creek. The original townsite of Wewoka is located on a small bluff (850' elevation) overlooking Wewoka Creek to the north. The bluff is formed by a small intermittent stream to the west of town flowing north to Wewoka Creek and the first terrace of Wewoka Creek itself.

These two natural boundaries define the town to the west and the north with the railroad, running east and west through town along Wewoka Creek, then swinging off in a southeasterly direction, forming the third (or eastern) boundary. The major business section continues to be in the old townsite, with three or four major streets of about four blocks length. Toward the south end of the business section are the county courthouse and city offices. North and east of the business section along the railroad are light industries and agricultural suppliers. The oldest residential sections appear to have been east of the business district, toward the railroad and creek (Indian); north and west of the business district, across the "tracks" (Black); and southwest of the business section (White). These rough residential

segregations continue today with expansion generally to the south and east.

Several major highways pass through or nearby Wewoka and have affected its limits and growth. State Highway 56 goes right through the middle of town in a north-south direction, connecting Wewoka to Justice in the south and Cromwell in the north. Highway 56 is the major "drag" in town and has attracted drive-in type stores and gas stations up and down its length from the Wewoka Creek bridge to its junction with federal Highway 270 south of town. U.S. Highway 270, coming east from Seminole, swerves southeast just on the western limits of Wewoka and passes to the south of town. It is a major east-west artery and connects Wewoka with Seminole and ultimately Oklahoma City to the west, and Holdenville and McAlester to the southeast. About six miles north of Wewoka on Highway 56, our old friend from Carnegie, Highway 9, continues its journey east and west.

Wewoka's population as of the 1970 census was 5,284. Of that, it appears there would be about one-fifth Black and one-fifth Indian. If freedmen were included with the Indian figure, probably about one-fourth (1,250) of the town population could trace Seminole descent. Certainly the rural populations surrounding Wewoka have an even higher proportion of Indian and freedmen.

Wewoka's home rule city charter established a Commission form of government with three commissioners serving three

year terms. One of the commissioners is selected mayor and the City Commission in turn hires a city manager. The manager administers the city services including police, fire, sewage, water treatment, streets, landfill, cemetary, libraries, swimming pools, and parks. There is also a community building and a historical museum. Other governmental agencies represented in Wewoka include the county government with courts, sheriff, welfare, county extension agent, and roads. The Seminole National Tribal offices have a housing authority, the Seminole Nation Chairman, Community Health Representative, an Indian Health office, as well as the administrative offices of the tribe. The state government is represented by the highway department, the State Employment Commission, and the motor vehicle licensing agency. Federal governmental agencies include the Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Community Action Center, Headstart, VISTA, an Indian Field Representative (BIA), post office, and the U.S. Public Health Service. The Wewoka schools include an old grade school used for Indian Education offices and maintenance, a new elementary, a high school, and a junior high. The elementary and high school are located on the same site. Several small rural schools fall within the Wewoka community and send their high school students into town. These include Butner, New Lima, and Justice schools.

Local utilities which serve Wewokans are Oklahoma Natural Gas and Oklahoma Gas and Electric. Transportation

needs are served by the Rock Island Railroad (no passenger service and now defunct--1982), REA Express, two bus lines, two taxicab companies, six trucking companies (two for oil field work), and the private automobile. Communication is accomplished through Southwestern Bell Telephone, Western Union, two local newspapers (Wewoka Daily Times, Seminole Daily Producer), city newspapers (Ada, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, McAlester), a local radio station, and radio and television from surrounding communities.

Local health needs are met by three MD's, one D.O., one chiropractor, two dentists, and one optometrist. There is one hospital and three nursing homes. Already mentioned are the U.S. Public Health Station and the Indian Health Clinic. There is no veterinarian in Wewoka. Spiritual needs are met by various Protestant churches, including seven Baptist churches and two Baptist Associations and one each of the following denominations: Presbyterian, United Methodist, A.M.E., Church of Christ, Christian, Assembly of God, First Church of the Nazarene, and Penticostal Holiness. Due to their early missionary efforts, the Baptist and Presbyterian churches account for most Seminole religious activity. Local voluntary organizations include a Masonic Temple, the Red Cross, and a country club.

The principal economic activities in Wewoka are divided between oil production and maintenance, agriculture, and light industrial manufacturing. In addition, home and

commercial property development and finance form important sectors of the economy. Wewoka is no longer an agricultural center as it has no cotton gins, agricultural storage, or veterinarians. It does have two farm supply stores and two meatpacking plants. Even though oil discovery is long over around Wewoka, production and maintenance are an important part of Wewoka's economy. There are five oil production companies in Wewoka, five oil lease and property developers, three oil chemical suppliers, two oil truckers, two oil field welders, a pipe and supply company, a driller, and a geologist. Local industry consists of four clothing manufacturers, two metal industries, and one each of the following: brick, plastics, chemicals, soft drink bottling, and electrical systems design. Home and commercial property development include seven real estate firms, two abstract companies, ten engineers and general contractors, four electricians, one plumber, one concrete company, one insulation contractor, and two mobile home parks. Local financing and management of these economic activities are undertaken by two banks, one savings and loan, three personal loan companies, a credit bureau, an investment company, an industrial development company, nineteen lawyers, and two accountants.

All other business activities provide support for these primary producers and the people who live in Wewoka. With automobiles the major form of transport, it is not surprising that a large number of businesses provide for their

care and upkeep. There are eighteen service stations, twelve garages and repair services, four parts supply houses, three tire and accessory stores, and six new car dealers. Retail sales businesses include thirteen restaurants and drive-ins, eleven grocery and convenience stores, two bakeries, twelve clothing and fabric stores, two shoe shops, three general merchandise concerns, a sporting goods store, six appliance stores, two antique shops, and one each of the following: carpets, printing, music, office supply, trophies, trailers, and monuments. Personal services are provided by four hotels and motels, eight laundries, twelve beauty and barber shops, eleven insurance agencies, three funeral homes, two florists, three insect exterminators, three television and appliance repair, two small engine repair, two cosmetic sales, a children's home, a day care, an interior decorator, a car wash, a photographer, a Karate school, and a pollution control supplier. Entertainment is provided locally by a movie theater, a golf course and country club, two pool halls, five bars, two dancing clubs, and three package liquor stores.

Concerning social structure and social class, once again our research was too limited to provide more than a sketchy outline. There do seem to be significant differences in the hierarchy and structure between Carnegie and Wewoka. These must be offered as impressions rather than as confirmed by research. Differential access to power and control over one's own life are again the major criteria for social

position. In that sense, the three ethnic groups--White, Indian, and Black--are found to be in the upper, middle, and lower positions, respectively, in Wewoka. It should be noted that there are some culturally White people, who, because of their membership in the Seminole tribe, have access to power sources not available to other Whites. A few of these "White" Indians are found in the upper levels of White society in Wewoka. More specifically, the most powerful group is exclusively White and generally consists of older propertied families (usually absentee landlords) of both farming/ranching land and oil properties. These familes have been active in local and state level politics since before statehood and their sons have become lawyers and financial and investment managers. The second group consists of more recent oil property manipulators, particularly lawyers, realtors, oil producers, oil property investment advisors, and petroleum geologists; working owners of large farms and ranches; managers and investors in light industry; local professionals like doctors, lawyers, and school administrators; large businessmen; and perhaps some county officials. It is possible that the owners of the local radio and newspaper are found in this category. In the third tier are found the skilled and semi-skilled workers: small farmer/rancher, small businessmen, teachers, and the employees of these and other businesses. Some successful Indians and Blacks have reached this level (e.g., teachers, small businessmen,

etc.). The fourth level consists of semi-skilled and un-skilled Indians, often living in what appears to be rural poverty. Once again, Seminoles have access to resources not available to Whites and Blacks (except freedmen) and there are levels within the Indian tier. Finally at the lowest level are found semi-skilled and unskilled Blacks, mostly the rural poor with a small number of Seminole freedmen living in a style closer to traditional Seminole than to "State Coloreds" (non-freedmen Blacks). Where there is some opportunity for mobility within this level and into level three, Blacks tend to have less access to power than the other ethnic groups.

In discussing the "personality" of Wewoka, our impressions tend to be ambivalent. On the one hand, Wewokans appear to be a progressive, forward looking people, proud of their accomplishments on the local and state scene. Particularly impressive is their success at integrating schools with Blacks during the 1960s, their progressive educational philosophy, and their successes in state politics. In spite of this progressivism, however, the social hierarchy remains particularly rigid, especially for Blacks, when compared to Carnegie. There are fewer mechanisms for even Whites to gain greater access to power. It may be that in order to rise one must be able to compete not just locally but on the larger state and national scene and this requires greater sponsorship and more risk. Thus, Wewokans tend to be less independent,

and more locked into their social position and their attitudes. Ethnic groups remain separated with neighborhoods and businesses still segregated. Wewokans are more seriously fundamentalist in their religious behavior and less tolerant of others. While the genteel progressive face that Wewoka presents to the world is certainly impressive, one does not have to look very hard for the obverse: a social order segregated by ethnic group and offering less opportunity for social mobility.

Chapter 4 Endnote

[1]Indians do not usually view membership in the Native American Church as an exclusive religious affiliation. They are often members of "regular" Christian churches as well.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF DATA FOR CARNEGIE AND WEWOKA SCHOOLS

The preceding chapters were meant to convey background and theoretical information on the schools involved in this research. This chapter is concerned with the results of that research and with the analysis and implication of that data in the light of those theoretical and historical considerations.

Specifically, it begins with an examination of the formal organization of the school systems: physical layout, state requirements, organization of the buildings under study, federal programs and requirements, and a brief description of a typical day in the two schools. Next is a look at the informal organization of the two elementary schools to show their day-to-day operation. Included are major roles played by individuals, the effect of middle-class control, the organization of selected classrooms, and examples of how support personnel are utilized. Then there is an analysis of the data on how Indian students fit into these two situations. The theoretical positions taken in chapter 2 are summarized.

Statements about Indian students in these schools from our data are generated and tested against the theoretical pattern. The reasons for differences and similarities between the two schools are explicated and conclusions are drawn from the entire analysis.

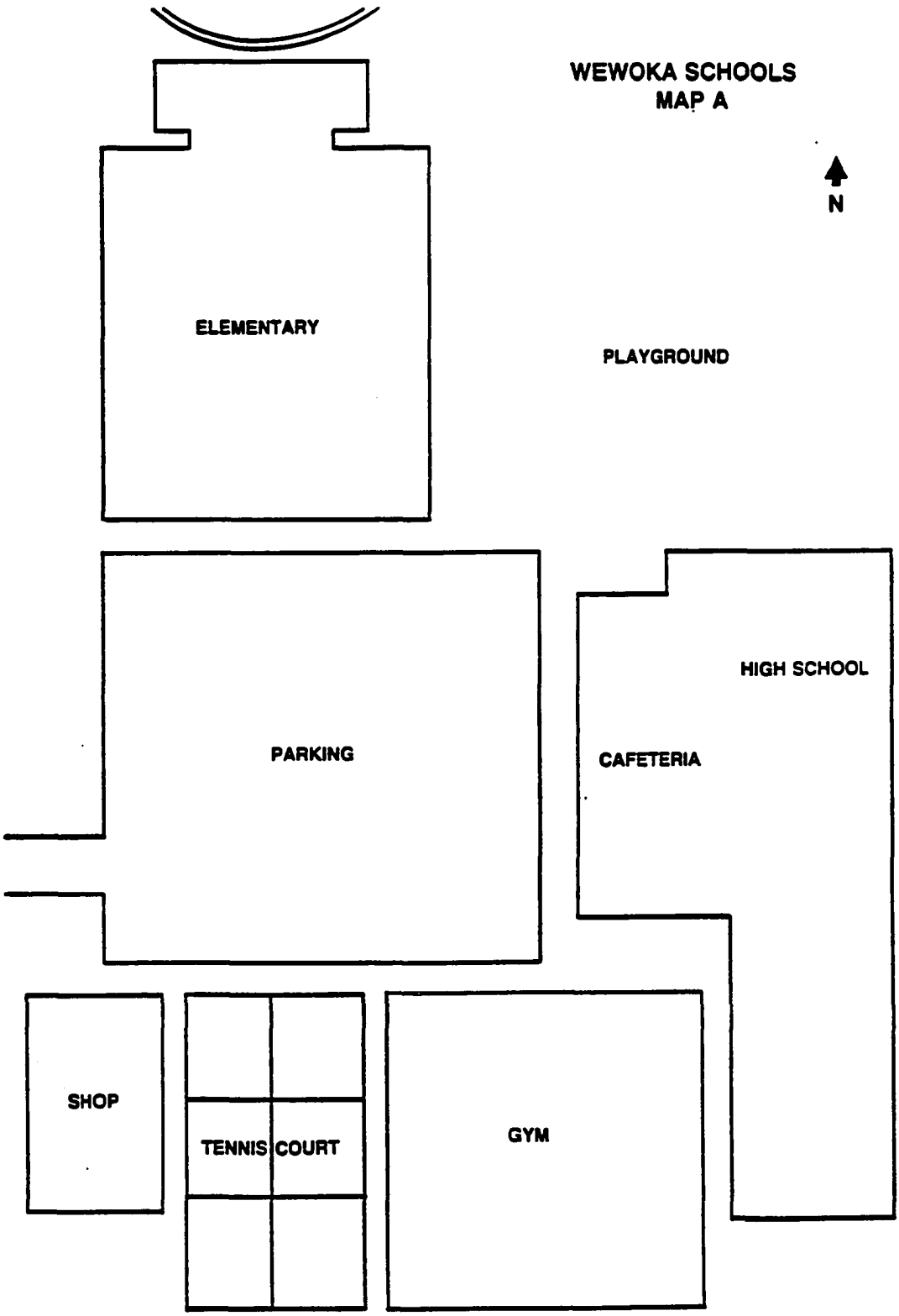
The heart of this research is the analysis of how Indian students fare in the two schools. But in order to gain a better understanding of their situation, we must also know something about the situation in which they are enmeshed. This is why considerable attention has been paid to the two Indian cultures, the two communities, and the organization and operation of the two schools. Furthermore, we should remain aware of the activities of the researcher in this situation. While an attempt was made to remain as neutral and unobtrusive as possible, a number of events occurred specifically for him and because of his interests and activities. Those which seem to impinge most directly on the questions at hand will be mentioned during the following presentation.

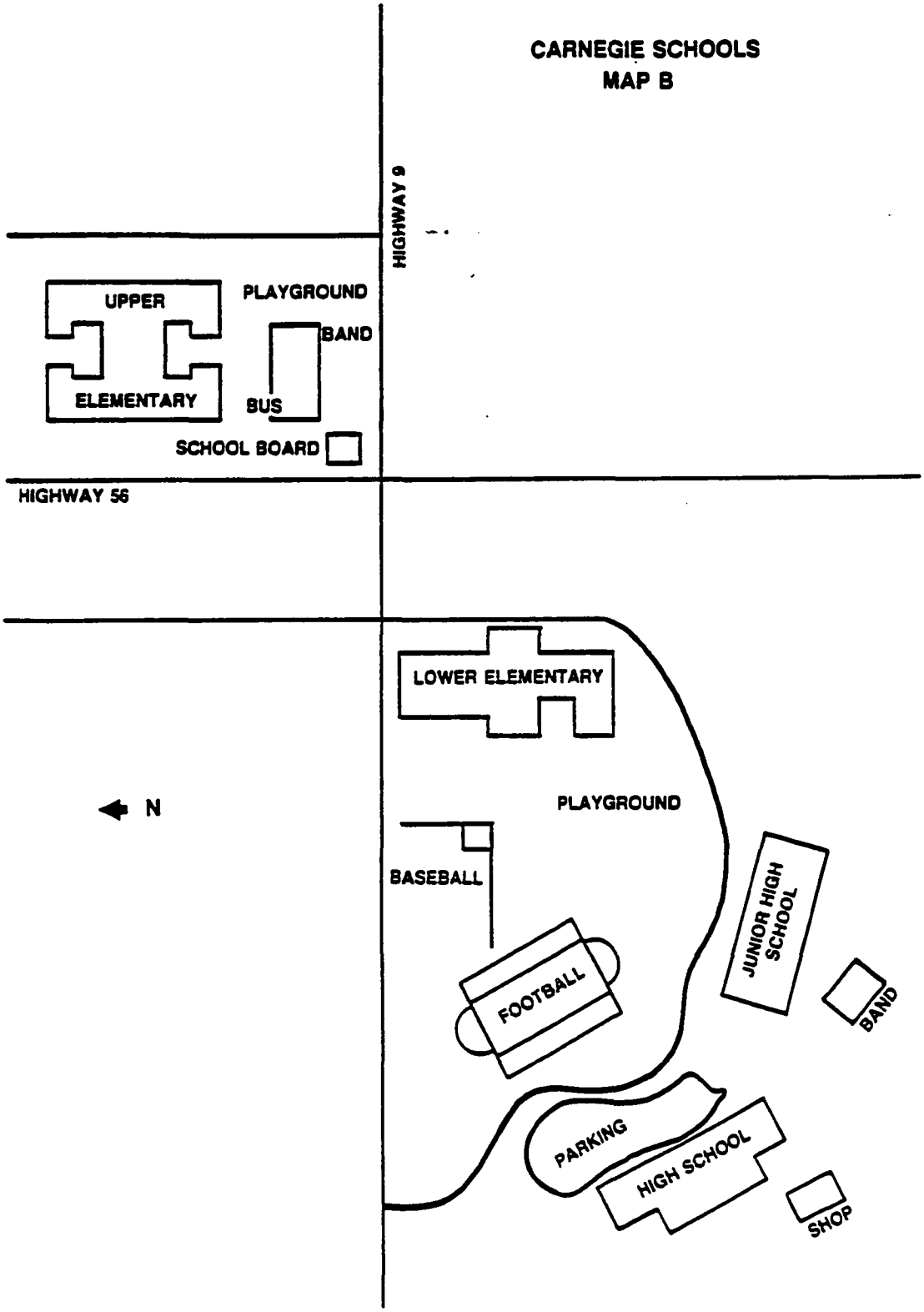
Wewoka School District (I-2) consists of the entire urban area of Wewoka and extends one-half mile outside the city limits. In addition, two former dependent schools in the area (Konawa and Sasakwa) have closed their doors and some of these students are bussed in to Wewoka schools. In school year 1973-74, Wewoka schools had a total of 1,130 students. The main school campus sits on a square city block and contains the high school and cafeteria, the elementary

school, a gym, a shop building, a large playground, tennis courts, and a parking lot (see map A). The junior high is on a site three blocks away. Two other school buildings are on separate sites. One is used for storage and the other is used by the Seminole Tribe as a craft center and also by the district as a maintenance and bus center.

Carnegie School District (I-33) consists of an area of about 124 square miles and extends roughly six miles north, nine miles south, and three miles east and west of town. As such, it is a consolidated school and takes in students from former dependent schools. The schools in Carnegie are located on two major sites. One contains a new high school, junior high school, gym, a cafeteria, a shop and band building, a football practice field, and parking lots. Between this group of buildings is a football stadium and a baseball practice field and stadium. Following that is a playground and an older building housing a cafeteria and the lower elementary grades (see map B). One block east and across the street from the lower elementary site is the school board building, a bus barn and band room building, and the upper elementary. There is a large playground area, parking area, and a cafeteria (see map B).

The organization of school districts in Oklahoma is determined largely by state law. A school board is elected by the people of the district. It in turn hires a superintendent to administer the district. Funding sources


WEWOKA SCHOOLS
MAP A
N
ELEMENTARY
PLAYGROUND
PARKING
HIGH SCHOOL
CAFETERIA
SHOP
TENNIS COURT
GYM


CARNEGIE SCHOOLS
MAP B
HIGHWAY 9
UPPER
ELEMENTARY
PLAYGROUND
BAND
BUS
SCHOOL BOARD
HIGHWAY 56
N
LOWER ELEMENTARY
PLAYGROUND
BASEBALL
FOOTBALL
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
BAND
PARKING
HIGH SCHOOL
SHOP

are derived in part from property taxes and in part from state grants based on average daily attendance, teachers' salaries, and several special project areas.

One would think that Carnegie is relatively better off financially due to the large amount of land in its district. However, much of that land is Indian allotment land and therefore tax exempt. As such, Carnegie must vigorously pursue federal Indian program monies in order to make up for this lack of revenue. Wewoka also pursues federal Indian monies and is in somewhat better shape financially.

Most observers would agree that education is underfinanced just about everywhere, and especially in Oklahoma. This lack of adequate funding is one of the pressures forcing administrators to look to various federal and state special programming funds to meet the financial needs of their districts (e.g., Special Education, Learning Disabilities, Title I Reading, Title II Disadvantaged, Title IV Indian Education, and Johnson-O'Malley). In spite of attempts by Congress and State Legislatures to safeguard these programs from being abused, there is a powerful incentive for administrators to look for ways to subvert this process. As we shall see, these and other forces combine to create problems in the administration and implementation of those programs aimed at Indians.

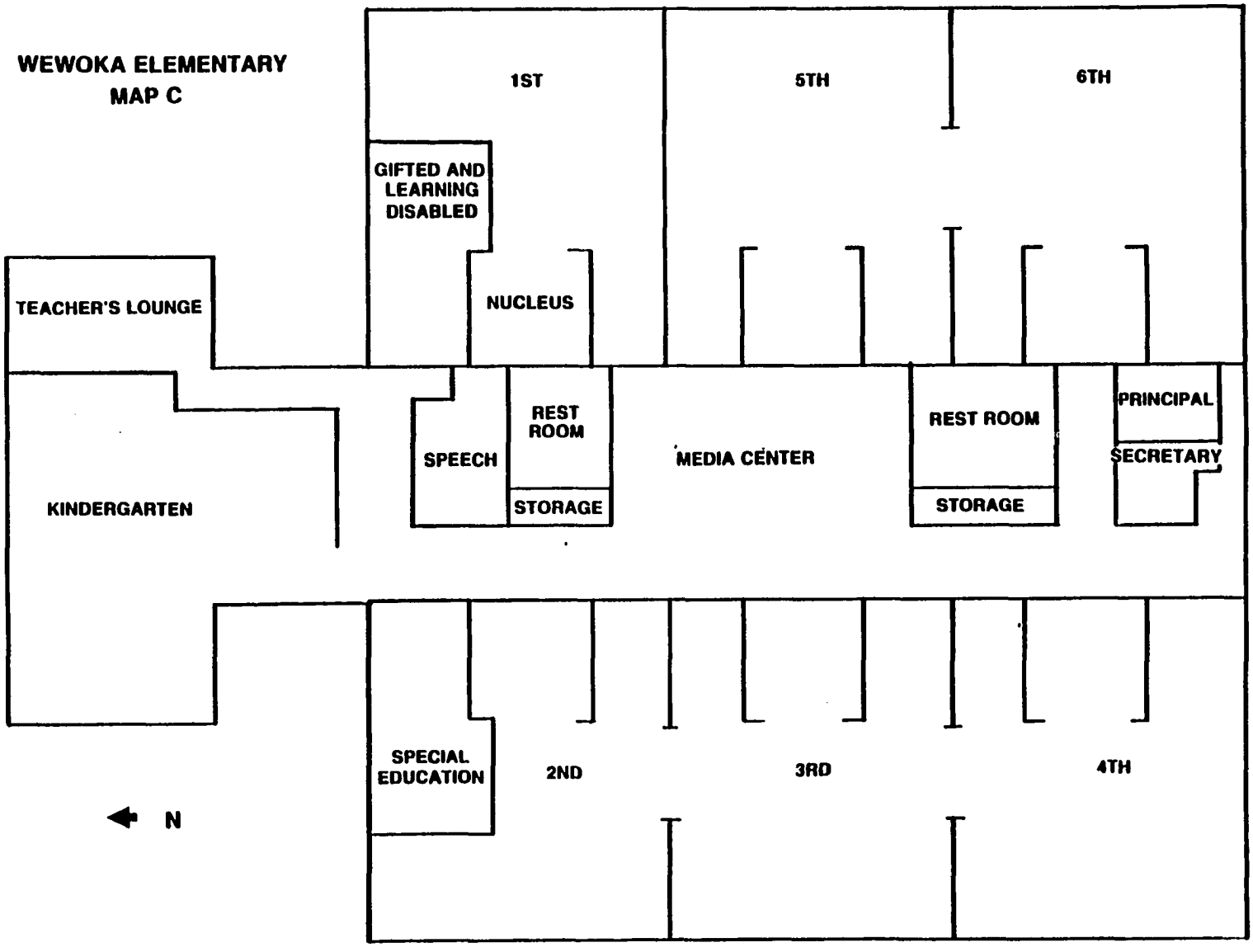
The administration of a school district below the superintendent usually is done by site-specific administrators

or principals. The principals are responsible for the maintenance and day-to-day operations of their buildings and, together with the teachers, for the implementation of curriculum. Teachers, in addition to their curriculum responsibilities, are in charge of their students. These duties run the gamut from seeing that the children learn the curriculum to supervisory duties like playground, lunchroom, restroom, and bus duties, to health and related concerns. Many of these responsibilities are mandated by state law, but quite a few developed from case law.

The organizations of the buildings under study vary somewhat from the norm. Wewoka Elementary consists of one building with one principal, thirty-one teachers, eight aides, two custodians, and a secretary. Since each grade is an open classroom, the teachers are organized into teams by grade. There are two kindergarten teachers, three teachers each for first and second grades and four each for third through sixth grades. There is a special education teacher, a learning disability and gifted teacher, a special reading teacher, a media center supervisor, a speech therapist, an elementary music teacher, and a physical education teacher. Team leaders in each grade coordinate administrative details and team planning. This coordination is especially important since children do not stay at one desk, or even in the same grade area, all day. There is movement from one teacher's area to another as teachers assume different

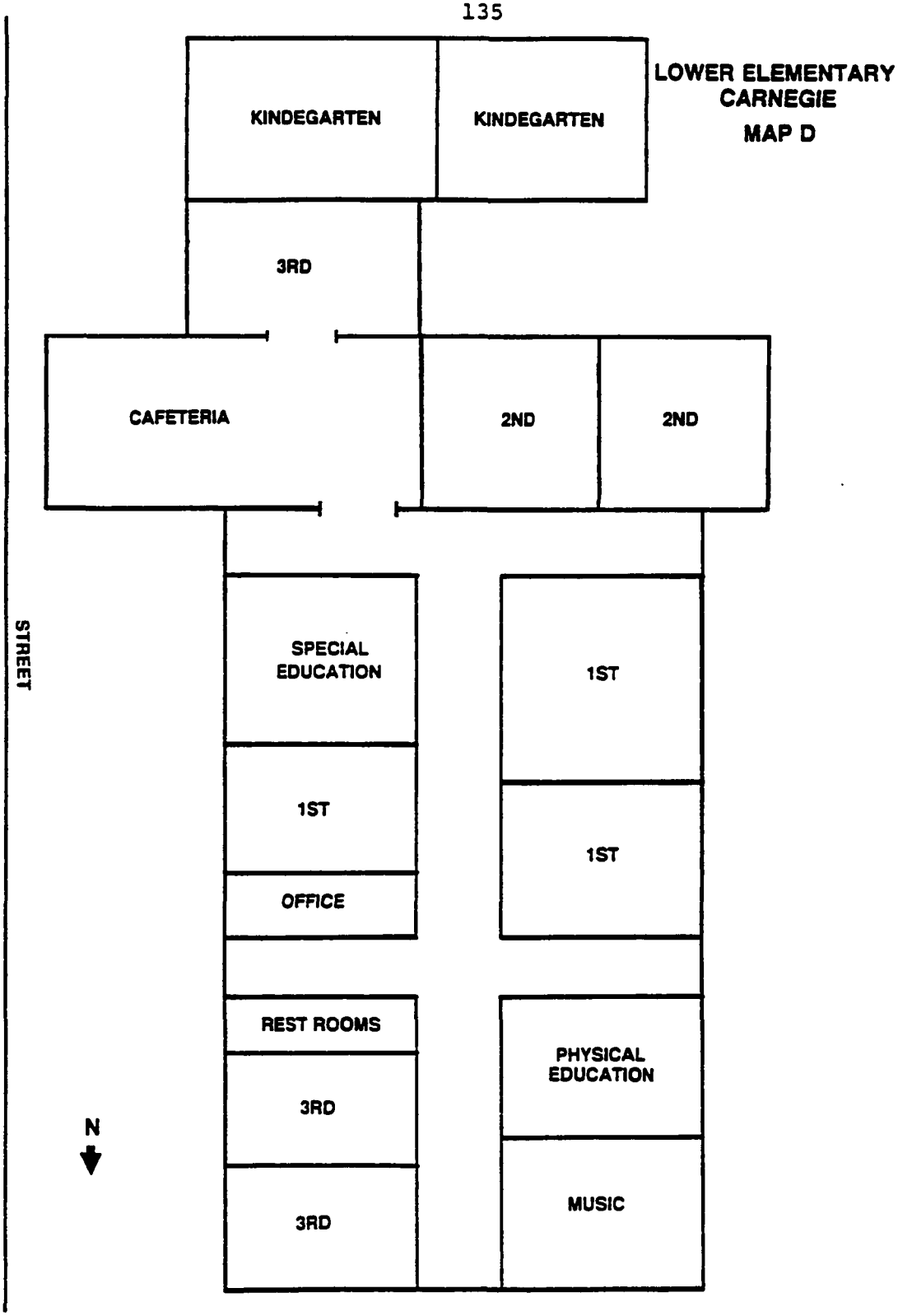
responsibilities for different subjects. One teacher may teach all the science curricula for the second grade, another may teach language arts. Another factor in the movement of children is that the language arts and reading programs are learning-machine based and most of that equipment is set up in the third grade area, for use by second, third, and fourth graders, and in the fifth grade area for fifth and sixth graders.

The building is a large rectangle with a central corridor containing storage, offices, and a media center and three grade areas off each side (first, fifth, and sixth on one side--east; second, third, and fourth on the other--west). At one end, a T-shaped area has been added for the kindergarten and a teachers' lounge (see map C). Each grade area is organized around a nucleus, or central storage-work area, which is a small enclosure off the entrance to the central corridor. The grade area may be subdivided by curtains into four spaces. In fact, in the first and second grade areas one-fourth of each has been converted into classroom space for special education and the learning disabilities/gifted program. In addition, panels may be removed between areas as they have been between second and third, and third and fourth on the west side, and fifth and sixth on the east. These openings allow for free movement of students from one area to another, especially for access to the learning machines in the third and fifth grade areas.


WEWOKA ELEMENTARY
MAP C
1ST
5TH
6TH
GIFTED AND LEARNING DISABLED
NUCLEUS
TEACHER'S LOUNGE
KINDERGARTEN
SPEECH
REST ROOM
STORAGE
MEDIA CENTER
REST ROOM
STORAGE
PRINCIPAL
SECRETARY
SPECIAL EDUCATION
2ND
3RD
4TH
N

In Carnegie, the elementary grades are located in two buildings. One, the lower elementary, is located in the same general area as the high school and junior high (see map B). It was built during the 1950s with an addition of a cafeteria, classroom space, and a kindergarten in the mid-60s. There are eleven teachers, a principal, his secretary, three cafeteria workers, five aides, and a custodian in the building. Of the teachers, two are kindergarten, three first grade, two second grade, three third grade, and one special education. Additionally, a physical education teacher and music teacher are shared with the upper elementary. The classrooms are all self-contained, that is, a teacher has the same group all day in one classroom. Children are taken out of the classroom for physical education and music by another teacher and aides supervise most of the playground activity. Thus, each teacher has a major responsibility for the curriculum and control of his/her classroom. Some group planning takes place for curriculum and administrative needs but not as much as at Wewoka.

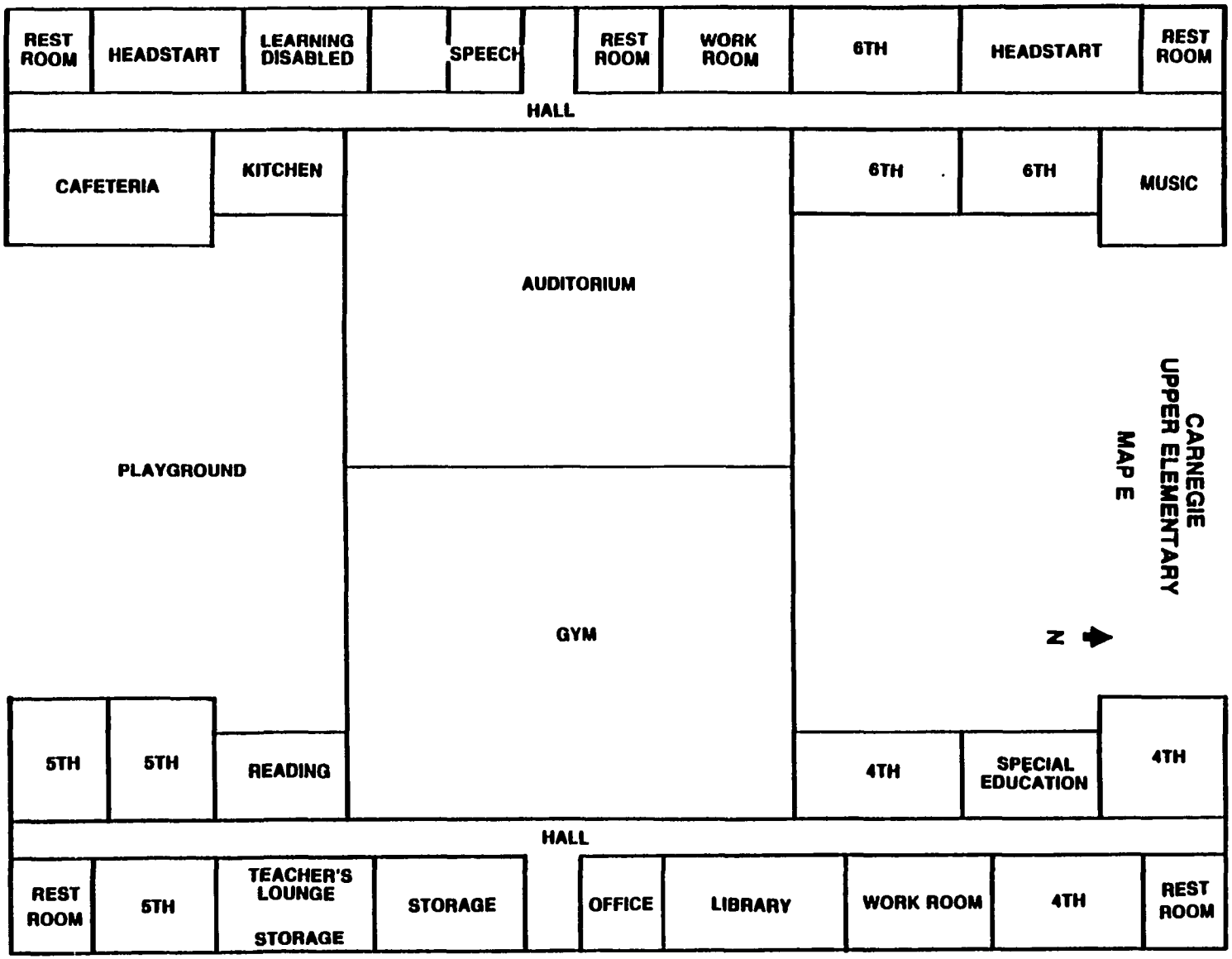
The building itself began as a long rectangle with a central corridor and classrooms to each side. To this has been added another rectangle forming a lopsided "T" at the southern end of the first building. This contains a cafeteria and two classrooms. A further addition was made to the south of this building forming an "L" containing three classrooms (see map D). In the first part of the building


LOWER ELEMENTARY
CARNEGIE
MAP D
KINDEGARTEN
KINDEGARTEN
3RD
CAFETERIA
2ND
2ND
STREET
SPECIAL EDUCATION
1ST
1ST
1ST
OFFICE
REST ROOMS
PHYSICAL EDUCATION
3RD
3RD
MUSIC
N

are three first-grade rooms, two third-grade rooms, a physical education and music area, a special education room, a principal's office, a secretary's office, and a workroom. The second area contains the cafeteria and two second-grade rooms and the third area contains one third-grade room and two kindergarten areas.

The upper elementary building is located about two blocks away on a site near the intersection of highways 9 and 56. It is an older building, formerly used as a high school and junior high and built in the 1930s. There are fifteen teachers, three cafeteria workers, eight aides, and two custodians. The teachers include three fourth grade, three fifth grade, three sixth grade, special education, reading, learning disability, librarian, music (shared with the lower elementary), and physical education/counselor. The physical education/counselor performs some administrative chores for the principal, whose office is in the lower elementary. A full-time visiting teacher (truant officer) has her office in the building, and a visiting speech therapist (shared with other school districts) is in the building on certain days. The building is also occupied by a Head Start program, which leases several classrooms and uses the cafeteria.

The upper elementary is shaped like a large H (see map E) with two classroom wings connected by an auditorium and gym. The west wing contains three sixth-grade


REST ROOM
HEADSTART
LEARNING DISABLED
SPEECH
REST ROOM
WORK ROOM
6TH
HEADSTART
REST ROOM
HALL
CAFETERIA
KITCHEN
AUDITORIUM
6TH
6TH
MUSIC
PLAYGROUND
GYM
CARNEGIE
UPPER ELEMENTARY
MAP E
N
5TH
5TH
READING
4TH
SPECIAL EDUCATION
4TH
HALL
REST ROOM
5TH
TEACHER'S LOUNGE
STORAGE
STORAGE
OFFICE
LIBRARY
WORK ROOM
4TH
REST ROOM

classrooms, a learning disability classroom, a workroom, an office for the visiting teacher, a speech therapy room, a music classroom, a cafeteria and kitchen, and two Head Start classrooms. The east wing contains three fourth-grade rooms, three fifth-grade rooms, a special education room, a reading room, the library, a counselor's office, a workroom, and a storage/teachers' lounge area. One-half the connecting building between the two wings is a gym and the other half is an auditorium. Three aides work out of the workroom in the west wing, while five aides work in the east wing workroom. The teachers in the upper elementary all work in self-contained classrooms. However, the sixth grades does some team teaching with one teacher responsible for a particular curriculum area (science) and the other teachers responsible for the remainder (math-language arts). Children in this grade move from one classroom to another. Children in all three grades move to take music, physical education, and band. Additionally, lower level reading students and learning disabilities students are drawn from regular classrooms on a scheduled basis.

As has been mentioned, the federal government makes special federally funded programs available to school districts. These "entitlements" make additional revenues available to the district but also carry with them a burden of federal regulations and red tape. In Wewoka, the elementary principal has most of the responsibility for obtaining

and carrying out these programs. In Carnegie, an assistant superintendent has this job. Federally assisted programs in both schools range from the school lunch programs to reading to special education to Indian programs. Specifically, both schools participated in the following programs: School Lunch, Title I (Reading), Title II (Disadvantaged-Minority Students), Title IV (Indian), Special Education, Learning Disability, and Johnson-O'Malley. Carnegie also participates in a breakfast program and is using curriculum materials developed with Title III (ESEA) funds. All of these programs have strings attached which create administrative burdens on the schools and the teachers who use them. However, these requirements are an attempt to prevent the misuse of these funds by underfinanced school districts. For instance, both the Indian programs (Title IV and JOM) now require a parent committee, elected yearly from Indian students' parents, to oversee and approve the programs designed for their children. This provides the Indian community with direct input on programs meant to affect their youth. It also provides Indians with an opportunity for political activities which have meaning in both the Indian and White communities. It does not mean, however, that administrators do not manipulate the parents' committees in an attempt to utilize those funds in ways they feel most beneficial to the school system.

In an effort to provide a better feeling for what the organization of the schools at Wewoka and Carnegie is

like, the following is a composite "typical day" description. Because of their institutional requirements, the two schools share many features in their daily schedule. Some differences will be noted, but in the main the description will proceed as if one school is under consideration.

The school day begins between 6:00 and 7:00 a.m. when custodians arrive and unlock the buildings, bus drivers prepare to drive their routes, and cooks begin preparation for lunch. Carnegie has a breakfast program available to its students (including Head Start) who are picked up earlier on longer routes and arrive earlier than most Wewoka students. Between 7:00 and 7:30, students start arriving and teachers begin to come in to the cafeteria for a snack and coffee. Administrators, principals, their secretaries, and counselors are in their offices and some teachers have morning hall or playground duty. They will be assisted by aides who have begun to arrive also. Most teachers proceed (7:30 - 8:00) to their rooms and areas to begin preparations for the day. Lesson plans are consulted and materials readied for the first lessons. Consultations between teaming teachers and aides will be made to make sure everyone knows what will be happening. If necessary, there may be a teachers' meeting from 8:00 to 8:30; otherwise, teachers continue preparing for the day.

Sometime between 8:30 and 8:45 school begins. Students are expected to be in class at the beginning bell.

Duty teachers and aides will have given them ample warning to get to class. The principal's office officiates at an opening ceremony consisting of a recitation of the pledge to the flag or singing of the national anthem followed by morning announcements. These announcements usually contain reminders and information about coming events for teachers and students. They may also announce some extraordinary event for the day, like an assembly or field trip.

The first lesson begins shortly after announcements. Teachers will distribute materials and books and give directions. In kindergarten, activities usually are based on the learning of a particular skill or set of skills. A story may be read or an activity song sung. In the first grade, lessons begin to be centered around the traditional subjects: reading, writing, math, spelling, social studies, and science. In all the elementary grades, lessons are usually only twenty to twenty-five minutes long. When children finish their work before time is up, they may work on other unfinished work, or have access to some "free time" game or activity. Several classrooms, especially at Carnegie, have special areas or "centers" for this. During the lesson the teacher will be giving instructions, asking questions, and leading a discussion. If the children are working at their desks, the teacher will walk through the classroom making sure the students are on track, answering questions, and offering encouragement. Aides and teachers also use this time to grade papers from previous assignments.

At Wewoka, the language arts program requires careful organization and coordination within and between grades because children are drawn from different grades in different skill groups. This means that from time to time different groups are drawn off for their time at the machine tables. These tables are supervised mainly by aides who make sure the machines function properly and that the group has the correct level of program for their activities. These programs are contained in the main on film strips and cassette tapes.

At both schools throughout the day, other groups are drawn out of the main classroom for special activities and programs. At Wewoka, these include special education students, learning disabled students, gifted students, physical education (all students), reading students, speech therapy students, and band students in the upper grades. The music teacher comes to the classroom for the music program, while the other half of the class is in physical education. During this time, the teachers have a thirty-minute planning break. In Carnegie, the special programs include special education, which is actually a self-contained class; learning disability; reading, which uses a machine program like Wewoka's; physical education, in which groups are segregated by sex; music, also segregated by sex; band, for fifth and sixth graders; speech therapy, and drug abuse counseling. Music and physical education alternate every other day (e.g.,

boys to music one day, girls the next), and this time off is used for planning by the teachers.

Between 10:00 and 10:30, the kindergarten has a snack and goes out for fifteen-minute recess. About this time, the lower elementary grades begin their recess. Around 10:30, the fifth and sixth grades begin their recess as the lower grades return to class. A teacher and several aides have playground duty to prevent accidents and to solve problems.

Lessons resume after recess. Some children, according to their interest and ability, work diligently to finish their assignment, many possibly motivated by the rewards of free time. Others dawdle around, trying to communicate with others through various strategies like taps, notes, whispers, play games by themselves, day dream, work slowly, or keep an eye on other things going on in the classroom. Between lessons, breaks occur which allow students to go to the restroom or for a drink of water. In the lower grades, breaks are held in groups. Students are allowed to go on their own in the upper grades.

From 11:00 to 12:00, lunch begins. Classes line up and go to lunch at intervals to keep the line in the cafeteria from getting too long. At Wewoka, children who bring their own lunches are allowed to eat in their classroom. In the cafeteria, Wewoka students are expected to go through the line and fill up designated tables. At Carnegie, the

children have a choice of seats. The teachers usually sit at a special "teachers table" in both cafeterias. When the children finish, they remove their trays and then go out for recess. A teacher and aides will have lunch duty while the others return to their rooms or the teachers' lounge. On the playground, the duty teacher supervises play; makes sure children do not re-enter the building; enforces rules against dangerous play, boundaries, and forbidden games; referees fights, arguments, and disputes; and supervises equipment like footballs, baseballs, and jump ropes.

After lunch, lessons continue and students are drawn out of classes for special programs. Both special education classes remain in their classrooms most of the day except for special programs like physical education and music, although the Wewoka students go to their grade level for some work. At Wewoka, the reading specialist floats from grade area to grade area, while at Carnegie reading is in a special classroom. Assignments are carried out, papers graded, homework given out or turned in until time for afternoon recess around 1:30 to 2:00. Again, a teacher and aides have duty, while the others relax, plan, or grade.

After this recess, work begins to lighten, the tempo of lessons speeds up, and the activities tend to be more fun oriented. Arts and crafts, high interest units, or games and stories take up the remainder of the day as children and teachers begin to tire. During this time,

attention is shifted to the clock and the time for the final bell. The last ten minutes of class are devoted to cleaning up and putting away material. The teacher may remind students about homework, special activities, or events of the following day.

When the final bell rings, students are dismissed to the busses or to walk home or catch their rides. The lower elementary at Carnegie is dismissed earlier than the other schools and those students who ride busses wait on the playground. Teachers and aides have bus duty until the school is cleared. In Carnegie, the Indian students have a recreation program and tutoring program funded by Title IV that they may attend. Custodians begin to clean up, teachers may plan for the next day by getting materials and lessons ready, or grade papers, or go to the lounge for coffee or a coke and some relaxation, or attend meetings and conferences. By 4:00 or 4:30, most teachers leave for home, taking any unfinished work (papers to grade, etc.) with them. Between 4:30 and 5:00, the administrators leave, and by 5:30 or so, the custodians have finished their work and locked the buildings and gone home.

The preceding description, while accurate, is only what one would perceive from an initial observation of the schools in question or a reading of organizational summaries of state school law. In order to understand what is actually happening in the two schools, one must look longer and closer

at the informal structure of the schools. As a matter of fact, during the research, questions began to arise about a number of issues which could not be dealt with in a formal context. For instance, do the formal roles seen in the organization of the schools function as they are "supposed" to? How do teachers and administrators interact; or teachers and children, teachers and aides, aides and children? What sorts of informal communication networks exist (gossip, rumor, etc.) and how are they used? One of the most important questions which arose in the middle of the research was: how do teachers maintain control of their students from day to day, and what do students do to affect this control and why? Other questions concerned types of student groups and the amounts of peer pressure they generated. And an over-arching question generated by theoretical issues discussed in chapter 2 was to what extent middle-class values seemed to be expressed in the school. Of course, interspersed through all of these questions was an intense interest in where Indian students seemed to fit in.

Additionally, as more information was gathered, it became apparent that classrooms in the same schools could be organized totally differently, according to the personality and wishes of the teachers and the students in his charge. An effort is made to describe the range of these differences, while at the same time providing examples of actual classroom behavior from two or three classrooms in

each school. The utilization of aides and other support personnel (drug counselors, speech therapists, etc.) will be examined separately.

The informal roles in both schools varied widely from those described in the formal section. At the administrative level, the performance differed from Wewoka to Carnegie and at Carnegie between the upper and lower elementary. In Wewoka, the principal carried considerable authority within her building. The superintendent was not involved in the day-to-day operations of the school. He was never seen by the researcher after the initial meeting for approval of the research. This meant that all on-going programs (including Indian) were initiated and directed by the principal and some evidence suggests that she actively campaigned for the inclusion of additional programs in her building in spite of resistance from the superintendent. She stated that the addition of Head Start programs were over the objections of the superintendent who resented too much federal control. At Carnegie, the superintendent's office was much more active in the day-to-day operation of each school building. The assistant superintendent was a frequent visitor to the two elementary sites (he often ate lunch with the teachers). He was also responsible for federal programs. He was in charge of both initiation and implementation of these programs, including Indian, and worked closely with the teachers, aides, and parents involved in them. The superintendent

published a weekly calendar of events which went to each teacher in the building and frequently commented favorably on activities and events initiated by teachers.

The principal at Carnegie elementary was more oriented toward the site where he had his office, the lower elementary. He spent more of his time there and was more accessible to the teachers in that building. Some of his duties had been taken over by the counselor/physical education teacher at the upper elementary. There seemed to be some formal recognition of this sharing of roles and suggest the importance of a site-oriented administrator. On the other hand, the teachers of the upper elementary seemed pleased that they had more personal autonomy than at other schools. Their relationship with the counselor/physical education teacher was less formal than with the principal.

Teachers' roles at Wewoka were more loosely defined than at Carnegie because of the flexibility of the open classroom. This flexibility also encouraged more experimentation in curriculum and planning and greater utilization of teachers' aides. Thus, teachers at Wewoka were aware of numerous innovations in teaching and were often eager to try them out. Their peers were more receptive to this type of experimentation than at Carnegie. This does not mean, however, that no peer pressure existed. In an open area, everyone is privy to everyone else's style of teaching and the relationship they have with their classes. Several instances occurred

during the research which demonstrated peer pressures on teachers who went beyond the bounds accepted by fellow teachers. In one case, a team leader had been unable to change one of her team members and sought aid from the principal concerning classroom discipline.

In Carnegie, teachers were in a more structured situation and their roles were better defined. There was less innovation and experimentation and those teachers who did try new things were subject to peer pressure. The one teacher who was attempting to organize her classroom in an "open" style made several defensive statements concerning her classroom organization, especially the noise level. Other teachers in her area occasionally made slightly derogatory statements about her classroom control. Interestingly, in closed classrooms the major focus was on noise levels, where one would suppose that more noise could be tolerated. The quieter the classroom, the more effective the teacher is judged to be. In open classrooms, noise levels, up to a point, were not used by fellow teachers to assess teacher effectiveness.

Related to role, but slightly different, is the type of teaching style a teacher displays. Our research related a particular style of teaching to different grade levels. In the lower grades, most teachers are warm, affectionate, and close in dealing with their students. They tend to touch and hug more and supply learning situations with a lot of "affect."

This affective style of teacher was found in the lower grades at both elementaries. In the upper grades, teachers tended to be more remote from their students and their expectations and presentation of lessons tended to be more formal. They tended to be more demanding of cognitive skills and less concerned with the emotional aspects of learning. This cognitive style of teacher was found in the upper grades of both elementaries. Undoubtedly, these styles in some way reflect the needs of students at different grade levels. An example may be Paiget's theory that children move from concrete to abstract levels of reasoning as they mature. They may also reflect a selection process concerning the personalities of teachers. Teachers with affective personalities are drawn to the lower grades, while teachers with cognitive personalities are more at home in the upper elementary grades.

The interactions between individuals at both schools had certain characteristics. Between principals and teachers, of course, there was a certain formality. Teachers wanting to meet privately with their principal usually made some prior arrangement for the meeting. At Wewoka, this formality was more evident, possibly because the principal had more administrative authority than at Carnegie. The principal at Carnegie was more approachable at the lower elementary, and his assistant (the counselor/ physical education teacher) at the upper elementary was even more relaxed about interacting with teachers.

Interactions between teachers at both schools exhibited similar characteristics. Most teachers of the same grade level had relationships with each other that were quite close and informal, often bordering on friendship. Relationships with teachers at other grade levels usually became more formal as the distance in grade level increased. At Wewoka, the team leader of each grade had a slightly more formal relationship with her teammates. In both schools, the new teachers were treated with more reserve than older teachers and, at times, were treated as subservient to the older teachers. Of course, occasionally teachers were "good friends" with one another and these relationships tended to overarch the more formal aspects described above.

The interaction between teachers and administrators, on the one hand, and aides, on the other, at both schools was most often loaded with authority and inequality. Interestingly, the administrators were often more aware of this and took some pains to try to mitigate this aspect of the relationship. Teachers seemed, for the most part, totally unaware of the effect of their superior role in the relationship or of the feelings of the aides. The aides in both schools were very aware of their subservient position and were continually being upset by it. They felt that they should have more of a part in the educational decision-making process. In general, they felt that they were not being used as effectively as they could be.

The relationship between teacher and students was to a degree different in the two schools. At has already been mentioned, the effect of the styles of teaching leads to a warmer, more affective relationship in the lower grades and a more reserved and cognitive relationship in the upper grades. This was true at both schools, but the openness of Wewoka resulted in a shift to a more affective situation throughout the whole school. In other words, at Wewoka teachers were less formal and distant with their students all the way from kindergarten through sixth grade. At Carnegie, while the lower grades were treated with some warmth and emotion, the upper grades became more and more reserved, and distant. The classrooms of the sixth grade were particularly striking when compared to Wewoka. In class absolutely no talking was allowed, movements were highly controlled, and the teacher had absolute authority over the students. In Wewoka, students talked much more, visiting among themselves and with the teacher or aide, moved about more freely, and shared with the teachers some of the decisions to be made. Thus, teachers at Wewoka were generally more approachable by their students than their counterparts at Carnegie. Of course, there were notable exceptions to this general rule at both schools.

Students interacted with fellow students in a variety of ways. Relationships ranged from best friends to classmates to bullying to total disinterest. Generally

speaking, closer relationships existed between students in the same grade level and in the same class, and more formal and distant relationships existed between those of increasingly different grade levels. However, at both schools, other factors intervened to cause relationships to crosscut these grade lines. In particular, ethnicity played a large part in determining relationships. In the lower grades, ethnic factors appeared to play less of a role, but by the third and fourth grades, relationships began to cluster tightly around ethnic lines. Blacks tended to have closer relationships with other Blacks, Indians with other Indians, Chicanos with Chicanos, and Whites with Whites. Other factors which could affect relationships include place of residence (rural vs. urban), social class (slightly more important in Wewoka), and church affiliation (very slight).

The places where people met one another were similar, at least for adults, at both schools. Administrators tended to have most contact in their offices, with occasional forays into the halls or classrooms or with meetings. Sometimes, too, the principal would show up in the teachers' lounge or in the lunchroom. Teachers gathered primarily in their lounge, in the halls outside their classrooms, in the lunchroom (this was especially true in Carnegie where the teachers' lounges were less comfortable), and out on the playground when on duty. With the open area in Wewoka, teachers had more accessibility to each other than in Carnegie. The

children, of course, tried to find areas where they could communicate away from adults. Numerous areas around the playgrounds were staked out by various groups for their own use, and inside the buildings were areas utilized for this same purpose. The restrooms were favorite areas for upper elementary students to get away from class and visit with a friend. Other, partially hidden spots in the classroom were often used for this purpose. In Wewoka, an alcove for partitioning curtains was used for ducking out of class from time to time. Of course, the desk itself was often the site of much communication, both surreptitious and otherwise. Whistles, knocks, taps, scrapes, bumps, and other codes were used. Notes were passed and some ingenious students had learned the American Sign Language and used that. Finally, in many instances, whispering and open talking occurred between students at adjacent or nearby desks. This was tolerated to a certain extent in Wewoka, but was often not in Carnegie. Communication between teachers and students took place mostly in the classroom and on the playground. When a teacher needed to have a private conference with a student, it usually took place in the hallway (Carnegie) or in the nucleus (Wewoka). In very unusual circumstances, the principal might have occasion to talk to the student body as a whole other than through the intercom and, very infrequently, the principal would have a private conference in his/her office with a student, usually dealing with disciplinary matters or with serious academic problems.

The content of most communication between teachers in the schools was concerned with interpretation and analysis of official pronouncements, personal evaluations of other teachers and students, gossip, and rumor. A tremendous variety of subjects were talked about and a wide range of opinions were held on any particular subject. This researcher tended to hear more about Indians than other subjects. Talk about students and their families (especially problem students) was commonplace, and teachers at both schools spent a good deal of time analyzing the latest directive from the principal/superintendent/school board. Everyone took part in some gossip and rumor, but aides in particular used this vehicle, in part because of the subordinate role they played in the school hierarchy.

Much of the behavior of students and teachers in the schools can be understood in terms of control. Teachers' behavior is aimed at establishing and maintaining control over the behavior which occurs in the classroom. Students' behavior is generally aimed at gaining as much control as possible over his/her own behavior. In the lower grades, children are not consciously seeking this, but they often try to establish for themselves the same levels of autonomy they have elsewhere. Most of the time, this takes the form of spontaneous and exuberant behavior (running, talking, laughing, standing up, or wandering around). The teacher in the lower grades seeks to control this natural effusiveness without creating

additional "disturbances" in the class. In the upper grades, students are more likely to consciously seek control over themselves, often in ways that are subversive to the teacher's authority. For example, in about the fourth grade, students begin to question the teacher's authority for the benefit of their peer group. Children who can usurp or deny the teacher's control seem to gain status from their peers. Others rebel in order to gain attention for themselves, often with little chance of succeeding in their rebellion. It seems self-evident that all humans strive for some form of control over themselves and that in an institution which denies this there will be a constant struggle. Those teachers who recognize this and allow for some decision-making on the part of their students seem to struggle less than their fellow teachers who do not. Similarly, teachers who clearly delimit their authority and the kinds of behavior they allow have more control.

These comments on the informal organization of these two schools would not be complete without a recognition of the extent to which middle-class values dominate in them. Roles, relationships, rules for interaction, communication systems, and teaching style, not to mention curriculum content, all are predominantly middle-class or middle-American in tone and value. A complete chapter could be written to describe this middle-class set of values. Suffice to say, it is a value system in which literacy, as opposed to oral

tradition, is a major element, followed closely by pragmatism, practicality, promptness, and material well being.

These values find such wide acceptability that most, including teachers and administrators, treat them as unquestioned givens. Most school personnel cannot conceive that there could be other kinds of value systems, much less clearly state their own. Thus, as was indicated in chapter 2, schools are exponents of middle-class values, seeking to disseminate them to their charges, and those whose value systems vary significantly will have a difficult time. Secondly, when an institution promulgates values of which it is scarcely aware, it can hardly be expected to champion changes in those values. Often, the problems facing minority students in schools would necessitate just these kinds of changes. Therefore, the existence of a middle-class values orientation in schools supports the status quo and creates problems for nonmiddle-class students (Indian, Black, Chicano, or White). Conversely, a program which truly meets the needs of non-middle-class students will meet stiff resistance from the middle-class community.

Our picture of the workings of these schools is still incomplete. Following are several "sketches" of different classrooms and teachers in each school. Each sketch will attempt to provide a feeling for the character and personality of the teacher and her classroom. Together, they will show the range and variations of teaching found in these schools.

Our first visit will be to the classroom of Mrs. A., a second grade teacher at Wewoka. Her class is located in the northwest corner of the second grade area and is typical of most elementary classrooms. The desks are usually arranged in rows with a teacher's desk at the front (west) of the area near the blackboard. Several colorful bulletin boards, which change periodi[redacted] west and south walls while oth[redacted]ls, desks, and hangin[redacted]

[redacted]lack woman of [redacted]ring taught se[redacted] strong af[redacted]ching them. He[redacted] although he[redacted]puts her in [redacted] around creativit[redacted]; allows her to ente[redacted]

[redacted]de in Mrs. A.'s classroom captu[redacted]citement offered by this teacher. The school lesson was reading and spelling. First, individual students were allowed to go to the board to "fish," using a magnetic fishing pole, for key words from a story that they were about to read. Both the audience and the "fisher" were captivated as each new word was retrieved. Now Mrs. A flashed through the cards while the class

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Mrs. A. herself is a tall, friendly Black woman of middle age. She is an experienced teacher, having taught secondary as well as elementary grades, who holds a strong affection for her students and obviously enjoys teaching them. Her affective style works well with second graders, although her relaxed and spontaneous approach occasionally puts her in conflict with her peers. Her strengths center around creativity, especially with language skills and this allows her to entertain and captivate her students.

One of the first observations made in Mrs. A.'s classroom captures the spirit and excitement offered by this teacher. The school lesson was reading and spelling. First, individual students were allowed to go to the board to "fish," using a magnetic fishing pole, for key words from a story that they were about to read. Both the audience and the "fisher" were captivated as each new word was retrieved. Now Mrs. A flashed through the cards while the class

enthusiastically spelled the words on them. Next she asked questions about adding ing to words, how it changed the spelling. As each student read a page, they were encouraged to use a chair as a stage while the audience showed their appreciation by clapping and other signs of approval (nodding, smiling, laughter, "giving fives"). During the story, Mrs. A. commented on the use of figures of speech. In one sentence "clouds swimming" was used. She asked the class if clouds could really swim and why the author would use those words. Several students responded saying they could think of times when clouds looked as though they were swimming. Mrs. A. congratulated the class on how bright and attentive they were. As the story continued, many of the students began to look ahead for a surprise at its end. During this whole lesson (about twenty-thirty minutes), Mrs. A. kept the class interested and on track, and while allowing some boisterous behavior, she limited it to appropriate areas of the lesson and controlled the students without reprimanding or scolding them.

This ability occasionally was in conflict with other teachers. One of the other second grade teachers (the team leader) apparently felt that Mrs. A.'s methods reflected a loss of control and discipline. She returned from a meeting with the principal with a new set of guidelines and rules for behavior in the second grade. Mrs. A. was quite distressed about their emphasis on discipline and questioned the team

leader closely on whether these were the team leader's ideas or the principal's. The team leader insisted they came from the principal and were to be instituted without question. The third second-grade teacher declined to become involved in the conflict and so, while continuing to voice objections, Mrs. A. began putting the rules into effect later that day. When asked about this event, another teacher commented that "probably it was more the team leader's perception and interpretation of the situation then the principal's suggestion that discipline needed to be improved." In any event, within two or three days most of the new rules were forgotten, and Mrs. A.'s class was back to normal.

Moving up to a sixth grade class at Wewoka, a big difference is seen, both in teacher and student behavior. In the sixth grade, discipline and control are an ever-present factor. Teachers continuously have to exert control and students are often attempting to undermine it. This is primarily a result of older, more rambunctious students but is also a result of the openness of the school. The sixth grade area is organized into four classrooms, each with a teacher's desk and groupings of student desks around which students sit, table fashion. Bulletin boards are decorated for the appropriate season, mobiles dangle from the ceiling, and student's art work is found throughout the area.

Mrs. B., our sixth grade teacher, had just returned to teaching after all her children reached school age. She

was a pleasant White woman but somewhat harried and distracted in trying to learn her new job and cope with the needs of sixth graders. In addition, the openness of the classroom added to the pressure for she was constantly being judged by her fellow teachers. Mrs. B. probably spent more time concerned with control than the other sixth grade teachers but because of her lack of experience was the least effective at it.

In a math lesson, Mrs. B. began by dividing the class into teams. These teams would compete against each other to see who could solve math problems the quickest. The winning team would receive candy as a reward. As she explained the game and its consequences, the class became excited and she had to stop and warn the students that misbehavior would not be tolerated. As the first members of each team went to the board, other members of the team began to call encouragement. Mrs. B. scolded the students and threatened to take away their rewards if they did not stop. Things quieted down until the race was won. The winning team cheered while the losers booed and gestured. Mrs. B's efforts to control the outburst were ignored and she passed out the candy to the winning team. As each round progressed, Mrs. B.'s control was eroded further until she began to passively accept the students' behavior. By the end of the game, each team was helping the student at the board by calling out the answers as well as encouragement. Mrs. B. somewhat harriedly clung

to her role as arbitor of correct answers and dispenser of candy.

Sixth graders at Wewoka had considerably more give and take with their teachers than at Carnegie. In Mrs. B.'s class, that give and take occasionally shattered her self-control. In one instance, a male student from her class was passing to math in another class. His demeanor was both casual and bored as he sauntered across the room. This must have irritated Mrs. B. because she noticed he did not have his math book and sharply told him to return to his desk and get it. His insolence increased as he stopped and slowly started back, making wisecracks out of the side of his mouth. Mrs. B. became furious and began haranguing him as he retrieved his book and hurriedly made his way back to class ignoring her shouts and threats. In another instance, Mrs. B. became so angry at her class for talking and ignoring the lesson that she slammed her paddle down on her desk and broke it into pieces. This sent the class, and eventually the whole sixth grade, into fits of laughter and a somewhat chagrined Mrs. B. went on with the lesson.

A first grade classroom in the lower elementary school at Carnegie is somewhat older and shabbier than those at Wewoka. The older desks are arranged in rows facing the front (south) where the teacher's desk is. Behind the desk and on the west wall are blackboards and bulletin boards decorated for the season. On the blackboard is a poem for

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copying. At the back is a cloakroom and the wall to the east is filled with windows. Mrs. C., the teacher, sits at her desk grading papers while the children work on a math lesson. She is a grandmotherly-looking White woman with an austere but concerned air.

As several students finish their math assignment, Mrs. C. reminds them to work on copying the poem from the board. After a few more minutes, she takes up the math lesson and prepares the next lesson on reading comprehension. Mrs. C. introduces the major concepts of the story: pretending, imagination, and magic. All students seem to know about pretending, but the teacher suggests that sometimes magic is not pretend. After some discussion, several students want to know, "Is this really true? Can magic be real?" Mrs. C. replies that it is not really true. A little girl relates the plot of a popular television show ("Little House on the Prairie") in which the heroine is tricked into believing in a magical powder but eventually discovers that it does not really work. The teacher then begins to read a short story about a magic flute as children listen attentively. At the end, the teacher begins to ask questions about the story. Students respond well and discuss making friends, a central feature of the story. Occasionally Mrs. C. reminds a student to sit up, or talk clearly. As instructions are being given for work in a workbook concerning the story, she has to remind several children not to begin before she says to.

The instructions are complicated and several students ignore them and begin anyway, only to be stopped by Mrs. C. Finally, they begin and Mrs. C. goes to her desk to grade the math papers. While the children work, she monitors their behavior, reminding them not to talk and to follow directions. The students carefully mind and soberly finish their worksheet. Mrs. C. then calls the class back to attention and they go over the work together, checking it and going over wrong answers. Finally, she walks from desk to desk checking each student's work.

In a fourth grade class in the upper elementary, the organization contrasts significantly with most of the other classes at Carnegie. It has two rows of desks and in each row desks face each other. Scattered around the room are learning centers and activity areas. Unlike most other classes, students are allowed to move freely from their desks to activity centers to the teacher's desk or to the blackboards or bulletin boards. Mrs. D., the teacher, a young (late twenties), White, outgoing and attractive woman, organizes her class more on the lines of the open school at Wewoka. Her lessons have a loose, open style and her approach to students is laced with a great deal of verbal and physical encouragement. However, she is both fair and firm with high standards for her students and herself.

As students return to the classroom from play after lunch, they are excited about a soccer game. Mrs. D. joins

in the expressions of congratulations over the victory, although one boy has a complaint about his treatment by other students. After voicing his problem several times, the teacher asks him to drop it for now. She calls the class to order and asks everyone to get ready for reading. Students return to their desks and get out their books and materials as Mrs. D. moves from desk to desk commenting on the progress of the student on prior assignments or making new assignments as she checks finished work. Students have seven or eight activities to complete for this lesson, several of which are located at "learning centers." One, a newspaper center, has attracted several students who are busily reading and cutting out newspaper articles that appeal to them. At another center, three or four children listen while one reads from a book into a tape recorder. The teacher says that they will compare how they read today with how they read at the end of school. During this time the students stay busy and keep quiet in spite of their ability to move around as they please. An Indian woman, who is a teachers' aide, enters briefly with some questions about some activities she is preparing for the class. One student, an Indian girl who is easily distracted, has a special screen on her desk. On it is a mirror so that when she looks up she sees herself and is reminded to get back to work. The teacher says it as an "instant replay" of her behavior and that it seems to be working. Other activities start up and continue. For instance, a

Tach X machine displays lines from a story at a certain speed to be read by the watching students. At the end, questions on the content of the story are answered on a worksheet. The aide returns to have the work she did checked by the teacher. Mrs. D. approves and makes some suggestions for other work and the aide leaves. All of the activities are varied and take less than fifteen to twenty minutes each. All involve various motor and sensory experiences. The newspaper activity involves not only reading but clipping out the article and placing a pin in a map where the event occurred. Because of this and the ability to control their own pace and movement, the children exhibit few behavior problems. Everyone works away at his own speed. As the lesson ends, Mrs. D. gives instructions on how to record the progress made that day. She announces a new activity that can be done for an extra credit "star" and encourages all the students to continue to read "just for fun."

As can be seen from the preceding descriptions, different classrooms offer different sorts of learning environments, even within the same schools. There is not one kind of "good" teacher nor do "bad" teachers necessarily do great harm or even fail to provide for learning experiences. Further, the quality of life in various classrooms at school varies greatly depending on the experiences, perceptions, and predilections of the teachers in charge.

So far, the descriptions of school life have shown only brief glimpses of what aides and support personnel do

in the school. The following section will examine in more detail the contributions made by aides to the educational scene. Almost all of the aides are hired with federal monies through Title IV or JOM programs. Also recall that in terms of social status in the school, aides fall at the bottom of the instructional personnel. The major responsibility of aides is to relieve teachers of certain repetitive clerical chores (grading papers, etc.), supervisory duties (lunch, playground, hall), and supervision for machine instruction. In addition, all Indian aides are supposed to provide a sympathetic and culturally aware adult for Indian students to bring their problems to. They are also to provide support in developing instructional programs with content significant to Indian children. From an administrative standpoint, this means attempting to utilize aides for Indian students while still serving the school as a whole. Given the various political and community pressures on the administration (Title IV and JOM, parent committees, school board, federal granting agencies, State Board of Education, patrons, and other interested community members), this is not an easy task.

In Wewoka, aides play an important role in assisting teachers by supervising the machine instructional units. The basic language arts and reading programs are taught through machines (cassette recorders, film strip projectors, and their associated software (filmstrips, films, cassette

tapes, etc.). What follows is a description of a typical lesson on the machines. The aide, Miss E., an Indian woman in her early twenties, begins to rewind cassettes and film strips and put away materials from the previous lesson, then to get the cassette tapes and film strips ready for the present lesson. While she does this, a group of about twelve third graders take their places around the table and begin to play with their headphones and put them on. Miss E. asks the students to stop playing with the equipment and listen while she gives instructions. One boy, his headphone on, continues to play and ignore her. She walks over and takes the 'phones off his ears and he listens while she explains the lesson. The students are to listen to a story and watch the screen for key words. (The machine is called an Aud X and the program is called Listen, Look and Learn). At the end of the story, the children will answer some questions about the story in their workbooks. The story begins on the tape. It is a nature story about squirrels and rattlesnakes. As key words are spoken, they are projected on a screen at the end of the table. Most of the children are attentive and follow the story and the words flashed on the screen. A few play with their headphone plugs, make remarks, break their pencil leads, and otherwise distract the others. Miss E. keeps an eye on things while she grades papers from an earlier lesson. When one of the children gets too disruptive, she reprimands him and suggests he pay attention

to the lesson. During the second part of the story, the key words are bleeped out on the tape and only flashed on the screen. After about ten minutes, the story ends and the students take off their headphones while the aide tells them the page to do in their workbook. There are several questions on how to do the work and then the students begin answering the questions. Mostly, the questions test comprehension and reading skills, but they also check skills of logical inference and finding information. When the lesson is over, Miss E. takes up the papers, dismisses the group, and prepares for the next lesson.

All of the elementary aides at Wewoka took part in a project funded through an Indian Education Project sponsored by the University of Oklahoma. In it, a personable young woman, Mrs. F. from the University, with experience teaching Indians, initiated a puppet show to be written, designed, made, and performed by the aides at Wewoka. During the early stages, a traditional Seminole story was selcted, permission was obtained from tribal authorities, and a play was written based on the story. Beginning around Christmas, the aides were given time off from their regular duties to work on designing and making the puppets. One whole day was spent traveling to the home of a potter-clay sculptor who helped the aides design and execute clay heads for the characters of the story. These were fired and brought to the school. The aides then worked on making cloth bodies

and traditional Seminole patchwork costumes for their puppets. Finally, a stage was built and rehearsals began for the show. The script was recorded on tape and each aide began to learn her part in the show. After several weeks of rehearsal, the show was performed for the students at Wewoka. The aides also traveled to several other schools in Oklahoma to perform the play and to talk about how it was developed. During this period the aides were relieved of many of their afternoon duties and, meeting as a group, were able to get to know one another better. During these sessions, discussions of mutual problems, especially problems concerning Indians, took place, as well as problems they encountered as aides. While at times a little confused and somewhat nervous about the parts they had in the play, overall the aides at Wewoka developed a positive identity and group cohesiveness for themselves through this project.

The aides at Wewoka tended to have more autonomy and independence of teachers than those at Carnegie because, while they were assigned to specific grade levels, they had specific duties with the machines but were not assigned to specific teachers. In Carnegie, the aides were assigned to teachers and seemed to have less autonomy. That is, they expressed more frustration at the constraints imposed by teachers on their behavior. Only the aides for the Learning Disabled and Reading (Title II) Programs seemed to share the freedom enjoyed by the Wewoka aides. They were similarly

employed on machine and individualized instructions. The other aides in both the upper and lower elementaries worked mostly in workrooms while grading papers and developing projects assigned to them by their teacher.

At the upper elementary, there were two workrooms, one on the west wing and the other on the east wing. The aides in these workrooms tended to be together all day and each workroom developed its own group personality. The west wing aides (sixth, LD) were more progressive in their outlook and a split had developed between them and the more traditional east wing (fourth, fifth, and reading) aides. All of the aides, including those at the lower elementary, were aggressive about voicing their concerns both as Indians in education and the community and as aides. A number of times, aides commented on problems concerning implementation of Title IV and JOM programs. One day in the west wing workroom, while two women worked on posters and graded papers, a third aide discussed at length the inadequacies of the programs aimed at Indians. She was especially critical of the tutoring program which gave most of the money to White teachers who tutored Indian children. She felt that qualified Indians should be used. On another occasion, an aide from the west workroom asked to interview the researcher on his thoughts on Indian education for a paper she was writing for a college class. She thought it ironic for an Indian to be tape recording an interview with an anthropologist.

In the east wing workroom one day, all of the aides were busy preparing for a celebration of the Oklahoma Land Run. They were hard at work making land claim stakes, posters, ribbons, costumes, and other decorations for the mock land run and picnic to be held that day on the school grounds. One woman was trying to put a cover on a child's wagon. While this was going on, comments were flying fast and furious about the inappropriateness of Indians celebrating the "rip off" of their lands. Several had considered not letting their children participate. Others had encouraged theirs to dress in Indian costumes. Several comments were made about the insensitivity of the White teachers and administrators, who apparently saw no conflict in this part of history for Indians. Several times aides in the east workroom spoke of the prejudice and inequality experienced by Indians in the community, as well as the school.

Not all of the aides experienced dissatisfaction in their work. One of the fifth grade aides, Mrs. F, helped her teacher develop a number of Indian craft projects for an Indian History unit (developed by Title III ESEA). She taught the children Indian beadwork and skin painting. A number of Indian artifacts and paintings decorated the room as well as posters about various aspects of Indian culture, artwork by students on Indian themes, and a large bulletin board in the shape of a shield with the names of various tribal groups around it. It was apparent that the teacher

had worked hard to utilize her aide's special talents and to include her in this unit.

Aides were not the only support personnel used in the schools. Both had speech therapists who worked to detect and correct speech and hearing problems. At Wewoka, the therapist was full-time. She was proud of her Indian heritage and sought to provide a sympathetic "ear" for her Indian students. The therapist at Carnegie was part time, traveling to various other school districts in the area. Also at Carnegie was a drug education and counseling unit. They were hired as consultants and therapists to work with children with drug abuse problems. At the elementary level, they conducted drug education classes in the upper elementary grades (4, 5, and 6) and held a drug abuse counseling session once a week for several identified drug abusers (all Indian males--fifth and sixth grade). Most of this abuse centered on inhalants (glue, aerosol sprays, gasoline) or alcohol. The counselors were aware that most of the abuse was taking place among the Indian population and were attempting to understand why this was true. Included on their staff was an Indian experienced in dealing with Indian drug abuse, primarily alcoholism.

While much more information is available concerning the general functioning of the schools, we must now examine more closely the place and performance of Indian students in them. Both schools share a certain formal

organization and an informal structure in which some significant differences occur (open vs. closed classrooms). In spite of their institutional characteristics, both schools are pleasant, attractive, and interesting places. Administrators, teachers, and support personnel are all making an effort to be effective and to deliver quality education. Yet, in both schools, Indian students have problems and are not being reached by these efforts as effectively as other students. This was perceived by in-school personnel as well as out of school people. For instance, no one in either Wewoka or Carnegie questioned the need for this research. It was enthusiastically received by teachers, administrators, aides, and parents alike. Often questions and comments were directed to the researcher about Indian students and their problems. He was asked to conduct several in-service workshops.

With all this interest and concern, then, why do Indian students have such a hard time in schools. Chapter 2, our theoretical chapter, indicates several possible reasons. First, we believe that some human behavior falls into the realm of adaptive strategies or group patterns of behavior. Indian students appear to have developed adaptive strategies that differ significantly from those of other students, particularly White middle class. These differences seem to arise from conflicts generated at the school site as well as in the larger society. Schools operate primarily to

transmit information about the society of which they are a part. As such, they are conserving institutions rather than change-oriented ones (see Herskovits 1943). White middle-class values and style predominate. Further, when a cognitive style differs significantly from that in which information is being offered, conflict and little intended learning will occur. Finally, when students from a subordinate cultural situation are placed in schools in order to learn the culture of the dominant society, what they learn most often is alienation and dependency. Thus, Indian student adaptive strategies should reflect conflict in these three areas: middle-class values, cognitive style, and acculturative processes.

These theoretical statements need a longer explanation before undertaking an analysis of the data. Adaptive strategy is a concept drawn from ecological studies of human behavior. As human beings develop various strategies of action for coping with their surroundings (both physical and human), certain group patterns of behavior emerge. Indian students, confronting schools and perceiving them as not necessarily in their best interests, should develop their own strategies for coping with this situation. For the most part, these strategies should differ significantly from those adopted by other groups in the schools.

It should be self-evident that a school's major function is to transmit knowledge about the society of which

it is a part. Schools are important socialization institutions in all state-level societies. Hart's (1955) research suggests that even bush schools and initiation ceremonies exist to foster a unifying tradition in tribes and chiefdoms. Y. Cohen (1970) sees schools in emerging state-level societies as vehicles that undercut local loyalty and produce a nationalistic ideology. Many researchers suggest that modern schools exist to promote a broad cultural way of thinking, to transfer technical information and skills, and to gate-keep. Should we expect schools, then, to be a successful site for promoting change or for easily integrating deviant minorities into the dominant culture? The research done by Wax and his associates (1971, 1964) demonstrates that when local traditions are excessively deviant from the national ideology, conflict occurs which decreases national loyalty and increases the deviancy of the local tradition. All of this suggests that the schools under study should demonstrate a strong adherence to middle-class values at the expense of deviant local Indian traditions. This also shows that programs designed to foster the local Indian tradition at the expense of the national tradition will either be undercut or difficult to implement.

Much cross-cultured socialization and educational research demonstrates that different cultural traditions emphasize different cognitive features in their styles of learning (Gay and Cole 1967, Scribner and Cole 1973). These

different "cognitive styles" may prepare individuals to learn certain kinds of skills or information at different rates or times than other cognitive styles. In a bi-cultural learning situation, significant conflict may be generated by these differences. One should expect to find among Indian students evidence for a different cognitive style and, if that is so, evidence for conflict between Indian cognitive style and White middle-class cognitive style.

Acculturation and assimilation studies have demonstrated a variety of accommodation mechanisms employed by the subjects of assimilation (Bruner 1956, 1961). These include the development of progressive-conservative factions through the successful assimilation of some members and the failure of assimilation of others. This inner split retards complete assimilation of the group. The vacillation of policies by the dominant assimilative agency (usually coercion vs. assistance) creates a situation which helps to preserve the cultural traditions of the group being assimilated. These and other factors create alienation, confusion, withdrawal, and dependency in the subjects of assimilation. As has been demonstrated in chapter 2, schools are major sites of acculturation/assimilation efforts for Indians. It should not be surprising to find alienation and dependency in Indian students, conservative and progressive factionalism, or vacillation in the policies of the schools toward Indian students.

Do Indian students learn a set of behaviors for coping with the school environment different from that set learned by their White counterparts? Certainly, on the surface they seem to go through many of the same motions as White students. They sit at desks, line up and march to lunch, play games, and do the myriad other activities required of all students. However, when asked, both Whites and Indians, students, teachers, and administrators all recognized that Indian students behaved differently from other students. These differences were exhibited in several ways. One of the most commonly expressed and observed was a shyness and reserve that contrasted sharply with the more boisterous and outgoing nature of the other students. In extreme cases, Indian students showed signs of withdrawal. This particular pattern of behavior could be found in many different types of situations at both Carnegie and Wewoka. When asked about Indian student communication problems in class, most teachers in both Carnegie and Wewoka responded that Indian students were too quiet and shy. The assistant superintendent and a high school counselor at Carnegie both commented on shyness and taciturnity as Indian traits. Interestingly, few Indian aides identified this as a problem in either school. Several explained that Indians were taught to be more reserved at home and this was considered proper behavior. Another mentioned that Indian students found it difficult to look adults in the eye for the same reason. In the classroom, many

instances of shyness were observed. In a second grade music class at Wewoka, two Indian boys barely joined in the songs and games. They acted very self-conscious and in one activity song both only weakly participated. In many classrooms, Indian students were observed answering questions shyly and hesitantly. In a sixth grade class in Carnegie, an Indian boy was asked about double negatives. His correct response came very quietly with his chin tucked on his chest and his eyes on the floor. There was some shuffling around the room as others leaned forward to hear. The teacher asked the boy to repeat his answer, but he only ducked his head and wriggled more embarrassedly as though he had given the wrong answer. Finally, the teacher repeated the answer for him. In other classrooms, as Indian students stood to read, or were called on to answer questions, or took part in classroom activities, especially with an adult observer, they did so in a quiet and shy manner.

Another area of behavior concerned social groupings. By the third grade, Indian students tended to spend most of their time at school in the company of other Indians. This social segregation was true of other ethnic groups in the schools, including Whites. Wewoka teachers especially recognized this behavior among their Indian students. They commented on their clannishness and inability to make friends from other ethnic groups. Several Wewoka Indian aides made comments about a group of fourth grade Indian girls who were

particularly cliquish. They were said to be highly prejudiced against Whites and Blacks. Several of these girls could be found together whenever the fourth grade class was observed. They often tried to get out of class together to go to the restroom or for water and were nearly always together in the lunchroom or on the playground. At Carnegie, the Indian aides and the assistant superintendent made several references to this behavior. Observations also confirmed that at lunch and on the playground and, in many instances, in the classroom, Indians tended to group together. However, few Carnegie teachers identified this as a problem among their Indian students. A large group of sixth grade boys who were mostly Indians caused a number of problems around Carnegie. The principal affectionately called them his "knotheads" and commented that they ran around after school sniffing glue and creating disturbances. Several of the boys were also involved in the drug abuse program in school. This group was observed several times together on the playground where they were able to dominate all other male groups by exluding them from a certain area or defeating them at a game like football or keep-away. On one occasion at recess, a White boy tried to join in with the group but was repeatedly driven away. It appeared that this group had the most peer prestige of all the groups in the sixth grade and its membership was almost exclusively Indian. Interestingly, several boys who at first glance appeared "White" were culturally Indian," often of Indian-White parents who were being raised by Indian grandparents.

Another distinctive behavior for Indian students was in the area of meaning and understanding of languages. Numerous comments were made by teachers and administrators about differences in the use of language. Indians appeared to have different meanings for words and they used certain words in contexts that seemed out of place to Whites. Several teachers at Carnegie commented on these language differences. One stated that you had to be very precise and concrete with explanations to Indian students. He found it useful to give an explanation several times in different forms. Another teacher commented on the unconscious use of an exclamatory phrase (Awshhh!) which to most White observers sounded obscene but was not derogatory as used by Indian students. A fourth grade student was observed talking about what he had done at lunch that day. As he discussed eating and playing with his friends, he used a number of phrases and remarks that rambled around the main topic. This circumlocutory style was commented on by the teacher. In a learning disabilities class, several Indian and White students were discussing the meaning of "new moon." The Indians maintained that a new moon was a full moon while the Whites held it was a crescent shape. Several aides at Carnegie and Wewoka stated that they knew Indian students with problems understanding instructions from their teachers. A third grade teacher at Wewoka talked about her Indian students and their lack of language expressiveness. In a

fifth grade class at Wewoka on certain sounds and how they change meanings, students were asked to define several words. On the word "bawl," the dialect and pronunciation differences between Black, White, and Indian were very apparent. For instance, both Indian and Black students failed to define bawl as crying.

Indian students seemed to lack the strong achievement orientation exhibited by their White and Black peers, especially in the area of grades. This behavior was commented on particularly in Carnegie. In fact, several teachers, the assistant superintendent, the elementary counselor, and several Indian aides confirmed that there was strong peer pressure on Indian students not to do well in school. One Indian aide stated that one's friends would be jealous if an Indian student made good grades. Some teachers theorized that making good grades might be considered by the peer group as adopting "White" ways. Observation of these types of activities was limited. One day in the sixth grade classroom at Carnegie, as papers were being handed out, one Indian boy made a hundred on his paper. He tried to hide the fact but several other Indian students around him found out and began to tease him and call him lucky. This could have been an instance of peer pressure, but it could also be one of those episodes we all remember of "tease the brain." At Wewoka, very little direct peer pressure was observed or commented on. One teacher mentioned that Indian students were very

conformist and that there was some peer pressure not to excel. An Indian aide said that when she was a student that she had been attacked by friends for wanting to do well. Others, when questioned, denied that any such pressure existed.

Undeniably, however, there existed a strong sense of lack of motivation by the Indian students at both schools. This was observed over and over again. A teacher at Carnegie felt her Indian students were unmotivated and were not inquisitive. Another at Wewoka stated that they were not spontaneous. During physical education one day at Carnegie, several Indian boys refused to participate in the basketball races being organized by the teacher. They were finally induced to go through the motions by threats of a bad grade and appeals to their team spirit. In classrooms, Indian students were less apt to participate in discussions or raise their hands to answer questions than White students. In another instance, as the class was working on a math assignment, several Indian children were having trouble concentrating. The teacher finally went to each desk to encourage them to stay on task. During the third grade social studies lesson at Wewoka, two Indian boys were daydreaming as the class progressed. On another day in the same class while the teacher gave instructions on drawing a map of the school, one of the boys became confused and began to draw on his neighbor's paper and then on his own desk. Ordinarily, one would expect this kind of

behavior from time to time in any student (after all, school is often boring). However, Indian students were observed to be involved in this type of behavior more than other students.

Two other behaviors were exhibited which form corollaries to the lack of achievement orientation. Many teachers spoke of their Indian students' lack of response (as compared to White students) to direct competition in the classroom. Indian students were just not interested in competing individually for their grades (i.e., this usually successful teachnique for motivation did not work for Indian students). Also, several teachers mentioned that scolding or riding Indian students also failed to motivate them. Instead, most often they dug their heels in harder and refused to work at all.

In another area, personal appearance, Indian students exhibited distinctive traits as compared to their peers. Indian students, especially at Carnegie, tended to dress in more urban styles. While most of their peers tended to dress in a predominantly rural fashion (jeans and shirts, simple dresses), most Indian students wore styles more reminiscent of the city (brighter colors, sport shirts, more stylish dresses). They seemed to be more aware of urban styles than their White counterparts and to be willing to try them out. This difference was true to some degree in Wewoka. Hair styles also reflected this. Many male Indian students wore

their hair longer in the "mod" style. A few even wore braids, particularly in Carnegie. However, some Indian boys, especially in Wewoka, wore their hair in the traditional "two-toned" hair cut of rural areas. Almost all of the Indian girls at both schools wore their hair in one style, long and straight.

Strong evidence exists, then, for a recognizable Indian student adaptive strategy. This set of behaviors has come to be identified with and expected from Indian students at Carnegie and Wewoka by both the students themselves and their teachers and aides. While these coping behaviors seem slightly more attenuated at Wewoka (reasons for this will be addressed later), Indian students there and at Carnegie are shy and reserved (some even withdrawn), are socially segregated by choice (beginning around the third grade), use a different style of communication (both verbal and non-verbal), are unmotivated and lack an achievement orientation (especially in Carnegie where peer pressure not to achieve exists), are non-competitive in schoolwork and cannot be scolded into working harder, and dress and wear their hair differently from their White and Black peers. These behaviors are only the tip of the iceberg. Many more differences in behavior exist that are not readily discernable. They result from the middle-class orientation and control of the schools, the clash of cognitive styles, and the alientation and ambivalence created by the pressure to change from one style of life to another.

What evidence is there for middle-class orientation and control in these two schools? An outline of the middle class orientation of the schools has already been made earlier in the chapter. Most of the curriculum, the textbooks, the classroom materials, the lessons, and the teachers' associations of behavior reflect this middle-class orientation. For instance, in a special education class at Carnegie, a math lesson on measurement was observed. Most of the examples in the lesson were drawn from experiences common to middle-class life. The children were asked to measure lines or add and subtract weights from building plans, food recipes, and other similar examples. While these help make math more realistic, they may or may not reflect the life of non-middle-class students. In a second grade class at Carnegie, children were being taught songs. Most of the song's subject matter concerned middle-class themes: saving money, playing games on a rainy day, and going to the supermarket. Few of the Indian students could match the enthusiasm with which the White students sang these songs. The one song that got all students involved was an activity song in which students were to dance either slow or fast depending on the music. The Indian students took part enthusiastically, dancing fast Indian dance steps on the fast part and reverting to a "White" style of dance on the slow. In a kindergarten class in Wewoka, much "shaping" of behavior occurred. While the children worked on tasks in several groups (letter bingo, cutting out shapes,

symbol recognition), the teachers were constantly reminding the children of proper and improper ways to behave. One child was admonished not to use a "bad" word, another was told to cover her mouth when she coughed, a third was reminded to keep his clothes neat and to watch his appearance. Noise and activity suppression were also major aims at this age group. Of course, this type of shaping behavior was most readily apparent at this age (kindergarten) since most students came to school somewhat "unprepared" for the behavior expected of them.

Much of the machine based instruction in Carnegie and Wewoka centered around culturally specific material. In a learning disabilities class in Carnegie, an auditory discrimination lesson was taking place. The student was to match the initial sound heard on a tape with a picture of an object beginning with the same sound in his workbook. The pictures were middle-class: wallets, yo-yos, zippers, jets, motorboats, and food mixers. In a more obvious situation of cultural conflict, a teacher at Carnegie was showing off a macrame owl necklace she had made to a group of teachers. While remarking at how pleased she was with it, she mentioned that several of the Indian aides had seen it and not liked it. One of the other teachers said that Indians thought owls were bad luck. The audience chuckled while the teacher with the necklace exclaimed that she would not let a silly superstition stop her from wearing her necklace.

No single instance of middle-class orientation is likely to demonstrate the problem to which we refer. However, these instances build up into a pervasive, overall cast for the educational institution and no one who attends can escape their influence.

Not only is this middle-class orientation found in curriculum and attitude. It also extends a powerful influence to those programs intended for non-middle-class students. Both of the programs for Indian students (Title IV and JOM) were supposed to be controlled by committees of Indian parents. In Wewoka and Carnegie, the administrators in charge, and the consultant hired to write the grant, were able to manipulate and control most of what happened with the grant monies. As stated earlier, administrators were successful at getting major portions of those funds used for programs which aided the whole school, not just Indians. They argued that when the whole school benefitted so did the Indian students. These programs were primarily salaries for aides whose primary responsibility was to their assigned teacher and not to Indian students. Many Indian parents, including several of the Indian aides, were unhappy with the way JOM and Title IV monies were spent. Several aides confided that their being there helped Indian students but they felt that they could have been more beneficial. In Carnegie, dissatisfaction ran so high that a special election had to be called to elect new committees for the Title IV and JOM programs.

Several aides contended that the old committees had not done their jobs and had failed to hold public meetings. These new committees proceeded to hold open meetings to discuss programs for the next year. However, the meetings were held only a few days before the deadlines for submission of grant requests so the input was limited. The preceding year in Carnegie, an Indian had run for the school board. Aides claimed that he had won but that his election had been contested and overturned. They stated that the case had gone to court and, pending resolution, the Indian was not allowed to sit on the school board. These events and others clearly indicate that Indians perceive that these programs were being manipulated for the benefit of others and that non-Indians did not want Indians serving on the school board. Whether or not administrators see themselves manipulating for middle-class control is questionable.

Another behavior which indicated middle-class orientation was the tendency to stereotype and belittle behavior that was deviant from middle-class norms. In Carnegie, several teachers in discussions about Indians indicated that they believed Indians shared certain characteristics. Some of these concerned adaptive strategy behaviors, but others concerned criminal behavior, drunkeness, and abandonment of children. In one discussion, a teacher made great pains to speak highly of Indians but kept returning to examples of criminal activity in which Indians were thought to be involved.

At Wewoka, a discussion between two White males was overheard about the advantages Indians had, free lunches and even free housing (a common misconception about the federally supported Indian Housing Program). Others at Wewoka showed similar lack of knowledge about the roots of certain Indian behaviors, attributing them instead to laziness or lack of caring. Even those characteristics of Indians which were spoken of in an admiring way tended to be stereotyped. Indians were thought to be good at crafts, artistic, worked well with their hands, were at home with nature, and were good at sports (when they could be motivated). Indians arts and crafts activities tended to be the most often (and most visible) way of bringing Indian topics into the curriculum.

Other examples of stereotype and prejudice were seen in the schools. While playing in the gym during physical education in Carnegie, several White children were making stereotypical Indian warwhoops like those on the television or movies, one hand rapidly covering, then uncovering the mouth. On another day in a fourth grade class in Carnegie, when the teacher mentioned "customs" in a social studies lesson, several White boys began to chant Indian fashion (this behavior was a fairly accurate reproduction of chanting at pow-wows--"heyyuh"). An example was cited earlier in which Indian religious beliefs were regarded as superstitious. A teacher at Carnegie during lunch one day expressed his belief that his jacket had become contaminated by head

lice from an Indian student, much to the amusement of his colleagues. Several Indian aides in both communities felt that prejudice existed against Indians. One aide at Carnegie confided that Indians in the town had "three strikes" against them. Another said that Carnegie was a prejudiced town. At Wewoka, an aide who felt she had been raised "White," discussed the shock and pain when she discovered in junior high that Whites were prejudiced against Indians and Blacks. Aides at both schools said that some teachers, especially older ones, showed some prejudice against Indian students and tended to stereotype their behavior and be unaware of differences. Another admitted that there was some resentment of Indians because they received top priority status in government programs. These feelings of prejudice and acts of discrimination surely add to the isolation already felt by Indians in their communities. The isolation of Indian families out of school contributes to isolation in schools as well. However, schools are a major source of contact between Indians and the dominant culture.

Further evidence of middle-class orientation consisted of the tendency for Indian aides to be alienated or ambivalent about their role. In spite of the fact that the aides seemed to have a positive effect on Indian students and were able to provide some teachers with Indian cultural material useful in the classroom, many expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs. Part of this was undoubtedly due

to the low social position of aiding. However, most aides could voice objections to the way JOM and Title IV programs were run, feeling that their responsibilities to Indian students were only a sideline to their main job. Their ambivalence lay in recognizing that while they were benefiting Indian students by being there they were being "used" by the system for its own gain. Some even felt that Indian material transferred to the classroom did more harm than good. In a discussion on library material, one Carnegie aide commented that most of the White translations were no good. She revealed that she had attempted to translate some Kiowa stories but found that they lost too much in English.

These instances demonstrate that there is a pervasive middle-class orientation to these schools. Both in general intellectual and cultural attitude and curriculum content, middle-class values and styles pervail. In programs which foster non-middle-class traditions, there will be conflict, manipulation, and control. Participants are likely to feel alienation or, at best, ambivalence. The larger commuity is likely to become embroiled in any major attempt by the non-middle class to gain more control over themselves (e.g., the school board case or the elections of new committees). Stereotyping of behavior takes place, especially by the dominant middle class, but also the other way, and prejudices are embedded in the minds and actions of the people involved, both White and Indian. Thus, these schools which uphold and

reflect middle-class traditions can only accept minor variations in the cultural values of their charges. The unorthodox will be in conflict and even programs to aid them will be undermined and controlled by the orthodox.

Undoubtedly, then, Indian students have a distinctive set of behaviors for coping with school, and the school milieu is predominantly middle-class in value and orientation as opposed to the values and orientations held by Indians and others. Our third hypothesis is that in a bi-cultural learning situation, the clash of cognitive styles will make learning problematic. Is there evidence that cognitive styles differ between White middle-class students and Indian? Our discussion earlier of Indian adaptive strategies sheds some light because a number of those behaviors are suggestive of conflict in cognitive style. These include shyness and reserve, differences in communication, lack of achievement orientation (unmotivated), difficulties with competition, and unresponsiveness to scolding and pushing by teachers. These overt examples of Indian student adaptive strategies are recognized overwhelmingly by teachers and others precisely because they are in direct conflict with the prevailing middle-class style. The "good" middle-class student is outgoing, exhibits a communication pattern similar to his teachers, is achievement oriented, is competitive, and responds well to scolding and pressure.

When questioned about Indian student difficulties, many teachers and aides identified the home as a source for

conflict. Carnegie and Wewoka teachers felt that the behavior expected of an Indian child at home was different from that expected at school. Several mentioned the tight knit family producing Indian peer groups at school (little interaction with other races/ethnic groups). Others simply stated that they were aware of cultural differences from the home. Indian aides at both schools identified the home as a major source of concern. They identified their own success at school (all were high school graduates) as attributable to pressure from home. Many cited a lack of understanding on the part of the school of the differences in Indian home life as creating many problems for Indian students. One Indian aide at Carnegie commented that Indians do not discipline their children as the school does. She felt that the school was too strict, and that many Indian students were unaccustomed to such stringent punishment. This was especially true of those being raised by grandparents, a common practice. Several mentioned that "hollering" at Indian students did no good, they became stubborn and "dug in their heels." Others remarked that Indian families tended not to be as interested in education for their children and efforts to get parents more involved seemed to help. Problems of oral presentation, eye contact, and shyness were all attributed to expectations of Indian behavior from the home. Several Indian children were pointed out by teachers as doing poorly in school because of problems at home. One

little first grade Indian girl at Carnegie seemed confused and disoriented much of the time. Her teacher remarked that she had only learned how to count to four and seemed deficient in many "taken for granted" skills. Another sixth grade Seminole boy at Wewoka had many social problems at school (he was a loner, got into fights, had problems reading). His problems were attributed to living with his grandmother.

In another area, health concerns, Indians displayed different attitudes and conceptions. Indians tended to disregard available health care at Indian health clinics and several programs in the school existed to assist Indians in this regard. Indian children from both Wewoka and Carnegie were taken to the dentist from school. Younger Indian children (first, second, and third graders) in particular seemed to have problems with cavities, missing teeth, and dental hygiene in general. Another area has already been alluded to: Indian children were regarded as having infestations of head lice. At Carnegie, there was a full-fledged program of head lice extermination. Indian children suspected of having head lice were regularly taken to the gym showers at the upper elementary to have their heads shampooed with a special preparation.

The contrasts between an oral tradition and a literate one are often mentioned when discussing differences between middle class and minority cultures (Keil 1966).

Our expectations were that we would find problems in reading skills but few problems with listening skills. Strong evidence existed at Carnegie for Indian problems in reading. More Indian students were involved in the remedial reading classes than others. In Wewoka, possibly because of the self-paced reading program, it was more difficult to identify Indians as problem readers. In several instances, listening skills seemed lacking in both schools. In one case, while a story was being read in a second grade class in Wewoka, three Indian boys were observed becoming less and less attentive, even though their White and Black peers were captivated. In another situation in a Carnegie first grade class, the Indian students seemed less attentive than their White counterparts. This situation seemed widespread at both schools, although some teachers were better at keeping the attention of all of their students than others. This was puzzling since an oral tradition should make for better listeners. Perhaps the Indian oral tradition involves more kinesthetic elements (gesture, facial expression, tonal variation, etc.) than are present in a simple reading. Certainly those teachers who were better at keeping their students' attention used more of these elements (storytelling vs. reading). The Indian library aide at Carnegie commented on the problems of translating from an oral to a literate style. She seemed to recognize considerable conflict in this aspect of schooling, not to mention in bilingual communication.

Another area of recognized difference between middle-class and Indian culture is in time orientation. Punctuality and time awareness are strongly reinforced in the school. Indians are famous for "Indian time," a somewhat less formal or strict time accounting system. When on Indian time, things take place when everyone is ready, not at some appointed hour. This lack of punctuality and time awareness can be irritating to Whites. At school, behavior is rigidly controlled by the clock. School has a definite beginning and end; recess, lunch, and classes all start at the same time each day. Many assignments must be handed in, whether finished or not, at the end of a certain period. Being the first to finish brings both a certain amount of peer prestige and some "free time," time to work on something of one's own choice. Indian students were able to adapt fairly well to the demands of school scheduling and time awareness. However, some teachers noticed that Indian students had more trouble with punctuality, were less dependable, and did not use their time as well as their White peers. All students must make some adjustments to the rigorous time orientation of the school. Indian students undoubtedly have to make more of an adjustment and this would be an area of cognitive conflict. Perhaps problems in other areas stem from this.

Indian students in music class did not participate in the same manner as the other students. They were less enthusiastic and often inattentive during the class. A fifth-

grade boys music class in Carnegie where a majority were minority students, Indian, Chicano, and Black, had difficulty learning a new song. After they sang it through with the teacher on the piano, they were unable to sing it again unaccompanied. In the several music classes observed at both schools, Indian students generally seem to lack interest in the music. When questioned about this, the music teacher at Wewoka felt there was a greater disparity between Indians and music than her other students. She remarked that their scales were different and so they were unfamiliar with Western musical traditions. Some of this lack of enthusiasm is probably due to the subject matter of the songs. On the other hand, distinct differences do exist between Indian and middle-class musical styles and these differences are certain to create some problems in learning.

In other areas of curriculum, some evidence existed of problems for Indian students. Reading has already been mentioned. At Carnegie, a high proportion of Indian students were found in the remedial reading classes. These were special classes in which students were taken from their regular classroom to the reading room where a reading teacher worked with them on machines similar to Wewoka's (Audax; Tach X; Listen, Look and Learn). Usually one-third to one-half of the students in remedial reading were Indian (and sometimes 75-80 percent). At Wewoka, the remedial reading teacher went from area to area and the percentage of Indian students was not higher

than expected. This may have been due to the programmed and self-paced instruction in reading at Wewoka.

Teachers often mentioned mathematics when asked if Indian students had trouble with a particular area of curriculum. An aide from Carnegie also commented that math was difficult for Indian students because of the way it was explained. Some evidence gained through observation also exists. While taking part in a math flash card exercise, third grade Indian students at Carnegie were less likely to respond than their White peers. In other classes, Indian students were observed in obvious confusion about math assignments. Usually they had trouble starting unless the teacher came over and explained the assignment again. Another teacher mentioned that Indian students had difficulty generalizing from the particular or abstracting rules. These skills are basic to mathematics as well as science.

While not overwhelming, some direct evidence exists which suggests that dissonance in cognitive style plays a part in Indian student behavior. At the most concrete level, reading and mathematics are affected, particularly at Carnegie. Music education also shows some problems. Certainly, the difference between Indian and middle-class homelife has an obvious and easily recognizable effect on Indian student behavior. Time orientation is another area which demonstrably differs from Indian to middle-class.

If we add evidence of a more secondary nature, dissonance in cognitive style becomes more probable. Teachers

who exhibit understanding and identification with their Indian students are more successful. Indian aides and teachers at both schools commented strongly on this point. One teacher at Carnegie responded that Indian students came into class more "whipped out" and defeated than other students. She had to get them to accept her on a personal level with open communication and physical contact. Until this happened, no positive learning took place. She emphasized accepting students as individuals and stated that labeling and stereotyping was a disaster. This theme of acceptance, trust, and understanding was echoed by other teachers and Indian aides. Those teachers who were observed to be most effective with their Indian students shared these traits. That is, in classrooms with compassionate, understanding, and caring teachers, Indian students seemed to do better.

Indian aides also seemed to have a positive effect on Indian students. In a learning disabilities class at Carnegie, an Indian boy read perceptibly better for the Indian aide than he did for his teacher. He was more relaxed and the reading less strained and forced. An Indian girl from Wewoka High School was aiding in the Special Education class. She was able to get an Indian boy to work enthusiastically, something he had not done before. An Indian aide at Carnegie said that she was proud of her work because several little Indian girls had told her they wanted to be teachers or aides when they grew up. It would seem

logical that disturbances between cognitive styles would be lessened if identification and understanding increased. These positive examples, teachers and aides, seem to indicate that this is so.

While this research only reveals the gross outline of differences in cognitive style, it nevertheless demonstrates that those differences exist and cause problems for Indian students. Certainly, differences in homelife, in time orientation, in oral vs. literate tradition, and in musical style were easily recognized by those involved in teaching Indians and by the researcher. Problems in reading and math for Indian students are further evidence for conflict in cognitive styles. Finally, the likelihood that this conflict in styles can be reduced is suggested by the relative success of understanding and identifiable teachers and aides. If we add to this the data derived from the discussion on Indian student adaptive strategies--shyness, communication differences, lack of motivation, and problems with competition and scolding--then we can argue that differences in cognitive style must exist and that they lead to conflict and problematic learning for Indian students. Further, this conflict in cognitive styles would seem to be a major component in the generation of behaviors common to Indian student adaptive strategies.

Another source for these behaviors is the acculturative/assimilative nature of the school experience

for Indian students. Few would argue that schools do not purposely set out to change the behavior of Indian students from Indian to White. This has been a major purpose since the first introduction of schools to Indians. Even today, this remains an overt goal of schools and of the federal government. Administrators and teachers at both Wewoka and Carnegie saw this as their main responsibility to Indian parents and students. Only by providing Indian students with an education so that their behaviors could conform to White middle-class expectations would they be doing their job. Indians themselves approve of this goal. Research suggests that only in situations where the people expected to change have some power and influence over the mechanisms of change does that change take place (Hobart and Brant 1965). In the case of American Indian education, local, state, and federal governments have been reluctant to give up that authority. Indeed, in the institution of the school it may be impossible. We have seen that in Carnegie the community resisted Indian attempts to gain a seat on the school board. In both schools some manipulation and control of the federal Indian programs existed. Teachers, administrators, and ultimately the school board assume authority and coercive power over all the students. To give up that authority even to a certain group of students would be devastating to the institution. It simply would not work without major social readjustments. Even those attempts by the federal government to build in

control (via parent committees, etc.) have met with limited success. We can establish, therefore, that schools exist in large part to change the behavior of Indian students and that school authorities direct this change through coercion and control.

Further evidence demonstrates that the schools of Wewoka and Carnegie were change-oriented toward their Indian students. While both schools sought to provide some meaningful curriculum for their Indian students (through Title IV and Title III ESEA, Carnegie--Indian history; Wewoka--Seminole language classes and the puppet show), most of these efforts were superficial (e.g., arts and crafts orientation) or were segmented and isolated from the rest of the school curriculum. Only one fifth-grade class at Carnegie had been able to integrate Indian studies into the curriculum and much of that was of the arts and crafts variety. In spite of this attempt to recognize the worth of Indian culture, most of the rest of the school (curriculum, attitude) presented a distinct lack of understanding for Indian feelings. As noted earlier, Eighty-niner Day was celebrated with little regard for the feelings of Indians. Oklahoma history and even Indian history tended to be taught as a series of battles between savage Indians and civilized Whites. In western Oklahoma, George Custer continues to be presented as a hero and martyr. Indian materials and books continue to be difficult to find. Carnegie, which had the larger collection of Indian material

in its elementary library, still only had one small shelf. To be fair, few Indian-oriented books for the elementary level were available. Even more rampant was the prejudice and stereotyping already documented. Indians were perceived as superstitious, unreliable, unhealthy, drunken, and occasionally violent individuals who lived off of government handouts. They were given free lunches and even free houses. Whether or not there were grounds for some of these beliefs, all Indians were faced with them daily, both in and out of school. Certainly, the results of these various pressures and attitudes is to present to Indian students a variety of conflicting policies on the part of the school toward them. We have already predicted this vacillation between coercion and assistance.

Other effects of directed change by the school include factionalism, ambivalence, alienation, dependency, and withdrawal. Almost all of these effects were documented among the Indians in the Wewoka and Carnegie schools. We have already discussed the alienation and ambivalence expressed by Indian aides at Carnegie. At Wewoka an aide mentioned her dissatisfaction with the program and its failure to meet the needs of Indian students. During the year at least two Indian aides quit their jobs at Wewoka. A replacement for one was never found. Factionalism existed among both groups of aides. At Carnegie, separate factions were found in each wing of the upper elementary. The assistance superintendent

confirmed their existence, mentioning problems he was having keeping both groups happy. The conservatives were demanding more autonomy, while the progressives backed the system. Whatever he did made one of the groups angry. At Wewoka, the factionalism was not as full blown, perhaps because all Indian aides spent time together working on the puppet show. Occasionally, there were strained relations between those aides who were culturally Indian and those who were more acculturated. One of these occurred when two aides were accidentally left behind on a trip to demonstrate the puppet show. As a result of this factionalism, Indian aides at both schools were active politically concerning the Title IV and JOM programs. The conservatives at Carnegie seemed to have been the leaders in calling for new committees to replace those who had failed to hold public meetings (see page 189). In any event, factions in both schools lobbied Indian patrons, parent committees, and administrators for the kinds of programs they felt most beneficial for Indian students.

Some of this ambivalence and alienation undoubtedly stems from the frustrations that aides felt. We have already demonstrated that aides could be a positive influence on Indian students and that they could help teachers identify and implement programs of positive Indian cultural content. Unfortunately, few of the aides had much of an opportunity to do this. Only a few teachers at Carnegie allowed their

aides this type of input. Most were kept busy making bulletin boards or grading papers. A few rarely entered the classroom, staying in the workroom except to get instructions from the teacher. At Wewoka, aides had more opportunity to work with children at the machine tables, but only in special projects (Seminole language class, puppet show) did they work directly with or for Indian children. Also, in both schools most of the direction came from above, originating with administrators, consultants, or the parent committees.

So far, we have mentioned only Indian adults in the school. What of the students? Many of the behaviors already described are symptoms of alienation, ambivalence, dependency, or withdrawal. Indian students have been described as passive, shy, reserved, unmotivated, and noncompetitive. They also exhibit a high rate of absenteeism in the schools. The visiting teacher's principal job at Carnegie was to inquire into the absences of Indian students. At Wewoka, an Indian aide attributed some of the absenteeism to the lack of proper clothing. Indian parents were reluctant to send their children to school in bad weather without adequate coats and shoes. Indian children also remain socially segregated from the third grade on and in Carnegie they pressure one another not to do well in school. This pressure, among other factors, appears to succeed. In a cursory examination of Indian student I.Q.

and achievement test results (kindergarten, second, and fourth grade), I.Q. scores were seen to drop by ten to twenty points from kindergarten to fourth grade and achievement scores went from above normal to below normal. These scores are by no means conclusive but do suggest that Indian students start their careers wanting to succeed but begin to slack off by the third or fourth grades.

Another exmaple of alienation and withdrawal is drug abuse. In Wewoka, there was a drug problem among Indian students in junior high and high school, but little evidence was found for drug use among elementary students. In Carnegie, however, drug abuse by the Indian students in elementary school was a problem. Carnegie schools had instituted a drug education program for students and teachers and drug counseling was available. All of the students participating in the drug counseling were fifth and sixth grade Indian boys. Most of them were using inhalants like glue, gasoline, or aerosol spray cans. It was believed that some may also have had access to marijuana and alcohol. An aide commented that those Indian students who were sent to the drug counselor felt singled out since only Indian students went to him. Most of these same students were the "knotheads" mentioned by the principal who were behavior problems out of school.

Unquestionably, our data confirms that in a directed change situation, when those being asked to change have little control of the situation, factionalism,

alienation, withdrawal, and dependency will result. Instead of learning what is intended--how to be middle-class--Indians become passive and withdrawn, dependent, noncompetitive, unmotivated, and lacking in achievement orientation. They are alienated by prejudice and stereotyping, show a high absentee rate, and are unable to effectively control even the Indian programs in spite of their efforts to do so. Indians are ambivalent because they see in education some hope for their future but are frustrated because they are unable to control that process. And finally, given over to despair and hopelessness, a large proportion abuse drugs at an earlier age.

Indian students have developed a set of adaptive strategies in response to the situation they find themselves in at school. These strategies are a result of conflict generated by differences in culture and directed change experiences. Both of these situations exist because of the strong middle-class orientation of the school. In other words, there are cultural differences because Indians are nonmiddle-class and there are assimilative pressures because they are nonmiddle-class. Some behaviors seem to be products of both kinds of conflict. These include: shyness, passivity and withdrawal, weak achievement orientation, lack of motivation and competitiveness, difference in dress and hair style, and social segregation and reverse prejudice. Others are a result of differences in culture and cognitive

style: language and communication differences, reading and listening problems, problems with math, musical differences, undependability (difference in time orientation), responding to sympathetic and understanding teachers but not to scolding, pushing or yelling. Drug abuse and high absenteeism are caused in the main by assimilative pressures. Obviously, not all Indian students exhibit every one of these characteristics. Individual variations exist along a continuum from "Indian" to "White." These differences are no doubt due to variations of the individual's experience of the school situation. Pressure from home to do well, a sympathetic teacher or advisor, personal ambition, intelligence, personality, and many other factors, determine how many of these behavior characteristics a given individual will display. In fact, certain differences in the behavior of Indian students existed between Carnegie and Wewoka. We would be remiss if we failed to address the reasons for these differences.

Throughout the description of Indian student behavior, it should have been apparent that Wewoka students lacked some of the behavioral characteristics found in Carnegie. In Carnegie, there was a much more clearly defined "Indian problem" in the schools. These problems areas included drug abuse beginning in the elementary grades, behavioral problems out of school (those "knotheads"), higher absenteeism, and health care problems (especially lice and teeth). In addition, the expression of certain types of behavior

took different forms in Carnegie. Much stronger peer pressure by Indian students existed. Social segregation was more apparent and achievement in school was resented. Also there was more militancy and factionalism among Indian parents and aides concerning school in general and federal programs in particular. In Wewoka these forms of behavior either did not exist or were much more attenuated than those in Carnegie. Drug abuse and out of school behavioral problems began at a later age in Wewoka (junior high), and Indian absenteeism was not as big a problem. Some health care problems existed (teeth particularly), but Wewoka did not have the "delousing" program implemented in Carnegie. Social segregation by ethnic group was not as strong and little evidence was found for peer pressure not to achieve.

There are several possible reasons why these differences exist. The cultural and contact histories of the two tribes are strikingly different. After a long history of contact and acculturation in Florida (not all of it peaceful), the Seminoles were removed to Oklahoma (1820s-1850s) where they continued to develop an agricultural "contact culture" along with other "civilized" tribes. During this period, Seminoles had considerable experience with schools, including tribal control of their own. The Kiowa, on the other hand, continued their nomadic and semi-aboriginal life-style right up until the 1880s with the demise of the buffalo. They had had much less acculturative experience

with Whites and none with schools. Their nomadic hunting culture, the semi-arid nature of the environment, and the shock of subjugation and defeat made the reservation experience an unlikely place for positive acculturation. Thus, we would expect Indians at Carnegie to be less trustful and more suspicious of schools and their behavior to be of a more militant and aggressive nature.

The environmental and historical contexts of the two communities are also reasons for differences. Carnegie, on the broad, expansive plains, has the raw and rugged optimism of the West. People there work hard, play hard, and fight hard. Indians in Carnegie must match this enthusiasm if they wish to compete effectively. Also, until recently with the arrival of Chicanos, Indians were the only other ethnic group in Carnegie. Their position since the arrival of Whites has always been subordinate. Wewoka, in the wetter, hilly woodlands, has more of the characteristics of the closed and labyrinthine South. People in Wewoka are less optimistic and more secretive. There is less open confrontation and more covert manipulation and "behind the scenes" operation. At least some Indians have been a part of the power structure in Wewoka since it began and, therefore, Indians have a stake in its manipulation. Indians in Wewoka have always had another ethnic group, Blacks, to contend with. In addition to Whites, who are relatively newcomers, Blacks have always been with the Seminole. First

as slaves, then as freedmen and "state coloreds" (non-freedmen Blacks), they have formed a third tier, usually lower, in the social hierarchy of Wewoka. Thus, the Seminole have had far more resources to utilize and a position to maintain. They have something to lose, where the Kiowa, who are at the bottom, do not.

The most striking and compelling reason for differences between the two schools lies in their demographic and settlement patterns. Carnegie is a consolidated school district, taking in children for miles around. These rural Indian children are generally poorer and more behaviorally "Indian" than their town relatives who are likely to be progressive. Wewoka school district is a "town" district, extending only one-half mile outside the city limits. Wewoka elementary receives no rural students except for the children, mostly Black, of two small former rural districts who are bussed into town. Thus, all of Wewoka's elementary Indian students tend to be progressive and assimilated "town" Indians. In order to test this, a visit was made to Justice School, a rural dependent school just fifteen miles south of Wewoka. Sure enough, many of the problems found in Carnegie, but not in Wewoka, existed there. The school was almost 100 percent Indian, with three of six teachers Indian and five Indian aides. The principal was also Indian. There was drug abuse, involving inhalants. A teacher pointed to an aerosol can and explained they disappeared regularly.

Also found were a lack of motivation, peer resentment of those who did well, and lack of competition. Students had problems with reading and health problems existed (lice). Absenteeism was also high. Thus, if just this one school were added to Wewoka Elementary, many of the problems found only at Carnegie would also be present.

Finally, some differences between the two schools are attributable to their differences in organization. Wewoka Elementary is an open school in one building, with team teaching and a machine-based reading and language arts program. The atmosphere is supportive of innovation and experimentation. Carnegie, in contrast, consists of self-contained classrooms where each teacher carries full authority for most instruction. The elementary is at two sites with the principal spread between both. Both schools differ somewhat in the implementation of Indian programs. At Wewoka, the programs are more diffuse and integrated throughout the whole school. Indian aides are used extensively in the classroom and contact students more. At Carnegie, the programs are more compartmentalized. The aides have generally less contact with students and specific programs for Indian students, after school sports and tutoring, do not involve the rest of the school. This is somewhat more in keeping with the spirit of the federal laws (monies to be used exclusively for Indian students) and appears to result from the more militant nature of Indian parents in Carnegie.

Reasons do exist for the differences between Indian student behavior at Carnegie and Wewoka. Contact and cultural history undoubtedly play a part, as do community and environmental contexts. These experiences produce Wewoka Seminole "insiders" with long experience at covertly manipulating their environment to attain their needs and Carnegie Kiowa "outsiders" who are relatively new at the game and must mount overtly competitive opposition to match their White neighbors. Even more importantly, Wewoka Elementary, with its progressive "town" Indians, is free of many of the problems of more rural Carnegie because those problems are isolated in rural dependent schools outside of town, at least until junior high school. Finally, the open versus closed organization of the two schools almost surely affects Indian behavior in some ways.

Can it be said, then, that Wewoka has found the solution to Indian problems in education? Unfortunately, no, because in spite of its lack of some problems, Indian students at Wewoka share too many of the behavioral strategies of their fellow students at Carnegie. Both have students who are shy, reserved, and passive, who learn at different rates from White students, who tend to socialize with other Indian students, who communicate in a different manner, and who are unmotivated and noncompetitive. Both schools have Indian aides and Indian parents who are alienated, ambivalent, and factionalized, Indian committees

which are manipulated and controlled, and a power structure which resists Indian input except on its own terms.

Why are the behaviors of Indian students at the two schools with such surface dissimilarities found to be so similar upon closer examination? The researcher's contention is that the two situations have strong structural similarities. As Hart, Y. Cohen, and the Waxes have argued, schools exist as institutions in order to foster a broad, unifying national (or tribal) tradition. In our case, this means that schools are middle class in value orientation and curriculum content. When non-middle-class students deviate enough from the middle-class tradition being offered by the school, Wax has demonstrated that conflict will occur. We have likewise found such conflict in both Wewoka and Carnegie schools. Further, our research suggests that the mechanisms of this conflict are to be found in the nature of bicultural learning (clash of cognitive styles) and the assimilative/acculturative process. That is, students with different cultural experiences will have trouble learning the same things as their White peers because their communicative and cognitive processes (behaviors) will not mesh with those of their teachers. This will produce not only frustration, but the learning of many unintended sets of behaviors--for example, avoidance. Beyond this, schools as sites of directed culture change produce behaviors in their Indian students which reflect factionalism, alienation,

ambivalence, dependency, and withdrawal. Those forces at work in Carnegie elementary school are also found in Wewoka elementary school. One should not be surprised to find in both schools a remarkably similar set of adaptive strategies for Indian students.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The task of this research has been to describe Indian behaviors in schools and to suggest the processes responsible for these behaviors. In doing so, we have demonstrated that Indian students in schools learn specific behaviors (adaptive strategies). These strategies further accentuate Indian cultural differences and make it less likely for them to make socio-economic advances. As adults, Indians have difficulty improving their children's education partially because of the behavioral skills (or lack thereof) they have learned in schools. In this chapter we will review the historical and community data as it relates to the common problems of Indians in schools. We will summarize the theoretical statements used and relate them to the data gathered. We will then make a number of descriptive and explanatory statements concerning the generation of the behaviors associated with Indian students. From this, we will make various recommendations concerning Indian education, education in general, and further research.

The tribal and community histories of the regions and peoples under study demonstrate a number of similarities. Both the Seminole and Kiowa aboriginal cultures were strongly influenced by contact with White European cultures. Contact and population pressures along the eastern seaboard pushed Muskogean speakers (primarily Creek) down into a Florida depopulated by European slave trading and disease. These became the Seminole who were able to accommodate to both the new natural environment and the varieties of socio-political currents occurring during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Kiowa and an affiliated group, the Kiowa-Apache, were hunters and gatherers of the northern Great Plains. They obtained the horse, a European introduction, and moved south where they were able to develop a rich bison hunting culture by controlling lucrative horse and slave trading routes into Mexico. Although retaining distinct linguistic and cultural traits, the Kiowa-Apache have not been considered apart from the Kiowa in this research. Several factors influenced this decision. It would have been difficult to determine whether a student was Kiowa or Kiowa-Apache during observation. Further, the contact experiences and responses of both groups were virtually identical.

Both the Kiowa and the Seminole, when faced with continued expansion by Whites into their territories, chose to fight for their land. Both groups subsequently suffered military subjugation and defeat (although the Seminole never

officially recognized their defeat). This capitulation led to both tribes being confined to reservations where their previous ability to act independently was severely restricted. Most importantly, the Seminole and Kiowa lost control of appropriate aboriginal economic modes; the Seminole when they were removed to Oklahoma and the Kiowa with the loss of the bison. This process of erosion of control continued through the reservation period until allotment, when both groups completely lost the ability to function independently. This final loss of autonomy for the Seminole and Kiowa threw each individual tribe member into direct competition (economically, politically, etc.) with Whites who were occupying their territories in ever increasing numbers. In essence, Kiowa and Seminole tribesmen had to enter this economic and political competition with Whites without knowing the "rules" of the game and with no intervening "broker" to act for them (e.g., tribal political entity). Individuals of both groups reacted similarly, sinking into a rural poverty level existence dependent on small scale subsistence farming and relief from the federal government. The "White" histories start at this point, with both communities being controlled by Whites. Even Wewoka, with its prior history as the Seminole National Capital, was soon owned for the most part by Whites. Undoubtedly, Indian money, through federal treaty obligations, continued to play a role in the economy of the two communities.

These regularities may be seen over and over again in the history of White and Indian contact in North America. Certainly, these regularities derive in part from the problems recurrent in the relationships between cultures of two different levels of socio-cultural integration. The exigencies of state level societies have seldom offered the time for lower level societies to accommodate themselves successfully to their new situation. Additionally, literate state level societies present a form of dealing with the world (writing, reading) that may be totally incomprehensible to those participating in an oral tribal society, especially as regards education. Thus, individuals are produced who do not participate in the culture of the larger social milieu. This causes numerous problems for individual Seminole and Kiowa; from the lack of job skills, problems in health care, and discrimination, to drug and alcohol abuse. This lack of knowledge of the dominant culture also makes it difficult to utilize the one readily available means for socio-economic success: public education. This isolation of Indians (individuals, families, tribes) from the rest of society is certainly a factor in the isolation of Indian students at school. In fact, schools are one of the major institutions which mitigate against total isolation by providing contact for Indians with other elements of society.

Another source for these similarities between the Kiowa and Seminole is suggested by the ecological literature

on ethnic groups. Barth and others (1961) have demonstrated that the maintenance of ethnic identity is a complex interaction between the ethnic group, its natural environment, and other ethnic groups or elites. Access to and competition for resources appear to play an important role in the continuance of ethnic identity and, therefore, the group itself. This competition may result in either positive rewards for the group if successful or negative consequences if the competition with more powerful groups is unsuccessful. Most Indian groups face similar situations in this regard. They stand to gain certain resources from federal and state relations, treaty obligations, and kin and social ties through the maintenance of an Indian identity. This would certainly encourage a common set of behaviors for the Kiowa and Seminole as well as other Indian groups. Further, the similarities of experience of Indian groups in their failure to compete successfully for resources and the larger socio-economic scene also produce behavioral similarities. It is this researcher's contention that these similarities create similarities in the behavioral responses of Indian students in schools.

While careful examination reveals these structural similarities in Kiowa and Seminole contact experience, differences do exist. These are due in part to differences in tribal and community historical processes. Some differences in particular events seem important. The Seminole were an

agricultural people and derived at least part of their culture from their acculturated neighbors, the Creeks. In this they shared several hundred years of experience with White Europeans. The Kiowa, while admittedly the result of contact, had much less experience with Whites. As a result, the Seminole were considered a "civilized" tribe while the Kiowa were "wild." Given this situation, the Seminole had a much greater experience with and control over the schools that developed in their midst. The Kiowa experience with schools was much shorter and without any of the control seen in the Seminole case. Another significant difference in the two tribes concerns the removal of the Seminole from their tribal territories to Oklahoma. At the very least, this removal played havoc on economic systems as adjustments were made to new ecological realities. The Kiowa were spared removal from their territory.

The histories of the two communities show similar divergences. Wewoka began as the Seminole National Capital. As such, it was the tribal center for the Seminole people and a place for "urban" Indians. Carnegie had no such history prior to allotment. Its existence was due solely to White settlement. As such, it has no Indian past and no urban (Indian or White) traditions. In addition to its Indian past, Wewoka also has Southern traditions. Blacks have always been a part of Wewoka and ties with the larger economic and political system are longstanding. This

contributes to the genteel but subtle and manipulative character of the community. Carnegie demonstrates a more open past, few Blacks, and the more aggressive and wide-open character of the West. This contributes to the confrontational nature of the Indian-White relations in Carnegie. The boundaries of the two school systems also cause differences. Wewoka schools are "town" schools with the population derived from within one-half mile of town. Carnegie is a rural consolidated school with children driven into town from distant rural areas. These differences mean that Carnegie Indian students include more conservative, poorer, rural students, while Wewoka Indian students tend to be more progressive town students.

The foregoing argument demonstrates that structural parallels in the tribal contact histories and community experiences exist and have produced similar responses in both tribal groups. It also demonstrates that differences in communities and contact histories account for some dissimilarities. This point is important for several reasons. The choice of two separate sites for research was meant to determine whether the responses to public education by Indian students were individual, tribal, or pan-Indian in nature. Differences between the Indian responses at the two sites were readily discernible from the beginning of the research. Our problem, then, was to determine whether those differences were meaningful or could be controlled. Put

differently, was there a basic, non-reducible "Indian" response to education or was each case to be treated differently? The preceding argument, as well as the data which follow, suggests strongly that, while differences do exist, they are mainly surface phenomena, due to historical and individual variations. Deeper structural similarities in contact experience and ethnic group formation have produced underlying similarities in responses to education. We will argue, then, that the data and conclusions which follow are more broadly applicable than to just the Kiowa and Seminole cases. They are suggestive of a pattern of response common to all Indians and may apply to other ethnic groups as well.

The tribal and community histories of Carnegie and Wewoka provide explanation for many of the surface dissimilarities, and at least the broad outlines for understanding the structural similarities found there. These data do not, however, demonstrate how sets of behaviors arise or what they do. The major task of this research has been to examine those group patterns of behavior of Indian students that help them to solve problems. We wish to see how they develop, how they work, and what they regulate. In investigating these group patterns or adaptive strategies, several theoretical ideas were drawn from other research. Meaningful clues to the shaping of Indian student adaptive strategies were provided by research into the nature and function

of schools in historical and evolutionary perspective; culture, cognition, and learning style; and acculturation research.

Hart (1955) and Cohen (1969, 1971) demonstrate that in the evolution of schools from pre-state to state level societies a major function was that of broadening the student from local to tribal or national identity. It is important to note that knowledge or skills which are counter to these national or tribal ideologies will be transmitted with difficulty. Thus, schools as institutions have as a major function the preservation of culture. Our evidence suggests that the schools of Carnegie and Wewoka are strongly status quo oriented and reflective of the middle class values of their own culture. Many pronouncements were made of the worth of nonmiddle-class values (Indian-Black), but few instances were found of these ideas being put into effective action in these schools. In addition, Wax and Wax (1971) suggest that in a situation where local Indian traditions deviate from national middle-class traditions, conflict will occur. These conditions exist at both Carnegie and Wewoka and so does conflict between Indians and their schools. Adaptive strategies of passivity, alienation, factionalism, and social segregation by ethnic groups were readily identified.

Two areas of research--culture and cognition, and acculturation--suggest the specific mechanisms which create

this conflict. Ample evidence exists which underscores the relationship between culture and cognition. Cognitive behavior or modes of thought in turn influence learning. Styles of learning can vary enormously, for example, from informal to formal and from concrete to abstract. Gay and Cole (1971) argue that different cultures may affect the way a brain matures and is "prepared" for different kinds of learning. For example, participants in an oral culture may have different brain "states" than participants in a literate culture. Learning styles and times when the brain is "ready" to receive certain types of information would vary from one culture to another. When participants in one type of culture are expected to learn in the style of another culture, learning is problematic. Our data suggest many differences between Kiowa and Seminole culture (both aboriginally and modern) and middle-class American culture. Adaptive strategies reflecting alienation, dependency, and avoidance were identified as being related to conflict in cognitive-learning styles.

To a certain extent, schools are acculturation sites for everyone. For Indians, they are the major site for learning the "White man's world." The studies of Bruner (1961) and others show that the acculturation process results in progressive-conservative factionalism and the vacillation of policies of the dominant culture between coercion and assistance. Both of these tend to preserve the subordinate

culture, the opposite of the intended effect. Only when the subordinate culture has control over the process does acculturation proceed in the intended direction (see Hobart and Brant, 1965). In Wewoka and Carnegie, substantial evidence exists concerning factionalism among Indians and the alternation of coercion and assistance toward Indian students. These in turn help produce the adaptive strategies reflecting alienation, subordination, conflict, and dependency.

Let us now examine the major components of Indian student adaptive strategies in an attempt to trace both the generation of these behaviors and the functions that they serve. Ample evidence was found that both schools are strongly middle class in the orientation of curriculum and organizational structure. Control of the schools also is invested in representatives with middle-class values, both internally (teachers, administrators) and externally (school board, patrons). The schools resisted efforts by Indians to gain control of programs within the school, in spite of efforts by the federal government to insure Indian parental participation. Another consequence of middle-class orientation was the stereotyping of individuals with nonmiddle-class backgrounds by both White teachers and students. Indian aides who worked in both schools were alienated by their inability to control or have input into these programs. They were ambivalent about their roles because they could see the benefits of their presence but were frustrated in their attempts to extend or improve that role.

Middle-class orientation and control guarantees the production of certain kinds of behaviors in nonmiddle-class students because of conflict between the White and Indian traditions. But what are the mechanisms of this conflict? Where does conflict occur and what specific behaviors are the result? Two areas provide a partial answer. Different traditions/cultures produce different cognitive-learning styles. Unquestionably, the Native Americans in Wewoka and Carnegie demonstrated their adherence to a different set of values from White middle-class Americans. Again and again, Indian home life was suggested as a major cause of Indian problems in schools. Additionally, Indian aides complained that a lack of understanding of Indian culture by Whites was a major obstacle to schooling. As a result, Indians with one cognitive style were daily confronted with a different cognitive style and were expected to learn using that alien style. Dissonance between these two styles of learning was most apparent in the curriculum areas of reading, listening, math, science, and music. Some suggestion of another problem area lay in time awareness (promptness, reliability, proper use of time), an institutional area. Most importantly, the biggest failure was in the learning of proper middle-class attitudes, values, and behaviors. Most Indian students attending schools remain Indian, not middle class.

Acculturation is another phenomenon that takes place when two dissimilar cultures meet. Both Wewoka and

Carnegie schools are sites of acculturative experiences for Indian students. Schools assume coercive authority over all students, not just Indians. But Indian students are expected to change their behavior as a result of their school experiences (i.e., become middle-class citizens). Little evidence was found to suggest that either school had much respect for or understanding of the Indian culture they were expecting to change. In fact, the schools were places of conflicting policies. On the one hand, lip service was paid to the importance of Indian cultures, while on the other no substantial understanding or respect was allowed. Further, both schools had implemented many programs whose intent was for the good of Indian students. Yet little good ever came of them. Factionalism, at least partially a byproduct of the acculturation experience, was found among Indian aides at both schools. Possibly some factionalism existed among students as well ("good" Indian students vs. traditionalists). When faced daily with both reward and punishment, Indian students must surely become alienated, confused, and withdrawn. Absenteeism, social segregation, and drug abuse are only a few of the possible behavioral responses to these forces.

When we return to those behaviors most easily identified with Indian students, it becomes clear that they function to relieve the stress caused by the conflict encountered daily in schools. Shy and reserved behavior by

Indian children (with roots in aboriginal culture) allows them to minimize participation in an alien and difficult mode of thought or learning style. This reduces the conflict between different styles of learning and cognition. Passivity also allows Indian children to remain outside of the action of the school. To take either negative or positive action means to endorse and legitimize the situation. By remaining aloof, Indian students make few commitments to the culture offered by the school. In extreme cases, withdrawal occurs, a complete rejection of anything from the school.

Another form of withdrawal is the social segregation along ethnic lines found at both schools. Many reasons exist for this, but certainly those students facing the conflict of cognitive/learning style and the acculturative experience are more likely to share common concerns and thus choose to face those concerns together. When one must confront prejudice and stereotyping, some consolation must be found among those who face it with you. It is also likely that those group patterns of behavior recognized as "Indian" bring them together as well. No doubt, they learn adaptive strategies from each other as well as from their common experiences. The slight difference in dress between Indian and White stems in part from this need for a different cohesive social identity.

Differences in communication also suggest the search for a different social identity for Indian students

at school. One can easily define in-group/out-group status by a set of mutually unintelligible words. Indian students communicate differently as well because they partake of a different cognitive set. The meanings and values of their world are not the same as those of their White peers and teachers. One can infer that those differences readily discernible by Whites are only the tip of the iceberg. Many more differences must exist and may be the prime contributors to conflict in learning styles.

Several more easily recognized behaviors can be explained by these conflicts. Indian students are often unmotivated in the classroom. Several reasons exist. It is difficult enough to decipher the "rules of the game" from another culture without being expected to do so with interest and enthusiasm. Secondly, when confronted with a system that is at least partially a mystery to you, it is much less stressful <u>not</u> to try than to try and fail. This, in part, also explains why Indian students lack an achievement orientation. To seek achievement is to put your knowledge and ability on the line. When one does not attempt to achieve, then one cannot fail. Certainly, the rejection of the strongly middle-class value of competition would serve to strengthen Indian student group social cohesiveness and identity. What happens when all of these behaviors fail and a teacher demands that an Indian student get to work and accomplish something? Scolding behavior on the part of a

teacher is most often unproductive. At this point, the social situation has become a contest of wills, the "White" will of the teacher versus the "Indian" will of the student. With the student's Indian identity at stake, one could hardly expect the student to give in.

When an Indian student enters kindergarten or the first grade, he or she has had ample success at learning in his/her own social milieu. School is seen as a place to continue these successes and the student enters eagerly. Only after two or three years of conflict and failure do Indian students begin their adaptive response to the pressures of acculturation and cognitive dissimiliarity. By the third grade achievement and motivation have declined, the student has adopted a passive attitude, and social segregation begins in earnest. Social awareness has grown among all students and Indians close ranks to protect their own. Peer pressures to conform to an "Indian" school identity is exerted by other Indian students. White students and teachers apply pressure, too, as they expect certain kinds of behavior from Indian students. The realization of stereotype and prejudice further tightens the bonds among Indian students. By the sixth grade many have accommodated their sense of failure by passivity and non-participation. Others have completely withdrawn, using a variety of techniques such as absenteeism and drug abuse. A few, at the risk of estrangement from their Indian peers, have "gone over" to a "White" strategy

of behavior in schools. One would expect that many of these students have special gifts or talents that enable them to balance the loss of ethnic identity against certain rewards available to them as a "White" student.

By examining these options in terms of how well they meet the flexibility or efficiency needs of individual students, we can gain some insight into the motivation of students using them. One can conceive of the options available to Indian students as a continuum. One end is complete withdrawal. The other is adoption of White behavior; in the middle is passivity and non-participation. By efficiency needs we mean that, in a given social situation, a variety of behavioral strategies are open to the individual. When we refer to efficiency needs, we mean that reaction time to a given social situation is shorter because fewer strategies are available. If we examine our continuum, we see that the fewest strategies are available at the ends. That is, withdrawal and "White" behavior offer fewer options for behavior for Indian students. The middle area (passivity and non-participation) leaves room for more maneuverability and options are open for various strategies given a particular social situation. For those Indian students whose personalities can handle multiple possibilities for behavior, the middle option allows limited participation in school while retaining their Indian identity. Those students whose personalities can only handle limited options must choose

between success at school and Indian identity. Those who choose success must lose their Indianess, suffering considerable psychic distress. As we have already indicated, they must perceive great rewards to balance this loss. Those who choose Indianess must fail at school. This is often equally accompanied by psychic distress.

Indian students are, by themselves, unable to change the schools they find themselves in and so, must adapt themselves to the situation. Only adults have the power and authority to make changes in schools, and by the time Indian students have grown up, the behaviors they have learned so well in school make them unable to effect these changes. Passivity and non-participation in White affairs are not likely to win school board elections or provide leadership in Title IV and Johnson-O'Malley parent committees. Only those students who adopt "White" behaviors will have the necessary skills for these kinds of changes. Unfortunately, they have become estranged from the Indian community and are not likely to be accepted as a spokesman there. Also, if identification with White society is complete, they may see little need for change since they "made it." So, what we see is schools producing behaviors in children that ill-equip them as adults for making any changes in the system that continues to operate on <u>their</u> children. This vicious circle has continued to operate <u>ad nauseum</u> since the first Indian was forced to attend school.

Can any way out of this cycle be found? This research points to several possible solutions. Indian students need a system of education that does not force them to choose between Indianess and education. They need a system that recognizes the problems of bicultural learning situations and acculturation. Students and teachers both need to be made aware of cognitive differences and the clash of learning styles they cause. Little, or no, research has been done on specific teaching methods aimed at overcoming these problems.

This type of research and the implementation of truly effective bicultural learning are unlikely since they run counter to the promotion of middle-class values. The current (1982) demise of bilingual education efforts is a good example of this. Indian communities need to have more control over the educational institutions that serve their children. This could take several forms. Indians could withdraw their children from public schools and start their own local schools with tribal and federal funds. Some efforts to do this in areas with high Indian populations have met with mixed success. Public schools and the local power structure are likely to resist since this would drain away large sums of money from the local school district. Another alternative is for the federal government to require more authority and control by the parent committees. Some pressure to do this has occurred in the past. However, the

vacillation of policies on the part of the federal government must be kept in mind. Indians have suffered greatly from programs implemented by the federal government that were meant to do them good. Rather than "Big Daddyism," Indian adults need to become active and effective in wresting some control away from Whites in their home school districts and in state and federal governments. Effective training for Indian adults is desperately needed in this area because, as our research has shown, this is precisely where schools fail Indian students.

What of education in general? This research demonstrates the problems and complexities of bicultural education. Ways need to be found to make teachers, administrators, and school boards more aware of these complexities. Members of the minority ethnic group also need to be reached. Schools will not improve until all involved realize that simple solutions will not solve these complex problems. Further, the training of educators can be improved. Bi- or multi-cultural education courses are not required in most states. Few of the courses offered are taken by education students. This should not be surprising since most expect to teach middle-class students. Eicultural teaching is not a recognized specialty in most colleges of education. This indicates that even colleges of education accept the status quo orientation of public schools.

Most importantly, our research demonstrates that in the last twenty-five years schools in our culture have

been given two contradictory tasks: to socialize their charges to a broad national culture (i.e., middle-class values) and to implement sweeping personal and social changes in our society through desegregation and equal educational opportunity for all. In other words, schools have been asked to conserve our culture while at the same time changing it. These two tasks, while not mutually exclusive, certainly do interfere with one another to a great degree (Herskovits 1943). A number of problems existing in education today may have their roots in these contradictory tasks. Schools are not performing either of these tasks to the satisfaction of their patrons. Even the transmission of skills, the most obvious and probably the easiest of the functions to accomplish at school, has drawn criticism. It is our contention that if schools are to continue to serve two contradictory purposes, they must recognize this. Those in the educational establishment must begin to research and implement methods which prevent the interference of these programs.

Several areas show the need for further research. The specific mechanisms of cognitive dissonance and conflict in learning styles are not well known. Teaching methods to overcome or limit these problems are also rare. Methods to deal with the problems caused by acculturation are also lacking. A careful study of successful bicultural teachers would be useful. Several were encountered in this research. Studies of attempts on the part of Indians to set up and

operate their own schools would also be helpful. Both successes and failures would provide important data on ways Indians can operate their own schools. Studies of Indian participation in the politics of public schools and on Title IV and Johnson-O'Malley committees would contribute to the understanding of these processes. In particular, role models and ways of overcoming prior conditioning would be important. A number of studies are needed to further document the contradiction in the conserving and changing functions of schools. Methods either to reduce, eliminate or overcome these contradictions are badly needed in American education today.

In a less direct area, research might be pursued concerning the differences between brain maturation (readiness to learn) and oral versus literate cultures. If there are certain identifiable differences, they may well explain why non-literate ethnic groups have had more difficulty in American schools than literate ethnic groups.

Native Americans face an almost insoluble dilemma when they concern themselves with the education of their children. Those institutions in our society which are supposed to provide skills for socio-economic advancement are the places where Indians learn their roles for the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. In order to change the educational system, Indians must gain some control over those institutions which affect their lives. The kinds of behaviors or adaptive strategies they have learned so well in schools doom to failure efforts to gain such control.

Can American Indians break out of this vicious circle? Given the evolutionary role of schools in society, it is doubtful that they can. Either our society must change to reflect a more pluralistic, national identity or a fundamental change must occur in our schools. The implementation of the change function must assume a dominant position over the conservation of society function. At this point in time, neither seems likely.

On the other hand, short term solutions do exist. Teachers can be made more aware of the problems of bicultural education. This research demonstrates that a caring and understanding teacher can make a difference. The recruitment and classroom use of more Indian teachers and aides with extensive multi-cultural training would be beneficial as well. Training for Indians active in Johnson-O'Malley and Title IV parent committees is also needed. Indian adults also need to develop community resources and an understanding of the dynamics of local school board politics.

Beyond this, the larger question addressed by this research is: Why do American Indians remain unassimilated? The answer is that the educational system is as much a producer of "Indianess" as are historical and cultural factors. Contact with schools reinforces and teaches a set of uniquely Indian behaviors in Indian students. Members of the dominant culture appear to have as little control over this process as do Indians. It is our hope that the knowledge gained in this

research brings some small measure of understanding to both Whites and Indians concerning this problem.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRES

TEACHER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How many years experience teaching do you have?
2. What grades have you taught?
3. What are your specialties?
4. How long have you taught in Wewoka/Carnegie?
5. Do you have any other experience teaching Indian students?
6. Would you prefer to teach non-Indians rather than Indians? If so, why?
7. Do you notice any differences in Indian behavior in class as compared with other students? If so, what kind?
8. Are there any specific learning/teaching problems which Indians demonstrate as a group?
9. Are there any social problems shared by Indian students?
10. Do Indian students as a group tend to excel in your class, be average, or be below average?
11. Do you ever feel that you have more trouble communicating with Indian students as a group than with White students?
12. Are there any techniques, ideas, or methods of teaching that you have found especially effective in reaching Indian students?
13. Are there any methods which are obviously <u>not</u> effective?
14. Would you say that Indian students as a whole have more problems with a) learning required material, b) socializing with other groups, c) behaving in class. Elaborate, if possible.
15. Do you see any relationship between Indian family life and the behavior of Indian children at school?
16. Do you feel that Indian students' educational opportunities will be enhanced more if improvements are made in their home life or in school attitudes and curriculum?

17. Do you feel that financial aid to Indian education is currently a) adequate, b) inadequate, c) more than is needed?

18. What are your attitudes toward Johnson-O'Malley and Title IV monies for Indian students?

19. Are there any areas which you feel are important to an understanding of Indian eduction which I have not covered?

20. Do you feel that you have had enough exposure to the special beliefs and attitudes of Indians?

AIDE'S QUESTIONNARIE

1. How many years have you been an aide? How many in Wewoka/Carnegie?

2. What are your duties?

3. From your experiences as a student and from your experiences as an aide, are there any difficulties or problems unique to Indian students in getting an education?

4. Do you notice any communication problems between Indian students and their teachers?

5. Do Indian students as a group show any particular problems in learning the material presented?

6. Do Indian students show any problems in getting along or making friends?

7. Do you believe that there is any relationship between Indian family and community life and Indian behavior in schools? If so, what?

8. Have you noticed any methods or techniques used by teachers or yourself which are effective with Indian students?

9. Have you noticed any methods which are obviously ineffective?

10. Do you feel you are being utilized effectively as an aide?

11. Do you feel that Indian students are held back more by situations outside the school or by attitudes, behavior, and curriculum within the school?

12. Are there any pressures on Indian students by their friends <u>not</u> to do well in school?

13. Do you feel that financial aid to Indian students (Johnson-O'Malley, Title IV) is adequate, inadequate, or more than is needed?

14. Do you recall any specific instances where school attitudes, behaviors, and methods are in direct conflict with Indian ideas about proper behavior?

15. Do you feel that current efforts to improve the image of American Indians within the school curriculum are successfully reaching Indian students?

16. Do you feel that the federal programs for Indian education have been successful?

17. As an Indian student, what were the most important influences in your educational experience?

18. Do you recall having to make a conscious effort to compete successfully at school at the expense of your Indian heritage and friends?

19. Are there any Indian values that you think would make an important contribution to the educational experience of all students that are now being overlooked by the schools?

20. Are there any areas concerning Indian education which have not been covered in this questionnaire?

STUDENT'S QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Is the student male or female?

2. What grade are you in?

3. When you make a good grade on your work, do you show it first to a) your friends, b) your teachers, c) your family, d) no one?

4. Are you Black, White, or Indian?

5. Who keeps you working at your school work? a) parents, b) friends, c) teachers, d) yourself.

6. Do your friends ever make fun of you for making good grades?

7. Do you like working with the machines in language arts?

8. Do you ever have problems figuring out what the teacher wants you to do?

9. Do friends ever help you decide what the teacher wants you to do?

10. Do you parents want you to go to high school and college?

11. Do your parents help you with your homework?

12. Do your parents help you with other school problems?

13. Do you feel that teachers are interested in helping you at school?

14. What subjects interest you the most?

15. Which of these groups do most of your friends come from? a) people like me, b) people different from me, c) people in my neighborhood, d) people who sit close to me in class, e) people my own age and sex, f) people not my own age and sex.

16. Put the letter of the groups above into order from the highest to the lowest as to those you tend to make friends with.
1_____ 2_____ 3_____ 4_____ 5_____ 6_____

17. Are most of your friends a) Black, b) Indian, or c) White?

18. Do you feel that you are different from most of the other people in school?

19. When the teacher is asking the class questions, do you a) raise your hand when you know the answer, b) raise your hand whether you know the answer or not, c) never raise your hand because you never know the answer?