Governmental Policy & Stages of Development in the Education of Indian Americans

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GOVERNMENTAL POLICY AND STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN AMERICANS

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A descriptive analytical study was done of the influence of Federal government policies on the present economic and educational status of Indian Americans.

Three perspective views underlying government actions toward Indians were identified. The policy of extermination manifested itself in open conflict and the removal of Indian tribes to reservations. This segregation intensified Indian poverty and retarded educational development. The paternalism underlying the special wardship status of Indians created a sense of powerlessness in which Indians felt alienated from the decision-making process. Assimilation policies which were in essence Anglo-conformist policies were strongly followed in many government boarding schools. Anglo-conformity techniques in many cases led to a loss of self-esteem and cultural identity, and various types of social maladjustment became evident among Indians. Historically the policies which have shaped Indian educational and economic policies have been Anglo-directed.

Certain social movements which are Indian-directed have arisen as a reaction to paternalism and assimilation. Tribalism and Pan-Indianism are two examples. The social
movement which has most support among Indians and non-Indians is the move toward self-determination. Through self-determination Indians are seeking to establish greater respect for their culture and to increase belief in their competence to decide and direct economic and educational policy for themselves. Self-determination is compatible with cultural pluralism. Several schools and projects which have developed as a result of the self-determination movement are described and in part evaluated. Among these are schools at Rocky Boy and Ramah, The Rough Rock Demonstration School, the Navajo Community College, and the Institute of American Indian Arts, all of which are in New Mexico. Some industries which are financed and directed by reservation money and located on the reservations have been established in conjunction with this movement. The tribes which originated in the Southwest and which maintained an agricultural existence with social and religious institutions based on agriculture appear to have been less influenced by Anglo-conformist policies. These tribes have progressed far on the road to self-determination. One example is the Zunis who are independent and relatively autonomous. Tribalism and self-determination seem to be bringing about a renaissance of Indian culture and of cultural pluralism.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Much of the literature concerning the different types of relationships among ethnic groups has dealt with the concept of assimilation. Social scientists often use the terms assimilation, acculturation, enculturation, socialization, adjustment, and others to describe attitudes and activities of cultural groups without clearly stating the ways in which these terms differ in concept and in application.

If the intent is to study superordinate-subordinate relationships, it is preferable to categorize groups of people on the basis of ethnicity rather than on race or social class. For the degree to which a group considers itself a "people" is not necessarily based on race alone, but also on factors of religion, national origin, or other cultural similarities. Those who share a common ethnicity often share a geographically defined location and a common value system exhibited through the social institutions of family, government, education, religion, and the economic system. Milton M. Gordon describes an ethnic group as a
"group with a shared feeling of peoplehood."  

If they are strongly committed to group values, members of an ethnic group are, by definition, ethnocentric. They feel that their group is superior to all others and they interpret the values of other ethnic groups by using their own values as the standard of measurement. They feel that their life style is better than that of all other cultures. All cultures are ethnocentric in varying degree. Often the name used by the members when speaking of their group is interpreted to mean the people, the chosen people, man, the center of the world, the middle place, or some similar meaning. For example, the Navajo Indians call themselves a name meaning "the people" and the Zuni name means "people of the middle place." Extending Gordon's definition, an ethnic group in America is one which is set apart because of race, religion, national origin, or a combination of these. Its members are ethnocentric and have a feeling of security and importance within the group.  

Some ethnic groups, as a result of enforced segregation by the dominant group or by their own choice, have remained separate. Ethnocentrism and cultural pride are generally reinforced by their separate life styles, and boundary-maintaining mechanisms which discourage interaction between the cultures are strengthened.

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2 Ibid., p. 27.
Endogamy (marriage within one's own social or cultural group) is one technique for maintaining group identity and homogeneity. Whether endogamy is enforced by the dominant society or by the subordinate society or by both, if there is endogamy a type of cultural pluralism will remain in effect for a long period of time.  

Before the coming of the white man, the Indian tribes in this country had always lived in separate sociocultural units and had been self-sustaining. They had been cooperative and friendly with most other tribes but had not wished to mingle their ways with the others or to become dependent on another tribe. Their situation was one of cultural pluralism. In their relationships with the European colonists they desired to maintain this state of affairs. They were friendly and cooperative with the newcomers as long as the colonists reciprocated. Both groups shared their knowledge of and familiarity with types of food, dress styles, language, agricultural techniques and tools, and other cultural traits, so some degree of acculturation did take place. But while the Indians desired cultural pluralism the colonists talked of assimilation as they understood it, the type of assimilation that would submerge the Indians into their society and make them no longer visible. Boundary-maintaining mechanisms that had previously existed between Indian tribes were now applied.

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The Pueblos of the Southwest have traditionally kept their societies relatively closed to outside influences. Endogamy is one method they use to encourage group solidarity and homogeneity. Some other boundary-maintaining mechanisms are: "ritual initiations into the in-group; cleansing ceremonies to reintroduce an in-group member to his society after an absence, secret activities for in-group members only; localizing ceremonies in the homeland; the cultivation of self-defined concepts, such as ethnocentrism or racism; the posting of territory or the lowering of isolationist 'curtains'; the designation of contact agents or alien 'handlers'; high evaluation of the group's language or dialect; the erection of legal barriers."\(^4\)

The Pueblos use several of these techniques. In several pueblos the initiation of children into the Kachina Society is an important ceremony. In most of the pueblos curing societies exist in which many important activities are surrounded with secrecy. In Zuni and in some of the other pueblos the young men who returned after World War II had to undergo cleansing ceremonies before they could be readmitted to the society or even have contact with their families. Many rituals are held that establish a Pueblo Indian as a member of a special in-group, and the observation of most religious ceremonies by outsiders is forbidden by

the Pueblos.

Enculturation provides that social and cultural boundaries will be accepted and upheld by subsequent generations. Ethnocentrism develops naturally as a result of enculturation. The individual comes to believe that his society is best and that the teachings of his elders are right and just. Through enculturation the older members of a society pass on the traditional beliefs, values, skills, and patterns of action to the younger members. It begins as soon as a child can experience sensations and continues throughout adulthood. Both conscious and unconscious learning are a part of this process. Thus an individual becomes enculturated into his society as he adopts that way of life as an ideal. The sociological equivalent of enculturation is socialization. Both mean the internalization of cultural and social patterns, folkways, and mores of the society into which the person is born. 5

In Zuni almost all of the social institutions play a part in the enculturation (or socialization) of the child. There is an atmosphere of cooperation between family and community. Members of the extended family reinforce the rules of behavior which are set by the parents. The child would find it very difficult to deviate from the norm by

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playing one element against another, because all elements are in agreement. The value system of the Zuni community is homogeneous, so the rules of the family are legitimized by the religious structure and the political structure. Acts of rebellion by individuals would bring disaster to the community.  

Enculturation includes all the learning and experience which a person acquires throughout his life as a member of his native culture. It is not always directly taught, but comes about as the result of a system of rewards and punishments. Education is directed learning. It includes the acquisition and application of many kinds of skills and is taught by both professionals and paraprofessionals. Educators do often attempt to mold moral character and citizenship. Schooling is a narrower concept than either enculturation or education. Schooling is conducted by those who are specialists in particular fields. Most of the educators of Indians were of another culture and sought to replace the Indian value system with their own, thus destroying the effects of enculturation and paving the road to assimilation.

In our country minorities have often been at a disadvantage because of the way in which their contact with the dominant culture began. Some were migrants who had been exploited and kept in a low social class in their

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6 Herskovits, Man and Works, p. 314.
7 Ibid., p. 311.
native countries. When they came to America they had to learn many new social techniques in order to compete with members of an already established society. They usually had to learn a new language and a new culture. Some were subjugated by their conquerors and were transported to serve as indentured servants or slaves. After they regained their freedom, prejudice and discrimination and their lack of skill and experience caused their continuation as a disadvantaged class. The latter was especially true for those of the Negro race. The contact situation was different for the Indians, but the results were similar. Though America originally belonged to the Indians, they did not have enough political unity or technology to withstand colonial expansion. They had been independent and free. Now they found themselves under the control of a society which sought to obliterate their culture and to convert them to the Anglo life style. They became identified as a poor, uneducated class.

The greed of this Anglo society led to the segregation of most Indian tribes on reservations. These reservations were generally located west of the Mississippi River on lands which were relatively unproductive and undesirable. Segregation may sometimes strengthen group solidarity and provide for the group to organize itself politically and economically and to defend itself against social discrimination. Members of the group obtain reinforcement

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8 Harris, *Culture, Man, and Nature*, pp. 434-35.
of their values, attitudes, and activities and develop a sense of worth through their membership in that group. Segregation also makes them more identifiable as a distinct ethnic group and increases feelings of resentment and acts of discrimination by members of the dominant society. Their isolation, whether physical or social, increases their alienation from other cultural groups.⁹

Some of the Pueblo tribes which originated in isolated areas of the southwestern United States had learned to cope with hardship and maintained a close-knit society which met the needs of the people within itself. Their social institutions were strong enough to combat feelings of loneliness and estrangement, and they were able to withstand outside pressures toward Anglo-conformity when they occurred. Conformity within the group was strictly enforced. Attempts to identify with Anglos and negative self-concepts resulting from failure to measure up to Anglo society were less prevalent than among certain other Indian tribes. They did suffer from Anglo exploitation and Anglo-imposed segregation, but they maintained cultural pride and unity by strengthening the bonds of conformity within their group. Many other tribes, however, became greatly disoriented by being placed on reservations and compelled to adopt a life style which was drastically different from the one they had known.

There are five main types of social processes that

⁹Ibid., pp. 435-36.
can occur when different cultural groups come into contact: cooperation, competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation.¹⁰

Cooperation can take place on a primary group level or on a secondary group level. The first relationships of the Indians and the English colonists were cooperative. The Indians shared their knowledge of fertilization procedures and some of their special foods. Some tribes protected the colonists against other unfriendly tribes. The colonists shared some of their knowledge and artifacts with the Indians. In this atmosphere there was some acculturation.

Competition resulted from the increasing desire of colonists to own and use the land which the Indians considered to be theirs alone. The Indians were seldom able to compete with Anglos on an equal basis because their social institutions and values were different and they did not have an industrial technology. Very early this competition developed into conflict.

Conflict between the Indians and the colonists also developed as a result of misunderstandings and intolerance of cultural differences. Harris states that conflict is probable when conditions become so desperate that the oppressed group has little left to lose.¹¹ Betrayed government promises and broken treaties had taken much from


¹¹ Harris, Culture, Man, and Nature, p. 440.
the Indians. Resentment and hostility frequently occurred, and many clashes between the two cultures were based on revenge and hatred. Even in this atmosphere of hostility, there was some selective borrowing of culture traits. Conflict does not prevent a culture from using knowledge and techniques and tools of the alien culture.\textsuperscript{12} It is also true that conflict can occur within an atmosphere of cooperation. At times the United States government and the Indian chiefs signed agreements that provided for peace and the settlement of boundaries. Then settlers pushing toward the frontier would infringe on Indian rights and small Indian groups would retaliate. One of the goals of open conflict is the extermination of the other group. The removal of the Indians to unwanted lands west of the Mississippi River was essentially a method of reaching that goal. It put the Indians out of sight and many people simply forgot about their existence, until, of course, the frontier was extended westward.

Accommodation is one way of avoiding conflict. In one type of accommodation members of the minority group appear to accept the values and teachings of the dominant society, but in fact maintain their own beliefs and values. An example of this is a token acceptance of Christianity by some Pueblos. They adopted certain religious objects and rituals of the new religion, but incorporated them into their own religion and considered the Pueblo religion to be the one

\textsuperscript{12}Herskovits, \textit{Man and Works}, pp. 531, 537.
with true meaning. Another example of this is the exaggerated submissive attitude of Negroes toward whites during the early part of the nineteenth century. Another type of accommodation, displacement, is the process of channeling aggression into a new area. Hostility toward one group is transferred to another.\(^1\) The use of scapegoats is an example of displacement. The Zunis and other Pueblos alleviate internal feelings of hostility by using witches as scapegoats. Those who convert to the Anglo culture are often suspected of witchcraft.

Some societies provide for institutionalized release of hostility by such activities as war rituals and aggressively competitive sports. The rituals of the clown societies of the Pueblos provide for an outlet of aggression and hostility. They make jokes concerning sex, tease and shame people, make criticisms, and repeat gossip about matters which are not to be spoken of in daily life. The people express aggression and get rid of tension through the actions of the clowns. In our society many movies are still being shown which portray our past enemies as cruel and inept, and many people experience a vicarious thrill at their conquest. Quite a few of these movies show Indians or other minorities as the enemy.

Conflict sometimes ends through subordination. This means that one group has much greater military or political strength and the weaker group submits to its rule.

\(^1\)Horton and Hunt, *Sociology*, pp. 311-12.
Compromise designates a situation in which each side gives up some of its goals in return for the attainment of other goals. Compromise can come about through conciliation, mediation, or arbitration. Sometimes conflict ends with toleration. Neither group wants to conform to the other. So a peaceful relationship is accepted in which differences are tolerated. 14 Thus toleration, compromise, or subordination can be a way of resolving conflict, and a period of accommodation may follow.

Assimilation, the process by which distinct cultures come to share a common culture that contains elements of both cultures, is a two-way process. The Anglo society has often tried to assimilate the Indians, but has not accepted Indian culture in equal degree. Feelings of ethnocentrism and techniques of boundary maintenance have retarded assimilation. 15

Acculturation can occur in conjunction with any of the five social processes previously mentioned. Sharing of culture traits is usually quite prevalent among ethnic groups who are cooperative. When there is competition between the groups either or both of them may acquire skills and knowledge of the other culture in order to achieve desired goals. Even during conflict acculturation can occur. The Indians used the horses and the guns of the European colonists against them during the long period of conflict between them. The colonists were introduced to

14 Ibid., pp. 311-13. 15 Ibid., pp. 314-16.
the use of tobacco and the Indians were introduced to the use of alcoholic beverages. Many other cultural traits were adopted by individuals of both cultures. During a period of accommodation, acculturation can also occur if the groups are in close contact with each other. Generally it is the subordinate group which accommodates. Accommodation often follows a period of conflict and the ethnic minority finds it necessary to make superficial changes in order to resist the complete reordering of their lives. After the wars between Indians and Anglos, the Indians were segregated on reservations, so social and cultural contacts were decreased and acculturation did not occur in great degree. In boarding schools and in contacts with missionaries, however, many of the Indians accommodated to the situation and some acculturation occurred.

During a period of assimilation, ideally, acculturation would be at its peak. If acculturation is understood to be an earlier step of assimilation, then acculturation would be most prevalent subsequent to and during a period of assimilation. Both groups would share equally their culture traits and institutions and all individuals would be able to participate in civic and social activities of both cultures. The resulting culture would be a combination of the two previous ones. To the Anglos, however, assimilation meant that Indians should conform to the Anglo culture and relinquish their own. This the Indians would not do. Also the fact that Indians were for the most part
isolated on reservations enabled them to resist Anglo influence, and retarded both assimilation and acculturation.

There have been many attempts to define assimilation and acculturation and to differentiate between them. In practice, however, the terms are used almost synonymously. Generally sociologists use "assimilation" and anthropologists use "acculturation" to refer to the same type of cultural transfer. The first formal definition of acculturation was given in 1935 by a Committee on Acculturation appointed by the Social Science Research Council. On this committee were Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, who agreed that:

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.

The definition of assimilation given by sociologists Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess seems to parallel the meaning which the anthropologists gave to acculturation:

Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups.

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16 Gordon, Assimilation, p. 61.

and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. They further state that it is the contacts among primary groups which facilitate assimilation.

These definitions are widely quoted and applied by many social scientists, but even those who helped to formulate the definitions recognize that certain aspects of culture contact are missing or are not clearly defined so as to differentiate them from other terms used to describe modes of cultural and social contact and transfer. In one dictionary of sociology, culture borrowing is interpreted as the acceptance and implementation of the cultural traits or cultural patterns (trait complexes) of another group. Adaptation applies to changes which a group makes in its sociocultural life as a result of contact with another group. Culture borrowing, adaptation, and diffusion are used by some as synonyms for acculturation. Herskovits attempted to clarify the meaning of acculturation by stating that diffusion relates to already acquired changes in the cultures, but that acculturation is "cultural transmission in process." Other social scientists agree that acculturation must be understood as a process, not an accomplished event. According to this, it would not be correct to say that a

18 Gordon, Assimilation, p. 62.
20 Herskovits, Man and Works, p. 525.
particular group has been acculturated. Acculturation is considered to be a dynamic and continuous process of change in which a group is acquiring new cultural elements.21

Many define assimilation as an extreme form of acculturation. Assimilation occurs when an ethnic group completely rejects its own set of cultural traits and accepts in its place the cultural traits of another group. If new attitudes, values, and modes of behavior are accepted without modification, the group becomes completely assimilated into the society with which it has contact. Logically, both groups undergo changes in their culture, but usually most emphasis is placed on the adjustments of the subordinate society.22

It should be recognized that acculturation means changes in both groups. This concept has be so neglected that in 1940 Fernando Ortiz introduced the term "transculturation" to emphasize that transmission of cultural traits and complexes is reciprocal.23

It can be seen that these definitions and applications of the different types of cultural transmission are incomplete and that the defining characteristics are often unclear. Changes which occur in the social relationships of the contact groups are usually neglected as are changes in


the structure and functions of social institutions. New terms are constantly being introduced to overcome gaps in understanding, but, as a rule, they merely add to the confusion.

Gordon believes that there are two types of assimilation in American society—"behavioral assimilation" and "structural assimilation." There are two basic facets to human relationships: social structure and culture.

The social structure includes those aspects of life that base human interaction on membership in various social groups which are attached to the major social institutions. Those social relationships which are based on membership in these different groups become crystallized over a long period of time and the social behavior of a group member becomes predictable for most situations. Culture is the way of life of a group of people. It involves beliefs, values, attitudes, and behavioral norms as on-going processes in the life of the people; and it includes the accumulation of knowledge, ideas, skills, and beliefs as history, custom, and tradition. The culture and the social structure, of course, are aspects of each other and function interdependently.

Gordon outlines seven variables in the process of assimilation. They each describe a specific type of assimilation and two of them have been given a special term.

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24 Gordon, Assimilation, p. 67.

25 Ibid., pp. 30-33.
Cultural or behavioral assimilation means that the group changes its cultural patterns, values, and goals as a result of contact with the host society. This is the equivalent of acculturation and in this fashion is considered an early aspect of assimilation.

Structural assimilation is used to describe the type of situation in which the subordinate group enters into the social group life of the dominant society. The members of the subordinate group then become an integral part of the recreational and community service clubs and of the social institutions. Social relationships take place on a primary group level and prejudice and discrimination do not limit or prohibit social contacts between groups.

A third aspect of assimilation is marital assimilation in which there is a great deal of intermarriage between the two groups. The special term for this is amalgamation.

When the members of the subordinate group begin to identify with the host society, they develop a sense of ethnicity that has its basis in the host society, which replaces their earlier identification of themselves as a distinct people. This is known as identificational assimilation.

If there is no prejudice against those in the subordinate ethnic group and they are accepted as friends and as equals, there is attitude receptional assimilation.

Further, if there is no discriminatory action to limit the initiates in educational and vocational
opportunities or in other aspects of life there is behavior identificational assimilation. This means that the values and activities of each group is freely accepted by the other.

In a final stage which is designated civic assimilation, there is no conflict between the values and power structures of the two groups. All members have an equal chance to attain positions of authority in arenas of politics, education, and religion.

These seven stages of assimilation: cultural or behavioral assimilation (acculturation), structural assimilation, marital assimilation (amalgamation), identificational assimilation, attitude receptional assimilation, behavior receptional assimilation, and civic assimilation occur in varying degrees. Although several of these processes may be occurring simultaneously, a certain amount of sequential development is involved. Acculturation usually precedes structural assimilation. The sharing of culture traits, if it is extensive, provides an atmosphere within which social institutions can share goals and activities. The interaction in social groups and social institutions that is a part of structural assimilation brings about the type of contact that lessens prejudice and encourages amalgamation. So structural assimilation and marital assimilation encourage each other. When the members of the initiate group are accepted into the society and there is a negligible amount of discrimination against them, and when they identify themselves with the host
society, it is easier for them to compete for political offices and positions of high prestige in the community. Thus identificational assimilation and attitude receptional assimilation encourage civic assimilation. 26

In Gordon's analysis acculturation can be conceptualized as cultural or behavioral assimilation, and the term assimilation can be used to mean structural assimilation. Acculturation, according to him, is one of the seven types of assimilation, and is usually the first to occur. He generalized that "once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow." 27 But it is possible, he says, that the process of assimilation will stop after acculturation has proceeded for a short time, or that there will be continual adoption of extrinsic culture traits without changes in social institutions and values. Acculturation may continue indefinitely for some groups without the occurrence of any other type of assimilation. 28

Acculturation occurs without assimilation following especially where cultural groups are isolated either by their own choice or by the imposition of the dominant society. The people who live in ghettos are segregated and culturally isolated. The American Indians have been isolated for many years on reservations. The tide of

26 Ibid., pp. 70-71. 27 Ibid., p. 81.
28 Ibid., p. 77.
discrimination prevented Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans from improving their educational and occupational statuses. Assimilation for these groups has been very difficult, if not impossible. Even acculturation has been greatly retarded.  

This structural analysis of assimilation by Gordon seems to be an ideal analysis which would place all the facets of cultural transfer into logical order. In reality neither acculturation nor assimilation occurs in equal degree for both cultures which are in contact. Generally the term acculturation is applied to those of the minority culture who adopt the values and the life style of the dominant culture. Those of the dominant culture see themselves as instruments of assimilation. Their intent is to convert those of the minority culture to their own way. This attitude is evident in the treatment of Indian Americans who were encouraged and even coerced to conform to the way of the dominant society. The attitude and actions of the Federal government and of the Anglo society have had varying influence on different Indian tribes. The ways in which Indians have reacted to efforts to assimilate them have been different, depending on their original culture, on their degree of isolation, and on the way in which initial contacts were made. But certain activities among Indians now indicate that they have a unified purpose which manifests itself in social movements which are being

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29 Ibid., p. 78.
brought to public attention. Tribalism, Pan-Indianism, and self-determination are movements which enable Indians to reaffirm cultural pride and to experience greater power and control over their destiny. These movements greatly affect the system of education for the Indians.
CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT POLICIES
CONCERNING INDIANS

The early relationship between the American Indians and the Europeans was a fairly tolerant one. Christopher Columbus believed them to be a friendly people with a strange but interesting culture. The lectures of Francisco de Vitoria in Spain in 1539 stated that Indians should be considered free men and should not be subjected to any form of slavery. They were to be dealt with through treaties and free trade.¹

In 1568 the first Indian school was established at Havana, Cuba by Jesuit missionaries. Indian children from Florida were sent there for their education.²

As more European settlers came to America problems


arose concerning the rightful ownership of land and the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of colonists and Indians. The later policy of the United States toward the Indians was based on the earlier policy of the British. The British based their policy on two major concepts. They believed that the Indian had a right to the land, based on his occupation and use of it, and that if conditions arose which altered his ownership of land he should be compensated for it. The second assumption was that Indians were relatively unsophisticated and therefore required the protection of the government in order to sustain their rights and to carry out their affairs properly. 3

In 1756 after the French and Indian wars had begun, King George III appointed two representatives who were called superintendents to regulate agreements with the Indians concerning trade and the purchase of their lands. Because the colonists often disregarded Indian rights when they conflicted with their own, King George established the right of the British Lords of Trade to regulate trade and purchase of land. Private purchase of land was forbidden and Indian traders were required to be licensed through the Crown. This was necessary because disagreements between colonists and Indians were causing many Indians to become allies of the French. Later King George returned

licensing authority to the colonists, but the British superintendents remained. ⁴

When the French and Indian War ended in 1763, it became illegal to issue patents on Indian land or to alter Indian title to the land without a treaty. It seemed then that the promise, "...the utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indian, their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights and liberty shall never be invaded or disturbed..." would be kept. ⁵ Then George III passed the Proclamation of 1763. For the first time boundaries were set for the colonies and the colonists were encouraged to settle in the new areas. At this time colonists were discouraged from pushing the frontier farther west past these boundaries and into Indian lands. This was chiefly because they did not want to disturb the economic balance of the existing colonies. This boundary was later pushed farther west as new treaties and new purchases of land pushed the Indians back to let the frontier advance. ⁶

The first Indian treaty after American independence was that made with the Delawares in 1778. This was eleven years before the adoption of the Constitution. Several other treaties preceded the Constitution and individual states made some treaties with the Indians, even


though it was forbidden by the Articles of Confederation. During the period between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution, Indian administration was carried out by three commissioners who each headed a Department of Indian Affairs in each part of the country. These first American commissioners were Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry, and James Wilson. Their duties were similar to those of the earlier British superintendents. After this period much Indian land was ceded to the United States and many people began to consider a policy of Indian removal. The Constitution had little to say about relationships with the Indian tribes, except that Congress had the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the different states, and with the Indian tribes. Sections of the Constitution pertaining to the rights of all citizens were later adapted to apply to Indians.  

The Northwest Territory Ordinance of 1787 adopted the English Royal Proclamation of 1763 as the policy which the United States would follow. It pledged that Indian liberty and property would be protected and that Indians on their own lands would never be invaded or disturbed "unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them." 

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7 Waddell and Watson, Indian in Urban Society, p. 20.
the agent in charge of the administration of Indian affairs was the Secretary of War.\(^9\)

It was the purpose of the Federal government to maintain peaceful relationships between the white settlers and the Indians. Many white settlers continued to encroach on Indian lands and rights whenever possible, and government officials believed that it was necessary to safeguard the rights of both to inhabit and use the land. Federal employees perceived a need to "civilize" the Indians so that they could make a living on a smaller amount of land and contribute to society, and so that the white society would accept them. Thus in 1789 Secretary of War Knox recommended that the government send missionaries to the Indians and also give them domestic animals to raise. The goal was to teach them how to be good farmers because "the United States are highly desirous of imparting to all the Indian tribes the blessings of civilization as the only means of perpetuating them on the earth."\(^10\)

Generally government policy and laws stated that the land owned by Indians would be left alone and their rights of ownership would be respected. But individual settlers often disregarded these rights. The settlers had a tremendous desire for the rich lands of the Indians. John Sevier, an aggressive frontier leader and later

\(^10\)Waddell and Watson, Indian in Urban Society, p. 20.
governor of Tennessee, said, "By the law of nations, it is agreed that no people shall be entitled to more land than they can cultivate. Of course no people will sit and starve for want of land to work, when a neighboring nation has much more than they can make use of." 11

The Treaty of Holston in 1791 sought to remove white settlers from Indian lands in Tennessee. This was not really enforced until 1797, and even then exceptions were still made because of the pressures from white settlers. Later a new treaty was made and President Adams explained to the Indians that the hard-working white settlers really needed the land and encouraged them to relinquish much of it. Eventually the Cherokees removed to lands farther west. 12

The first treaty which provided for any kind of education for the Indians was made in 1794 with the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridge, tribes which had fought with the Americans in the Revolutionary War. The intent was to train some of the young men "in the arts of miller and sawyer." The idea was to reward "friendly" Indians by promoting their civilization. The money which was first appropriated for this cause in 1802 was called "the civilization fund." 13 Around 1803 President Jefferson

12 Ibid., pp. 154-55.
suggested that trading houses be established in order to get Indians accustomed to the articles used by and the way of life of white Americans. It was assumed that as Indians learned to be better farmers they could make a better living on less land and would not be so reluctant to give it up.\(^{14}\)

The pioneers in the establishment of schools for the Indians were the missionaries. As people became more humanitarian in their dealings with the Indians and more concerned for their welfare, missionaries set up centers whose functions were spiritual, educational, and agricultural. The goals of these centers were generally the same as those of the Federal government—to assimilate and civilize Indians. Little progress was made in Indian education, however, before government aid was given. In 1803 there was a government appropriation of $3,000 to "civilize and educate the heathens." Beginning in 1819, the government provided considerably more aid to Indians.\(^{15}\)

All Indians did not immediately benefit from government aid. The Treaty of Colerain made with the Creeks in 1796 recommended that schools be established for their education. But the Creeks refused this offer. It was their belief that an educated Indian would not adjust

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\(^{14}\) Prucha, American Indian Policy, pp. 215-16.

\(^{15}\) Prucha, American Indian Policy, pp. 219-21 and Steiner, The New Indians, pp. 318-22.
to the Indian way of life and that he would become irresponsible and cause trouble in both the Indian and the white societies. It was, therefore, thirty years before this tribe received financial aid from the government for education. In an agreement with the Delawares by the Federal government in 1804 the amount of $600 was provided annually for five years, and $300 was provided for the next five years after that. This money was to be used for the purpose of "ameliorating their condition and promoting their civilization." They were taught to improve their methods of cultivation and were given horses, cattle, hogs, and tools.  

The United States government desired that the frontier be extended in an orderly and peaceful manner. To insure this, Congress passed laws based on recommendations of presidents, the secretary of war, and other executive officers to restrict colonial encroachment on Indian lands and rights. The government set up six basic standards by which Indian policy should be guided.

(1) Indian rights to their land were protected by establishing boundaries for Indian land, by preventing the white settlers from going into Indian country except under certain conditions, and by removing illegal intruders.

(2) Loss of Indian lands by sale was prevented by not allowing private individuals or local governments to

16 George Dewey Harmon, Sixty Years of Indian Affairs (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 158.
obtain land from the Indians by purchase or by any other means.

(3) The government regulated trade with the Indians by establishing certain conditions under which trading could be done, and prohibiting certain groups from trading. In addition, the Federal government itself had trading relations with the Indians.

(4) At first the sale and use of liquor in Indian areas was regulated, later it was forbidden.

(5) Laws were established which provided for the punishment of crimes and injustices perpetrated by one race against the other, and attempts were made to prevent private vendettas and an atmosphere of hostility between the Indians and the white settlers.

(6) A system of education was provided for the Indians. It was thought that this would aid their entrance into American society and would make them more civilized.

The frontiersmen did not always uphold these principles. There was often hostility, and even ruthlessness in the dealings between Indians and frontiersmen. ¹⁷

The attitude that removal of the Indian population to areas separate from the white population was the best solution to the Indian problem began to evolve. In 1804 the Cherokee removal clause was made a part of the Louisiana Purchase provisions. By 1811 some Cherokees had already moved to Arkansas without even selling their lands.

¹⁷Prucha, American Indian Policy, pp. 2-3.
In the Treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814 the land of the Creeks was taken from them and Creek and Choctaw warriors were later used to fight the Seminoles. The U.S. government and many American citizens felt that removal of the Indians to separate areas and provision of education for them was necessary to prevent their decline and extinction. The Indians who wanted to maintain tribal status became wards of the government and funds were allocated for education and economic aid for them. Although individual Indians at this time were assimilated into Anglo culture and acquired the rights of citizenship, it would be 1924 before reservation Indians would legally become citizens. It was assumed that the removal of Indians to reservations would protect them from the hostility of some white settlers and would provide a stable atmosphere in which to teach them of the white man's culture at a slower pace. Eventually, it was said, when they were ready, the reservation Indians would be able to find their proper place in the wider society.18

In other words, the Indians would through these measures become civilized, or assimilated. Reverend Eleazer Wheelock believed that the establishment of boarding schools for Indian children would effectively remove them from the influence of family and reservation and would speed up the process of civilization. His goal was to train

18Harmon, Sixty Years of Indian Affairs, pp. 161, 165-66.
teachers and preachers who could return to the reservation and spread the knowledge acquired in Anglo schools and communities. At this time many missionary societies tried to establish schools and some were successful.\(^{19}\) Then the Federal government took a stand for assimilation and stated the need for federal assistance to aid in that goal. The House Committee on appropriations in 1818 said:

> In the present state of our country one of two things seems to be necessary. Either that these sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated....Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plow....\(^{20}\)

Federal aid made it possible to accomplish more in Indian education, but some had a very negative attitude toward Indians.

In 1819 more money was made available to civilize and educate the Indians. A $10,000 annual appropriation was called the "civilization fund." Some people did not favor the federal civilization fund, but the Committee on Indian Affairs stated that the programs sponsored by this money were very successful. This committee admitted that aid from private and religious organizations was helpful, but insisted that federal aid was vital.\(^{21}\)

For a considerable time Indian affairs were managed by the Army. On March 11, 1824 Secretary of War John C.  

\(^{19}\)Hildegard Thompson, "Education Among American Indians," pp. 95-96.  
\(^{20}\)Ibid., p. 96.  
\(^{21}\)Waddell and Watson, Indian in Urban Society, p. 23.
Calhoun established within the War Department an organization which he called the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This was done under his own authority and without specific authorization of Congress. It had a chief and two clerks. It was not consistently called by the name Calhoun gave it. Thomas L. McKenney was the first to be appointed as head of the organization, and he often called it the Indian Office or the Office of Indian Affairs. This organization was required to be in charge of the appropriations and annuities given to the Indians and of the expenses which the tribes incurred. It also had to settle claims between the Indians and the white settlers, and administer the fund which was set up to civilize the Indians. 22

McKenney wanted to do everything possible to help the Indians. He was very much in favor of education for the Indians and thought that a great deal more money should be appropriated for this purpose. He believed that to build schools and educate the Indians would promote peace and understanding, and make it possible for the Indians to work and live within American society. He stated that the head of the Indian Office had all the responsibility for the proper functioning of Indian Affairs, but had no authority to carry out necessary policies. All the actual power was in the hands of the Secretary of War. McKenney suggested that a General Superintendent of Indian

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Affairs be appointed and given full responsibility and power, but this did not happen during his stay in office. 23

Many people began to think more seriously about the possibility of the removal of Indian tribes to lands in the west. On the frontier there developed an atmosphere in which hatred of Indians developed and intensified. Many others honestly felt that removal was best for Indian welfare, because it would create a situation in which their civilization, education, and Christianization could be accomplished. 24 There was an added fear that Indian tribes might actually become sovereign nations, and would develop enough power to be a threat to the Anglos. Some wanted to disband the tribes and encourage the Indians to own property individually. Those people who encouraged the various programs of removal and assimilation fancied themselves to be very humanitarian and benevolent. The Indians were not asked what they would like. In 1827 the Cherokee Nation adopted a written constitution similar to that of the United States which declared that the Cherokees were a sovereign and independent nation and that they had complete jurisdiction over their own territory. The people of the United States were not ready to actually give self-rule to the Indians and were very upset over this turn of events.


24 Prucha, American Indian Policy, pp. 224-25.
In 1828 the case of Worcester vs. the State of Georgia resulted in a decision that Indians were sovereign nations and were not subject to state laws. During John Quincy Adams' presidential term Georgia attempted to change the status of the Cherokees by declaring that Georgia had authority over Cherokee lands, that they were simply tenants of the state, and that the state could remove them if it wished at any time. So removal acquired more and more supporters.  

Georgia added the Cherokee lands to certain counties in the northwestern part of the state. This meant that Cherokee laws and customs would be disregarded in the face of state administrative policies. Georgia felt fairly secure in these measures because the sentiments of President Andrew Jackson in 1828 were anti-Indian and pro-expansion. The Cherokees asked Jackson to intercede for them and he replied that the government could not help them. Essentially this meant that Indian rights insured by certain treaties could be withdrawn if the government so willed it. The attitude was that the government had previously been benevolent enough to loan the land to the Indians for hunting and other activities, but that it was not really bound by contract. President Jackson believed that it was ridiculous to consider the Indian organizations as

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sovereign nations and make treaties with them as such. In his words, "Congress has full power, by law, to regulate all the concerns of the Indians." Based on this belief the United States government could do whatever it wished to the Indians, and Jackson recognized no real problem. By various acts he caused the Indians to have smaller and smaller amounts of land on which to live. It was assumed that Indians would then adopt the white man's life style or would remove themselves to areas which were separate from the white society.27

The Removal Bill by which Indian tribes were eventually moved into "Indian Territory" in Oklahoma became a law in 1830. Several actions were implemented to encourage the Indians to emigrate. The Federal government provided $500,000 to assist in their emigration, and provided annuities, schools, and other aids for them. Secretary of War Eaton withdrew the $2500 allotment that had been provided for Indian schools from those tribes which were opposed to removal.28

Congress attempted to straighten out the confused state of Indian affairs by a bill which went into effect in 1832. This bill authorized the president to appoint a Commissioner of Indian Affairs who would have all authority to administer Indian affairs under the Secretary

27 Ibid., p. 234.

28 Prucha, American Indian Policy, p. 246 and Steiner, The New Indians, pp. 318-22.
This was what McKenney had wanted, but unfortunately this was after he was no longer in office. In that same year the Indian Office became the Department of Indian Affairs. More officers were hired to work in this department. Besides the Commissioner, there were several clerks, agents, and subagents. This organization became the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1834, but it was still within the jurisdiction of the War Department.²⁹

The removal process continued throughout the decade of the 1830s. The idea that segregation would promote assimilation was still in vogue. In 1834 the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, also known as the Reorganization Act of 1834, was passed. It allowed the Army to quarantine Indians so that they could assimilate enough civilization to take their place "in the mainstream of American life." This supposedly would occur in about thirty years.³⁰

Many Indians did not want to move from their homes and relocate in the west, but they had no real choice. President Jackson did more than encourage them to move; he often backed up his orders with military force. The Creeks had a treaty which stated that they could either remain on the land or move westward. But by 1836 they were forcibly removed. The Sauk were driven from their homes and forced

²⁹Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, pp. 16-17; Embry, America's Concentration Camps, p. 6; and Prucha, American Indian Policy, pp. 59-60.

to leave their possessions and food supplies behind. Chief Black Hawk sent some of his men to negotiate with the military, but the white flags were ignored and they were fired upon. When the Indians attempted to return home, there were several skirmishes. This was known as the Black Hawk War and hundreds of Indians died. In all cases the conditions of migration cost many Indian lives and sadly depleted the population of Indian tribes. By 1835 most of the Indians had been removed, except for some who stayed on small eastern reservations. The Cherokees fought it as long as they could. But in 1838 they embarked on the "Trail of Tears" in which 4,000 Cherokees lost their lives. The Winnebagos were sent to "Indian Country" in 1840 because the lead miners did not want them around. About half of the tribe was lost.31

As early as 1831 Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, created a seven-point program which was intended to soften the impact of removal and improve the terrible conditions in which the Indians found themselves. These points were:

(1) A solemn declaration that the country assigned to the Indians would be theirs forever and a determination that white settlement would never encroach upon it

(2) A determination, accompanied by proper surveillance and proper policing, to exclude all liquor from the Indians' new territory

(3) The employment of adequate military force in the vicinity of the Indians in order to prevent hostility between the tribes

(4) Encouragement to the Indians to adopt severalty of property

(5) Assistance to all who needed it for opening farms and procuring domestic animals and agricultural implements

(6) Leaving untouched as much as possible the peculiar institutions and customs of the Indians

(7) Employment of persons to instruct the Indians, as far and as fast as they were capable

The government promised the Indians to keep intruders off their lands, but this was a promise which it could not keep. In many cases white settlers had moved onto Indian land before the territory became a state or before the state ratified certain laws. The settlers began to consider the land their own while it was not under federal jurisdiction, and they were not at all eager to give it up after conditions changed. There was an atmosphere of unrest, anxiety, and mistrust that often led to uprisings and massacres on both sides. The government itself contributed to the confusion. Treaties and the boundaries established by them were often vague and not immediately enforced. Government leaders wanted to prevent trespassing on Indian lands and to preserve peace, but they also wanted to see the frontier move westward.

The Spaniards had attempted to convey the Pueblos to Catholicism in the 1500s. But missions and mission

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32Prucha, American Indian Policy, pp. 256-57.

33Ibid., chap. 7 passim.
schools were not generally established for all Indians on reservations before the latter part of the nineteenth century. The purpose of these schools was to teach the Indians domestic skills in order to prepare them to live as white settlers did. Academic courses were deemphasized or left out completely. Commissioner Crawford in 1838 believed that "to teach a savage man to read, while he continues a savage in all else, is to throw seed on a rock. Manual labor schools are what the Indian condition calls for." The idea was that teaching Indians to be farmers would calm a wandering spirit and soften warlike tendencies. It was suggested that when a group of Indians learned agricultural techniques, they should be given sections of land and tools so that they could earn their own living, set a good example for other Indians, and act as mediators between the two societies. Many people feared that Indian children who acquired an education would go back to the reservation and forget their skills or waste them. During the 1830s and 1840s the learning of manual skills was emphasized for the total population, not just for Indians. In 1842 BIA operated thirty-seven Indian schools. In 1848 a total of 103 schools were provided for Indians in nineteen different tribes. Eighty-seven of these were boarding schools and sixteen were manual labor schools.

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34 Fey and McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, p. 65.
The proponents of Indian education felt that it would cure all the ills of the Indians and they were eager that their programs be successful. Government agencies accepted increasing responsibility for education. In 1835 a report by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs indicated that 1700 Indian children had been educated and were able to read and write both English and their native language correctly. Some had become teachers or were in other professions.  

As peaceful relationships were established with the Indians, and more concern was given to their education and economic development, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was removed from the War Department. In 1849 it was transferred to the Department of the Interior and has remained there. The chief officer is the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. He gets his authority from the Secretary of the Interior. The Bureau is expected to fulfill three basic functions: (1) to implement the federal programs which Congress authorizes, (2) to act as guardian of Indian lands and physical resources, and (3) to create conditions under which Indian groups may become self-sustaining and autonomous. The Bureau did not at first want the responsibility of providing an education for the Indians; it

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36 Harmon, *Sixty Years of Indian Affairs*, pp. 351, 354-57.

was more or less thrust upon them. But education became one of its main functions.

The year 1860 marked the beginning of a period of apathy concerning the welfare of the Indians. Most people were deeply involved in the Civil War and were seriously concerned about the future of the country. The Indians were neutral during this war and Indian land became a kind of "no man's land" between the two battle fronts. The Indians were still considered wards of the government. During this time poverty, disease, and death increased on the reservations. The situation for the Indians grew progressively worse. At this time there were still skirmishes between the Indians and the settlers, and treaties were still being made.

The spoken objective was Americanization of the Indians. But the real objective was to keep Indian groups isolated and out of the public affairs of other Americans. The intention was to Christianize and civilize the Indians and to replace their cultural patterns and values with those of Anglo society. Then, when they were no longer visibly different, they would be accepted into Anglo society. The Anglos felt that the Indians should first earn acceptance. The segregation and isolation, however, retarded assimilation and made educational and economic progress difficult.

The first federal boarding school was established on the Yakima Reservation in Washington in 1860. Like the mission schools, its goal was the assimilation of the Indians. These educators and administrators wanted "to free the children from the language and habits of their untutored and sometimes savage parents." In 1864 the Navajos and the Apaches took "The Long Walk" to the Pecos Country to be "quarantined for civilization." This segregation of the Indians destroyed the chances for structural assimilation, or at least, retarded the process drastically.

In 1871 Congress passed a law to stop the making of treaties with Indian tribes. Presumably the fighting would cease for good. But that same year many frontiersmen began wholesale killing of the buffalo, and others began exploring Indian burial grounds to find bones to be used by button manufacturers. In 1876 George Armstrong Custer and his men were killed when they "surprised" the Indians camping on the banks of the Little Big Horn River.

The Americanization process was directed toward the children and intensified. It was thought that removing

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41 Steiner, The New Indians, pp. 318-22.
Indian children from their families and reservations would make it easy to destroy the influence of their culture and to prepare them to live in white society. The man who initiated this idea as a policy for the assimilation of the Indians was R. H. Pratt, an Army lieutenant who later became a general. The first off-reservation boarding school for Indians was established at Carlisle Barracks in Pennsylvania in 1879. The first recorded school for Navajos was a day school that was established in 1870. The first Navajo boarding school was located at Fort Defiance in 1883. During the 1880s BIA also adopted this practice and established boarding schools in several states for the purpose of removing Indian children from the reservation for their education. During the next thirty years many children were forced to leave their parents and attend boarding schools hundreds of miles away from their homes. These early boarding schools were often converted Army Barracks and the official in charge was often a military officer. The program was highly regimented and children were not allowed to leave and visit their homes. They were also forbidden to speak their native languages or to practice native customs. Students wore uniforms, marched, drilled, and had reveille and retreat. The administrators were very strict.

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42 Waddell and Watson, Indian in Urban Society, p. 35.
43 First National Indian Workshop, p. 139.
students did return to the reservation after their schooling was completed, and discovered that they could no longer be a part of the Indian world. They were never completely accepted in white society either and became marginal persons, belonging totally to neither society. Some, however, did enter Anglo society successfully. The underlying motive in boarding schools, as it was in the Allotment Act later, was to destroy tribalism. In 1881 BIA was operating 106 federal schools for Indians.\textsuperscript{44}

In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act (24 Statute 388) which was also known as the Dawes General Allotment Act.\textsuperscript{45} The self-interest motive behind this act was to open up westward lands for white settlement and to remove reservations which were acting as barriers to westward expansion. Western lands had been made more desirable by the discovery of gold in 1849. But the act was rationalized as an attempt to hasten the assimilation and social and economic welfare of the Indians. The proponents of this method believed that living in tribes on large areas of land reinforced the Indian culture and made their education and acculturation more difficult. An agent to one of the Sioux tribes summed up this position: "As long as Indians live in villages they will retain many of their old and injurious habits. Frequent feasts, heathen ceremonies and

\textsuperscript{44}Josephy, Red Power, p. 170.

\textsuperscript{45}Steiner, The New Indians, pp. 318-22.
dances, constant visiting--these will continue as long as people live together in close neighborhoods and villages. I trust that before another year is ended they will generally be located upon individual land or farms. From that date will begin their real and permanent progress."

It was assumed by many that dividing Indian lands into small parcels would encourage them to develop a spirit of competition, pride in individual ownership, efficiency in farming, an aversion to their former culture, and the ambition to become a "good American." But Senator Teller of Colorado correctly described the Allotment Act as "a bill to despoil the Indians of their lands and to make them vagabonds on the face of the earth."47

This act contained five major provisions. (1) The President was authorized to divide tribal lands into plots, giving to each family head 160 acres, to each single person eighteen years old and over or orphans under eighteen years old 80 acres, and to each other single person under eighteen years old 40 acres. (2) Each person was allowed to make his own selection, but if he neglected or refused to do this, a government agent would make the selection for him. (3) Title to the land remained in trust for twenty-five years or more at the President's discretion. (4) Those Indians who participated in the allotment policy and all

47 Ibid., pp. 47-49.
Indians who rejected the Indian way of life and accepted "the habits of civilized life" were awarded citizenship. (5) After all eligible Indians were given their shares of the land, the Secretary of the Interior had the right to buy the remaining land for the United States government. The proceeds from these purchases was to be used for the education and civilization of the tribe which had owned the land. The General Allotment Act did not apply to the Five Civilized Tribes, the New York Senecas, or to several other tribes in Indian Territory. At a later time, however, the Five Civilized Tribes were included under it.

The Allotment Act drastically reduced the amount of land on which the Indians were expected to live. It perhaps did more than any other measure to decrease Indian self-sufficiency and morale. Its effect was to increase poverty, and to increase resentment and suspicion of all government policies thereafter. During the next forty-seven years, of the 138 million acres of land owned by the Indians about 90 million acres were transferred to white owners, leaving the Indians with approximately 48 million acres. There were 246,569 allotments made which totalled about 41 million acres. In 1934 when the parceling was stopped, the remainder of the 48 million acres had not yet been put into allotments.

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48 Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, pp. 18-19; Fey and McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, p. 74; and McNickle, Indian Tribes, pp. 48-49.

49 Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, p. 20.
At first the lands of the Pueblos were managed in a different way from those of other Indians. They had obtained grants of land from the Spanish Crown. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided that those people living on the lands newly acquired as a result of the Mexican War who were former citizens of Mexico would become United States citizens unless they moved to lands that were not owned by the United States. Thus the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico were considered citizens in 1887 and most other Indians were not. While the Indian lands of New Mexico were not under the special protection of the government, three thousand white squatters and their families, numbering about twelve thousand people, had moved onto these lands. In 1913 the court changed its policy and put these Indian lands under the jurisdiction of the Federal government, meaning that the Indians could no longer sell their own land without government permission. Then a Senator named Bursum initiated the Bursum Lands Bill in 1922. This bill attempted to allow the white settlers to keep the lands on which they had settled, because the settlers had believed that the land was open to settlement, had developed it, and now had their future firmly entrenched in it. The effect of this bill was that it required the original owners of the land (the Indians) to prove their right to it.\(^\text{50}\)

\(^{50}\)Fey and McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, p. 83; McNickle, Indian Tribes, pp. 53-54; and Waddell and Watson, Indian in Urban Society, p. 40.
At this time, many white people began to rally to the Indian cause. In 1922 many private citizens began to speak out for the Indians, and they made the public aware of the unfairness of this and other laws. John Collier was one of the strongest supporters of the Indians. He later became Commissioner of Indian Affairs and initiated many government reforms to help them. The Indians also took a firmer stand and insisted on their rights. The Pueblos had not acted aggressively since 1680 when they had joined together and had driven the Spanish conquerors from their lands. It had always been their policy throughout history to retreat from violent actions and to remain separate from other groups. But now in 1922 they exerted a unified action to protect their homes and land. Nineteen Pueblos in New Mexico sent representatives to Santo Domingo and created the All Pueblo Council. Their action and the rise of public opinion favorable to them resulted in the creation of other groups to protect the Indians from exploitation. Congress established the Pueblo Lands Board. The New Mexico Association of Indian Affairs, which was later to become known as the Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs, came into being, and the Eastern Association on Indian Affairs was formed. The latter would eventually become the National Association on American Indian Affairs. The concerted actions of these groups succeeded in defeating the Bursum Bill. In 1924 Congress passed the Pueblo Lands Act which provided either for restoration of the land to the Indians or for reparation
payments to be made to them.\textsuperscript{51}

During the decade of the 1920s both government agencies and the general public became increasingly aware of the injustices done to the Indians. As long as Indians were not considered to be citizens they could not obtain government aid for their special problems in economics, health, and education. They were "neither citizen nor alien." They were essentially "prisoners of war where no state of war existed."\textsuperscript{52}

In 1924 Congress passed a law which provided United States citizenship and the right to vote to all Indians who lived within the country's borders. This was the Act of June 2, 1924 (43 Statute 253) and was known as the Citizenship Act. The benefits of citizenship did not come to the Indians of New Mexico and Arizona until 1948.\textsuperscript{53}

This act still did not give the Indians the right of self-determination. It was learned that the schools were providing an education which would not enable Indian children to be successful adults. The skills necessary for performing agricultural and industrial jobs were not being taught. They were being taught only menial jobs. The Indians were seldom consulted on matters of their

\textsuperscript{52}McNickle, \textit{Indian Tribes}, p. 55.  
\textsuperscript{53}Steiner, \textit{The New Indians}, pp. 233, 318-22.
education and the management of their own land.  

When the Indians became United States citizens, their education became the responsibility of individual states. This presented a financial problem, for educational needs are met in part by state and local taxation. Since the Indians had been placed on large reservations which were not taxed, those states which had large Indian populations had less money to spend on education. In addition, some of the states to which Indian tribes had been removed were poor in natural resources and therefore could not raise an amount of money large enough to maintain a high standard of education.

In accordance with the humanitarian concern which was prevalent in the 1920s, the Federal government in 1926 authorized an investigation of the economic and social conditions of the Indians. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, requested that the investigation be carried out by the Institute for Government Research. Lewis Meriam and a group of other researchers were appointed to perform this task. For the first time an objective and detailed analysis of the current situation of the Indians was made. It was discovered that during the years of government trusteeship, the economic and social status of the Indians had become a condition of rapid and progressive deterioration.  

The Meriam Report was a major catalyst in the movement for

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54 Embry, America's Concentration Camps, p. 35.
55 McNickle, Indian Tribes, pp. 55-56.
educational and economic reform. It initiated reforms in the educational system and sponsored innovations in Indian administration.

Until this time the people of the United States had realized that Indians suffered from poverty, poor health, and poor educational facilities, but they assumed that these problems would disappear as they were assimilated into American society and dissolved their tribal organizations. The Meriam Report disproved this fallacy in thinking. It stated that the Indians were definitely not headed for extinction, that they would likely retain their tribal status in most cases, and that their problems must immediately be solved. The report was called "The Problem of Indian Administration" and was published in 1928. It was a survey of the existent condition of Indians. It was the first action which clearly established the duties and the functions of the agencies which administered Indian affairs. True administration began in that year.56

This committee felt that the situation of the Indians would be remedied by gradual assimilation. They did believe, however, that the Indians should have a choice in the kind of life they wanted. The members of the committee felt that it was unwise to try to legislate conformity as had been done in the past. Education was considered the most perfect medium through which to promote this

56 Fey and McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, p. 191.
assimilation. They stated that "the fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian service be recognized as primarily educational in the broadest sense of the word, and that it be made an efficient educational agency, devoting its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians, so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or be fitted to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency."57

The ideas carried in the Meriam Report gained support from other citizens and special interest groups. Assimilation was considered to be the ultimate goal. These groups seldom asked the Indians what they wanted, but they did give more consideration to Indian needs as they understood them.

Frank Wilson Blackmar, a professor at the University of Kansas, probably meant cultural assimilation when he spoke of the conditions necessary for "The Socialization of the American Indian" in 1929. He perceived that even with the assistance of BIA, the Indian situation was critical. He felt that Indians should gradually be weaned from their dependence on the Federal government. He believed that Indians needed to learn more initiative and become "socialized" into the white man's way of life so that they could really function in that society instead of just

57 McNickle, Indian Tribes, pp. 56-57.
working for Indians or for the government. He also thought that the individual states should accept responsibility for their Indian populations. 58

Blackmar also cited statistics which indicated that the Indian population was increasing, not decreasing as many had believed. Improvements which had been made in health services and in the care of children had led to an increase in the total population of Indians, and to a great increase in the number of Indian children of school age. The greater number of school-age children made improvements in education imperative. 59

The Meriam Report was the first really big step in the reform of the educational system of the Indians. As a result of that report more day schools were built on reservations so that children and parents would not be separated. It was proposed that the children not be sent to boarding schools when there was another alternative. Indian children were to be provided with more specialized training so that they would have the special skills necessary to perform certain jobs. Teaching standards were raised. The Indian languages were again used in schools where they had previously been forbidden. 60


59 Ibid., p. 653.

Because of the Allotment Act, Indians had lost 90 million acres of land. This loss had been a major factor in the increase in poverty and helplessness of the Indians. The Meriam Report of 1922 attacked this condition and caused the parceling of Indian land to slow down drastically.  

In 1933 the United States government began to act on the recommendations of the Meriam Report. This was the year in which Franklin Delano Roosevelt began his first term of office as president. The Congress and the Presidency began to make major revisions in Indian policy. There was an attempt to improve and develop the resources on Indian land for Indian use. Also in 1933 John Collier became Commissioner of Indian affairs. He held this position longer than any other commissioner in history. It was his belief that BIA should not be the exclusive agency in charge and that the Bureau should be a servicing agency, coordinator, regulator, and evaluator for the activities which were carried out. He maintained that "the new Indian policy must be built around the group-dynamic potentials of Indian life." 

The Meriam Report had suggested that more Indian children be educated in public schools and that they should

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61 Fey and McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans*, p. 93.
63 Waddell and Watson, *Indian in Urban Society*, pp. 43-44.
receive the same services as did other citizens. In the early 1930s, in order to meet this need, Congress passed legislation which allowed BIA to contract with state, local, and private educational, health, and welfare agencies to provide their special services to the Indians. This was the Johnson O'Malley Act. Needy school districts could obtain Federal financial aid through this act after they had first received aid from other sources. The Johnson O'Malley Act also provided for special educational needs which were not a part of the regular school program. Some programs funded by Johnson O'Malley trained teachers in special skills necessary for teaching Indians, and provided for the training of counselors in public schools. This act provided for special education teachers such as reading specialists and teachers of slow learners, and for special education facilities and programs such as textbooks, field trips, hot lunches, and transportation to school.

The Indian Reorganization Act II, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, went into effect June 18, 1934. It implemented many of the recommendations of the Meriam Act. This act enabled the Indians to maintain tribal status and to regain lost land. The Meriam Report had slowed down the process of segmentation of Indian land which had been authorized by the Allotment Act; the IRA put a complete

64 Ibid., p. 43.
stop to this parceling. It decreed that no Indian lands
could be disposed of without the approval of the Secretary
of the Interior. This prevented land speculators from
exploiting the need of Indians for money. Besides stopping
the division of tribal lands, it provided for the land
which had been set aside as surplus land available to
individual land entrepreneurs to be restored to the Indian
tribes. It also provided for an annual appropriation of
$2 million to be used to buy additional land for Indians
to use. Acquiring land holdings to replace what had been
lost helped the Indian tribes to rebuild their societies.
The IRA encouraged self-government and self-determination.
Tribes were allowed to incorporate and to maintain a
government of their own. This government could be based on
either formal documents or on custom. Other sections of
the bill provided for their economic development and for
conservation of their soil and timber. A revolving loan
fund was provided to aid those who wished to develop
businesses and industries. The Bureau of Indian Affairs
established a system of giving Indians special preference
when hiring people to fill BIA positions. Each tribe
could choose to accept or reject IRA policies, based on a
majority vote of all tribal members. Of 263 tribes, 192
accepted IRA, and 71 rejected it.66

66Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business,
p. 20; Crow, "Schools for the First Americans," p. 18; Fey
and McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, p. 96; McNickle,
Indian Tribes, p. 58; and Waddell and Watson, Indian in
Urban Society, p. 43.
The period of the Indian Reorganization Act was a period of a reawakening of the Indian to his potential greatness and a restirring of the consciences of white Americans. This Act has often been called "The Indian New Deal." It became the core of Indian policy for a fifteen-year period after its initiation, until other circumstances altered its influence. Some of the objectives of Indian policies were modified and an attempt was made to restore dignity and economic well-being to Indian people. Public opinion moved toward indignation and anger at the injustices and exploitation suffered by the Indians. 67

The Indian Reorganization Act was an implementation of the policy of the courts; a policy based on the 1830 rulings of Justice John Marshall had established that Indian tribes had the inherent right to govern themselves. The act was administered while John Collier, appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1934, was in office. Collier was a strong champion of the Indian cause and worked very hard to establish an atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation. He became well known for his programs of assistance to the Indians. 68

Because of the implementation of IRA policies, Indians vastly improved their way of life. Regaining some

67 Embry, America's Concentration Camps, p. 195 and Fey and McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, pp. 94, 98.

68 Josephy, Red Power, p. 44 and McNickle, Indian Tribes, p. 58.
of their lost land and obtaining funds to work with enabled them to build better livestock herds and to improve agricultural methods, thus increasing their income. They were less likely to be victims of the exploitation of land seekers as they became more financially secure. Through conservation of soil, water, vegetation, and timber, the land and its treasures were made secure for posterity. This also increased self-sufficiency and independence. Indians were not required to pass Civil Service examinations in order to obtain jobs in BIA. This partially alleviated the unemployment situation, and placed them in positions where they could be part of the decision-making processes which affected their people. Programs were initiated to revive interest in Indian arts and crafts and to restore pride in Indian culture. Provision was made for those who wished to have careers in native arts and crafts. Section II of IRA provided for as much as $250,000 annually to be loaned to Indian students. These loans were used to pay tuition and other expenses in vocational and trade schools and colleges. The conditions under which these loans were to be repaid were established by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A better quality of education provided Indians with specific skills which could be used in available jobs. The goal of IRA was to give assistance to Indians so that they would be able to rule their own affairs. Various Indian tribes united and established organizations through which they could become more autonomous and control their
In 1934 the six independent Navajo agencies were unified and centralized into the Navajo Agency and set up a headquarters at Window Rock, Arizona. The Navajo Agency now functions through the general superintendent at Window Rock.  

The Federal government has both helped and hindered the progress of the Indians. Many government programs have been beneficial and are vital to their economic and educational welfare. Often government officials have made mistakes because they decided what they thought was best for the Indians without first asking them what they wanted. The IRA made more progress than ever had been made before in helping Indians to gain autonomy and self-determination. While many people were sincere in their humanitarian concern for the Indians, they still felt that assimilation was the ultimate goal. Many Indians did not feel this way. The pressure toward assimilation eventually caused the Indians to distrust and reject government programs.

On June 4, 1936, 49 Statute 1458 gave financial assistance to those areas which had large blocks of nontaxable

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69 Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, p. 21; Embry, America's Concentration Camps, p. 200; Josephy, Red Power, pp. 43-44; and McNickle, Indian Tribes, p. 160.


71 Fey and McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, pp. 158-74 passim.
land located within a school district. This law also provided financial assistance to districts which enrolled many children who had a different culture and a different language background from the majority of students. It was hoped that this would alleviate the problems of poor school districts and allow them to provide special programs to bridge the communication gap between Indian Americans and Anglo-Americans.72

In 1940 Congress provided for naturalization procedures for Indians to become citizens.73

The entrance of the United States into World War II brought many changes. The IRA had then only been in operation for seven years and its programs were working well. But with the war many of the leaders of these programs were lost. Indian leaders from the local community left to fight in the war. During and after the war less BIA money was appropriated for Indian programs. With so many Indian leaders gone from the reservation and a slackening of initiative in the implementation of special programs, physical plants, schools, roads, hospitals, vehicles, telephone systems, and other facilities deteriorated. During this time there was more retrogression than progress. People began to question whether Indians


were ready to manage their own affairs. 74

So doubt was cast on the efficiency of IRA programs because people felt that Indians were not being assimilated fast enough. In 1944 the O'Connor-Mundt House Committee on Indian Affairs launched an investigation. They concluded that IRA has in some cases helped the Indians, but that inadequate land, educational programs, and health programs together with government failure to settle claims and to consolidate land tracts owned by several heirs had retarded assimilation. 75 Also in 1944, in accordance with their desire to gain power through unified effort, over forty Indian tribes sent representatives to form the National Congress of American Indians. 76

World War II also worked as an impetus toward assimilation. New experiences and new relationships in the armed services caused the Indian soldier to be different from other Indians on the reservation. The material culture of the Indians was changed in many instances. Resistance to the "white man's way" was strengthened in other instances. John Adair believed that World War II and the conditions which grew out of it changed drastically the lives of the Navajos and the Pueblos and had a great impact on their cultures. 77

75 Ibid.
76 McNickle, *Indian Tribes*, p. 60.
77 Fey and McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans*, p. 183.
In 1946 Congress established the Indian Claims Commission. The job of this organization was to make sure that Indians were compensated for land they had lost.78

Then in 1947 came the Marshall Plan which inspired people to try to solve the problems of the United States at home instead of those abroad. Many people took closer looks at the problems of the Navajos and the Hopis, and visited the Pueblos to see what needed to be done for them. Because they share the same geographic location the Navajos and the Hopis have faced similar problems in economics, education, and health. The Hopi reservation is surrounded by the Navajo reservation. On December 2, 1947 President Truman became concerned about the poverty and lack of education of Navajos and Hopis. He asked Congress to appropriate $2 million to be used to help the Navajo and Hopi Indians to improve their economic and educational status. The blizzard which occurred during the winter of 1948-49 resulted in the starvation and death of many of the people in these tribes. Thus on April 1, 1950 Congress authorized the spending of $88,570,000 over a ten-year period. This was more than Truman had initially requested, but was to be extended over a longer period of time. This money was to be used for a concerted attack on all the problems that were faced by the Indians on these reservations.79

79 Fey and McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, pp. 184-85.
The economic and social problems of these Indians was to be given top priority among federal programs. Navajos and Hopis were to be given first consideration in the recruitment of construction workers on special projects. This helped in reducing unemployment. In addition, BIA was to consult with the Indians periodically and make yearly progress reports.80

The Meriam survey of twenty years before had set in motion a chain of events that would help Indians to achieve greater independence and self-sufficiency. They learned a great deal about planning and administration, and began to initiate their own programs and to establish their own goals.81

In 1953 the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs went to see many tribal leaders. Together they discussed some of the problems and established programs and policies that would benefit Indians.82 In this same year reports stated that more than 75 percent of all Indian tribes were administering their affairs according to the guidelines which had been established by IRA. This showed that the Indians wanted to accept the responsibility for the management of their own affairs, and that the IRA programs were worthwhile and successful.83

80 Ibid., p. 186. 81 Ibid., pp. 186-87.
83 Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, pp. 21-22.
Unfortunately, it was also during the 1950s that many people began to consider termination of the Indians' special relationship with the Federal government as the best policy. It was believed that this would speed up the assimilation of Indians into the American stream of life. In 1949 the Hoover commission stated that it would be expedient to terminate the federal trusteeship of some Indian tribes. Then in 1953 the Eighty-Third Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108 which would terminate all Indian tribes. This resolution was never a law, but the actions and attitudes of federal and state leaders gave it the effect of one. The intention was to free Indians from the supervision and control of the Federal government, to end their status as wards of the Federal government, and to give them the same rights and responsibilities that other American citizens had. The Indians, however, were already citizens and had been since a federal law in 1924 had given them citizenship. They already had the same privileges and responsibilities of other citizens. Wardship did not mean that they suffered under federally imposed restrictions; it meant that through treaties and covenants of former years both parties had agreed to certain laws that would insure the maintenance of tribal laws and the protection of reservation lands. These same treaties had provided for improvements in education and in health and in the general economic condition of Indians. Indians paid federal and state taxes just as non-Indians did. One
restriction that non-Indians did not have was a federal law that prohibited selling liquor to Indians. This was partly because Indian leaders feared the effects of alcohol on their people. It was an attempt to maintain peaceful relationships between Indians and non-Indians. Drinking had, in the past, often led to fighting. This prohibition was repealed in 1953.84

The termination policy of 1953 sought to transfer most of the responsibility for the Indians to the individual states. The states would be responsible for the administration of Indian lands and for education. Federal assistance and federal control would be ended. This also meant that the United States government would be released from the promises made under treaties. It was assumed that Indians would become more independent, would leave the reservations, and would take on all the aspects of non-Indians. This policy negated much of the good that had been accomplished through the Indian Reorganization Act.

Two tribes, the Klamath and the Menominee, were terminated, and the results were disastrous. Poverty, unemployment, poor quality education, and poor health were their lot. When they became frustrated at their inability to succeed in the technological society and alienated by their inability to adjust to a more modern life style, they no longer had the security and assistance of tribe and

84 Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, pp. 22-23 and Josephy, Red Power, p. 44.
family to sustain them. In all cases where termination policies were applied, the Indians suffered. They feared the loss of government assistance and protection. Many spoke out against the termination policy. They wanted greater power in the direction of their programs, but they desperately needed federal assistance in many areas. Public opinion was generally against termination and for the welfare of the Indians. 85

Gradually the move to terminate Indian tribes and their special relationship with the Federal government died out. This was partly due to the fact that in 1956, 1958, and 1960 many new congressmen were elected who did not favor the idea. On September 18, 1958 Secretary of Interior Fred A. Seaton announced that from that time on no tribe would be terminated without its consent. He further stated that the Federal government would again direct its efforts toward the development of good programs of health, education, and economic welfare of the Indians. Many Indians still feared that termination would later be proposed again. They often see the threat of termination in present programs and demand reassurance that this will not be written into any program. 86

Some good programs were initiated in the 1950s and are still being continued. Public Law 874 (64 Statute 1100)

85Josephy, Red Power, p. 45.
86McNickle, Indian Tribes, pp. 61-62.
was passed by the Eighty-First Congress in 1953 and amended August 13, 1950. It was administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It made more federal aid available to many school districts which educated Indian children. This law, along with Public Law 815 which was passed in 1953, and 69 Statute 713 which was passed in 1955, provided for the education of Indian children who lived on tax free land under the same "federal impact" program that educated non-Indian children who lived on federal property. This caused an increase in the enrollment of Indian children in public schools, helping to fulfill the goal of BIA to educate as many Indians as possible in public school.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs established a Branch of Relocation in the 1950s. In the 1960s the services of this new organization were expanded and it became known as Employment Assistance. The primary concern of this agency was to provide vocational and remedial training to prepare Indians to enter trade school and to make available to reservation Indians courses that would help them to adjust to living cities. It also helped them to find jobs and provided money for transportation to the job location and for living expenses incurred before the first paycheck. Then the agency would maintain contact with the Indian and

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88 Dozier, Simpson, and Yinger, "Integration of Indians," p. 163.
his family for about a year so that it could offer assistance if there were problems in adjustment. 89

On August 3, 1956, Public Law 84-956 made vocational education available to Indians who needed more training to be eligible for a job. 90 Also in 1956, Adult Education programs were begun on five reservations. During the period from 1955 to 1957 the Indian leaders began to accept more responsibility in the administration of education. They helped revise curriculum and made sure that Indian cultural goals were a part of the education system. 91

There were still conflicting opinions about what the goals of Indian policy should be and about the methods used to accomplish these goals. Many people still believed that assimilation and eventual termination of government aid was the best solution, but they did not think the Indians were yet "ready" to assume control over their own affairs. Many reports had been made, but most of these had been scholarly studies and the Indians had seldom been asked what they themselves wanted. A study was needed for the clarification of goals and procedures.

President John F. Kennedy and others in the administration that went into office in 1961 appointed a Task Force on Indian Affairs to study the needs of the

89 Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, pp. 102-3.

90 Ibid., p. 103.

91 First National Indian Workshop, p. 140.
Indians and to make recommendations for the solutions to their problems. This committee was headed by W. W. Keeler, principal chief of the Cherokee Nation and executive vice president of Phillips Petroleum Company. Other members of the committee were anthropologist Philleo Nash, E. Officer, and William Zimmerman, Jr. They consulted with leaders of various Indian organizations, with BIA department heads, with land management administrators, with tribal leaders, and with tribal delegations. A questionnaire made available the responses of individual Indians. Various tribes throughout the nation were represented.\textsuperscript{92}

The report suggested these objectives for BIA: (1) maximum Indian economic self-sufficiency, (2) full participation of Indians in American life, and (3) equal citizenship privileges and responsibilities.\textsuperscript{93}

This report was one of the first studies made after the termination policy. In many areas it was an enlightened report. The Task Force stated that excessive emphasis on termination had been detrimental to the welfare of the Indians and had made them suspicious of and hostile to many government programs. They felt that termination had been attempted prematurely and that Indians still needed


assistance in their social, economic, and political development.  

Termination is still included as one of the goals of BIA:

(1) To create conditions under which the Indians will advance their social, economic and political adjustment to achieve a status comparable to that of their non-Indian neighbors.

(2) To encourage Indians and Indian tribes to assume an increasing measure of self-sufficiency.

(3) To terminate, at appropriate times, Federal supervision and services to Indians.

The members of the Task Force felt that the Bureau had overemphasized this third goal and had neglected the first and second. They indicated that BIA was trying to raise the Indians quickly to a minimal level of development so that it could terminate its responsibility to them. The Task Force believed that Indian tribes would eventually achieve greater independence from the Federal government. But they believed that it would be gradual. Even those in favor of termination have recognized that Indians still have tremendous problems in health, education, and employment. They have also realized that many states where Indians live are too poor to assume full responsibility for their Indian population.

The earlier termination policy had been vigorously

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96 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
denounced by the Indians. This report by the Task Force of 1961 did not wholly reject termination. The report suggested withdrawal of aid to those Indians who are well-educated and financially secure. It further recommended that whenever available, state aid should be given instead of federal aid. The special consideration which is often given to Indians on the basis of race often breeds hostility toward them from non-Indians. So if federal aid would duplicate state aid, the state should provide programs which would benefit equally Indians and non-Indians. Also, Indian communities are capable of providing for their own in many ways, and must be allowed the responsibility of leadership in their own programs. The committee stated that no tribe should be terminated without its consent and recommended that the Indians be allowed to manage their own affairs in area where they are prepared to do so.\textsuperscript{97}

The Task Force maintained that the Indians should be consulted when programs are planned. They indicated that a program of development must be a cooperative effort. They believed that Indians have the ability to administer their own affairs and should use that ability whenever it is feasible.

Indians have ambivalent feelings about the Federal government. They realize that for many years to come they must depend on federal aid because their poverty and lack of economic resources necessitate it. They are still far behind

\textsuperscript{97}Ibid., pp. 6-7.
the non-Indian population in education and in health. Their unemployment rates are extremely high. But they resent the fact that federal agencies have so often attempted to change their social and political institutions and to adjust their cultural values to fit those of non-Indians. The Task Force stated that Indians often do not understand that government aid must bring changes in their society. It is true that some Indians do strongly resist change and are reinforced by non-Indians who think that the Indian way of life is beautiful and simple and unspoiled and should be kept intact. Of course improved health practices and the introduction of modern technology and industries to the reservations will bring about change. But this writer detects a paternalistic and egocentric tone to the Task Force's report. The report indicates that Anglos know what is best, but that Indians will not alter their style of life in order to adjust to modern society. Those who wrote the report assume that the American industrial way of life provides most of the solutions to life's problems and should be the ultimate goal of all people. They do believe that Indians should be consulted about their desires when a protect is being initiated, but they still leave most of the final decision making to the Secretary of the Interior and to BIA. This paternalism again is evident in the suggestion that the Secretary of the Interior should help the Indians to manage their land and the income from it. Because of inheritance customs, some tracts of land owned
by Indians are very small and are dispersed over a wide area. The Task Force believed that the Secretary should take steps to insure that the interest from these holdings goes to the tribe rather than to individuals. They also felt that reservation Indians are often too susceptible to advice given them by city-bred Indians. They therefore accept aid that will be detrimental to them rather than beneficial. The Task Force believed that Indians often let people take advantage of them and that they needed government officials to help them make decisions. This writer believes that that puts BIA in the role of fatherly advisor, a role that has caused much resentment among the Indians.

The Task Force also maintained that Indians need more qualified attorneys that will help them settle claims regarding land and capital more quickly. This could assist them in the receiving of property and money which rightfully is theirs, and the proceeds from this money and property could be used for the benefit of the tribe sooner. Litigation has caused some Indian land to be wasted over a long period of time. More money would be made available to the reservations by allowing Indians to work at contract labor instead of giving the jobs to private contractors and their employees. The Task Force advocated a return to the "force account" with hiring preference given to local residents, rather than to those of a particular race. This would decrease Indian unemployment and lessen resentment of other

98 Ibid., pp. 3, 9-15 passim.
Many people feel that BIA does need to teach its employees more about Indian culture and Indian history. Many of those who have positions of authority in the Indian communities do not really understand the needs, desires, and attitudes of Indians. So there is often a conflict of goals. BIA has final authority over most tribal actions and in many cases influences the actions of individuals. When a tribe enters into a contract, uses tribal money in investments or expenditures, or amends its constitution, it must first obtain the consent of BIA. So there must be a common ground of understanding for the Bureau and the Indians. This situation is improving as more Indians train for positions of leadership in BIA and as more Indians are being educated who can act as spokesmen for their tribes.

The Task Force admitted that there was a lack of communication among Indians and non-Indians. They suggested an advisory board to assist in communication between the various tribes and to prevent the exploitation of Indian resources by special interest groups. They also suggested some changes in the structure of BIA, but they did not suggest that it be abolished. They stated that planning for the implementation of special projects should be more organized and thorough.

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99 Ibid., pp. 9-15 passim.
100 Josephy, Red Power, pp. 110-11.
The Task Force proposed that BIA review the constitutions of tribes and make recommendations for any changes that seem feasible. Some changes could be made in civil rights, in election procedures, and in the keeping of records. Tribes could use their taxing authority more than they do. Indians should understand this responsibility of living in a democracy and it would also provide more income to be used for the good of the tribe.\textsuperscript{102} This writer detects a tone of paternalism underlying these proposals in the assumption that BIA knows what is best. They do, however, believe that Indian consent should be obtained before initiating any kind of reform program.

An attitude which pervades the entire report is that Indians should be encouraged to develop and use their own resources. More schools should be established on the reservations and existent schools should be improved. Parents should be involved in school planning, in anticipation of the time when education will become the responsibility of local school districts.\textsuperscript{103} They need money and personnel, however, to improve education procedures. More funds are needed for vocational training and placement. The establishment of industrial sites on the reservation would be a boon to the economy. Counselors could be hired to prepare Indians for the kind of life which comes with industrialism. Indians sometimes fear that relocation is leading them toward termination and need to be reassured.

\textsuperscript{102}Ibid., p. 71.  \textsuperscript{103}Ibid., p. 25.
that it is not.\textsuperscript{104}

Young people, the Task Force said, should be encouraged to return to the reservation and use their leadership skills and special talents to help their people. Many are not made aware of the challenges and rewards which come with working in tribal government and on tribal enterprises. The Navajos have included training for reservation leadership in their education program.\textsuperscript{105}

The Task Force maintained that arts and crafts should be encouraged and funded. Many families have members who are skillful in various Indian arts and it is used as supplementary income. These talented people are much underpaid. If they were paid more it could become a vocation for some and a source of pride for all Indians and would foster greater understanding of and respect for Indian culture.\textsuperscript{106}

During the years from 1961 to 1969 many studies were made of the condition of the Indians. Some of these studies were sponsored by the government; some by other agencies. But many of the recommendations which the Indians especially wanted were never implemented. There were several reasons. Some programs were never initiated because people could not then understand their future significance to the Indians. Other policies required attitudinal changes that government employees and public leaders were not yet prepared to make.

\textsuperscript{104}Ibid., pp. 16-19. \textsuperscript{105}Ibid., pp. 70-71. \textsuperscript{106}Ibid., pp. 20-21.
Some recommendations were good, but those who suggested them did not have the necessary authority to implement them. The final decision rested with the Secretary of Interior or with BIA, and these agencies were often unable or unwilling to enforce them.\textsuperscript{107}

In September of 1961 a member of the Task Force of the Kennedy administration, Philleo Nash, succeeded John Crow as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and BIA began to put into effect some of the recommendations of the Task Force. During the next eight years many changes occurred in the administration of programs for the Indians. The Bureau made greatest advancement in education, vocational training and placement, housing, and industrial and community development. There was increasing emphasis on Indian self-determination and self-development.\textsuperscript{108}

In 1965 Congress set aside $66,882,000 to be used for Indian education. Part of this money was used to fulfill the requirements of the Johnson-O'Malley Act (48 Statute 596) of April 16, 1934. This law provided for the operation of federal schools and also provided funds for thirteen states, four school districts, and one hospital to enhance public instruction.\textsuperscript{109} The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 did not provide aid to federal schools, but gave assistance to public school districts which had families with

\textsuperscript{107}Josephy, \textit{Red Power}, p. 118. \textsuperscript{108}Ibid., pp. 119-20. \textsuperscript{109}Brophy and Aberle, \textit{America's Unfinished Business}, p. 149.
an annual income of less than $3,000. Many reservation families fall into this category.\textsuperscript{110}

The Economic Opportunity Act (78 Statute 508) with Title I, Title II, Title III, and Title V provided the monetary assistance and the training in organization and planning that enabled many tribes to achieve a greater degree of autonomy and to use their community resources. Through the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C. services in health, education, employment, vocational training, child welfare, and care for the aged were provided. Part-time employment for students was provided. Through OEO many tribes initiated experimental programs in education that later proved successful. A program in South Dakota which was financed for $265,000 was called the Northern Cheyenne Community Action Program and was primarily concerned with education. Another Community Action Program, the first to be established in Montana, included pre-school training, health, remedial reading, and pre-college training. The Community Action Program in Santa Clara, New Mexico, "Operation Head Start," was considered by OEO to be one of the nation's best pre-school programs.\textsuperscript{111}

as many as 717 Indian workers took advantage of on-the-job training during the fiscal year 1965. This was a ten percent increase over the preceding year.\textsuperscript{112}


\textsuperscript{111} Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, pp. 105-6.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., p. 104.
Since 1966 BIA has been increasing its efforts to improve the level of Indian education and to provide more educational and vocational opportunities. Of its 1966 budget of $205 million, it allocated $75 million for the education of Indian youth and $11.4 million for vocational training for adults. In addition to this, federal aid amounting to $12 million was available from the United States Office of Education for those states and local districts with Indians in public schools.\textsuperscript{113}

In 1966 some members of Congress spoke out for Indian self-determination. One of these was Senator George McGovern. He proposed a resolution in the Senate to provide more federal services to the reservations, and to grant Indians greater autonomy in the planning and execution of their programs. This resolution was never passed, but discussion of it strengthened the Indian movement toward self-determination. The paternalism of government employees lessened considerably during the decade of the 1960s.\textsuperscript{114}

Senator McGovern advocated the involvement of Indians in Indian-initiated programs. Employment in their own programs would encourage progress in the areas of health, education, and government where there had previously been resistance and misunderstandings between the cultures. He stated that Indian policy should be more consistent, should provide more adequate programs, and should seek new approaches.

\textsuperscript{113}Crow, "Schools for the First Americans," p. 19.
\textsuperscript{114}Josephy, Red Power, pp. 71-72.
and be more innovative in establishing programs of help for the Indians.\textsuperscript{115}

An article written in 1970 in \textit{U.S. News and World Report} discusses the trend toward Indian self-rule. Many programs are being planned and administered by Indians. Many Indians now hold the federal and local jobs through which the decisions are made concerning their lives. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1970, Louis R. Bruce, was an Indian and a proponent of self-determination. Mr. Bruce, in conjunction with Secretary of Interior Walter J. Hickel, using a law made in 1834 as a precedent, stated that any tribe which wanted to, could assume the control of any or all BIA programs on its reservation.\textsuperscript{116}

In line with this ruling the Zuni tribe assumed complete control of its reservation affairs on July 1, 1970. This is a tribe which has been relatively independent of the Federal government in the past. Their unity is based on a closely-knit family and community structure which has remained constant over one thousand years and is firmly entrenched in tradition. The Zunis adopted a plan of development which was to continue over a period of five years and would cost about $55 million. About forty-three projects were launched which had the objectives of increasing income, increasing educational opportunity, and improving living

\textsuperscript{115}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 73-75.

conditions. The job of the Bureau Superintendent was taken over by the tribal governor. Other non-Indian Bureau employees would remain in office only until Zunis could be trained to fill those positions. 117

In the same geographical area in Ramah, New Mexico, the Navajos agreed to assume the responsibility for the education of their high school students. Approximately 167 Navajo high school students from Ramah had been attending boarding schools at four different locations in three states. Many educational leaders believed that boarding schools were not meeting the students' needs. Attending public schools in which they were a minority had created added difficulties for Indian students. The school environment had created feelings of alienation because of the necessity of functioning and learning in a strange language and because of a lack of understanding of Indian values and culture. Now they would be able to attend schools close to their homes and the parents and other community members would have more opportunities for involvement in the educational system. The government would provide $368,000 a year—the same amount that it had previously spent to send them to boarding schools. 118

In the 1970s the Indians have a choice. They may elect to relocate and assimilate the values and lifestyle of the Anglo society or remain on the reservation and preserve their Indian culture and way of life. To those who wish to move to the city and start a new kind of life, the Bureau

117 Ibid. 118 Ibid., pp. 68-69.
provides employment assistance, moving expenses, occupational training, and support payments. Some Indians do not believe that the relocation program is successful; others believe that it has helped to alleviate problems. Many improvements have been made in the relocation program. It has been estimated that seventy percent of those who are relocated make the transition successfully. Many individuals relocate themselves without any government assistance. Of a population of 650,000 Indians in 1970, more than 200,000 were living in urban areas. Two-thirds were living on reservations. At least 134 industrial plants have been established on or near these reservations and more than 6,000 Indians have found employment within them. About a thousand Navajos are employed at Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation at Shiprock, New Mexico. Only about thirty of their employees are non-Indian. 119

On July 8, 1970 in a "Message to Congress on Indian Affairs," President Richard M. Nixon stated what Indian policy would be during the new administration. The speech was partially an attempt to reassure that the termination policy of 1953 would not be followed. He stated that termination was wrong because the special relationship between the Indians and the Federal government was the result of treaties and government promises, and was intended to partially alleviate the effects of previous injustices done to the Indians. He noted that in cases where termination had

119 Ibid., pp. 68, 70.
been attempted it had failed miserably and had moved Indian progress backward. It had also destroyed much of the trust between the Indians and the Federal government. The goal of the Federal government, he said, should be "...to strengthen the Indian's sense of autonomy without threatening his sense of community." He then pledged to ask for a resolution which would specifically denounce the previous termination policy and which would promise that all Indian tribes would continue to exist as political entities, "recognizing that cultural pluralism is a source of national strength." 120

President Nixon further stated that the Indians themselves should determine whether a proposed course of action would be valuable to them and whether it would be expedient to seek government aid for its fulfillment. He felt that Indian-controlled programs would be successful, for many such programs had already been proved to be quite beneficial. Through the influence of the Office of Economic Opportunity, at that time Indians were operating more than sixty community action agencies located on federal reservations. For four years many CEO-funded programs had been controlled by local Indian organizations, "and the results have been most heartening." 121

Some successful examples of Indian-controlled programs are cited by Josephy. The Salt River Tribe and the Zuni tribe have assumed control of practically all the programs which BIA had previously administered for them.

120 Josephy, Red Power, p. 228.  121 Ibid., p. 231.
Jobs which were performed by federal employees have become the responsibility of elected tribal officials or other tribal members. The Ramah Navajo Community in New Mexico, and Rough Rock and Black Water Schools in Arizona took over the administration of their own school systems. Both the Pima-Maricopa and the Zuni tribes have set up comprehensive plans for the economic development of their reservations. The Zuni Plan was to continue for five years and would use $55 million from the Department of Interior, Housing and Urban Development, Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Economic Development Administration.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY AND EDUCATION--THE CURRENT CONDITION

According to the 1960 report of the United States Bureau of the Census there were approximately 552,000 American Indians in the United States. This included 28,000 Aleuts and Eskimos. As methods of identification and counting became more exact and the Indian population increased this number rose to 600,000. In the 1970s there are over 800,000. There is an Indian population in all of the fifty states. They speak three hundred different languages, and each tribe has a distinctive culture and lifestyle. In 1960 about 200,000 (33 percent) of the Indians were living in urban areas. In the 1970s almost 42 percent of them have chosen an urban location. Most urban Indians have chosen the cities of the West and the Southwest for their homes.1

The remaining fifty-eight percent live on reservations. Statistics based on a report made in 1968 indicate that there are 282 Indian reservations which receive some type of aid from the Federal government, and there are thirty-eight other areas where the government maintains sections of land in trusteeship for the Indians. Some Indian areas, such as the Pueblos of New Mexico, the Colonies of Nevada, and the Rancherias of California are not usually referred to as reservations, but their status and relationship with the Federal government is generally the same and they are included in the number of reservations. Besides these, there are over one hundred government-owned areas of land in Alaska which are used by Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos. Some of the areas in California are only a few acres in size, while the Navajo reservation of fourteen million acres is the largest. Besides the Navajo, there are only ten reservations with more than a million acres—four in Arizona, two in Washington, two in South Dakota, one in Wyoming, and one in Montana. ²

The socioeconomic condition of Indian tribes has a profound influence on education. Children who are reared in an environment of poverty are generally disadvantaged in school. The successes or failures of the education system are mirrored in the conditions of employment, of health and the care of children, and of social adjustment to a changing society.

²Answers to Questions about American Indians, p. 15.
In the early 1960s disease and death rates were extremely high for the Indian population. Of one thousand Indian babies born, forty-three died before they were a year old. Infant mortality accounted for 21 percent of all Indian deaths while for the general population it accounted for only 6 percent of deaths. There were high rates of tuberculosis, malnutrition, and trachoma. Diseases which were considered mild in other societies were often catastrophic for the Indians. The average life expectancy for Indians was 42, compared to 62 for the general population.\(^3\)

Ninety percent of the Indians lived in substandard housing in the 1960s. More than fifty thousand Indian families lived in houses that were in poor condition and lacked running water, electricity, or adequate sanitary facilities. These conditions have changed some, but not nearly enough during the sixties and the early seventies.\(^4\) It is true that some Indians do not consider the lack of modern facilities to be a symptom of poverty, but it is possible that these living conditions are related to high rates of disease.

Statistics concerning the total Indian population often tend to hide the differences between tribes and specific areas of the country. On some reservations in the Southwest the Indians are very poor. The Navajo tribe is

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both the largest and the poorest in the United States. There are about 96,000 Navajos. Forty thousand of them are illiterate in the English language. In 1963, out of 33,734 Navajos who were employable, 23,334 (about two-thirds) were listed as unemployed. 5 That same year the United Pueblo Agency found that in eighteen New Mexican Pueblos 10,499 (77 percent) out of 13,711 in the labor force were unemployed. The unemployment rate at the pueblo of Acoma was 89.6 percent and the yearly income was from $500 to $1,000 per family. Other tribes in the Midwest and Southwest showed similar rates. Alaska had a much higher infant mortality rate, and Alaska and Arizona had a lower life expectancy than other Indian states. 6

In 1967 these statistics were published in the April issue of Education Age:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>General Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median Family Income</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
<td>$6,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Rate</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Schooling for Adults</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>11.7 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Life Expectancy</td>
<td>63.5 years</td>
<td>70.2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average School Dropout Rate</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth Rate (per 1,000 population)</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Steiner, "Ghettos in Desert," p. 624.
6 Ibid., pp. 624-25.
These statistics were quoted by Willard P. Bass and Henry G. Burger in "American Indians and Educational Laboratories" and subsequently became a part of the record in the Indian Education Hearings before the Senate in 1967.7

Here it can be seen that the average income of Indians is not quite one-fourth of that of the general population and their unemployment rate is ten times the national average. Of course it is the industrial society which organizes work and market-system payment so as to define employment and unemployment, so it should not be assumed that unemployed Indians are not working at all. But the figures showing the average amount of income per family indicate that unemployment is a serious problem.

The birth rate of Indians is higher than that of the general population. Again it is the industrial society, not the Indian culture, which devalues large families. Also the infant mortality rate is high and diseases take a great toll among the Indians. The life expectancy is seven years less than that of the average American.8

A report made in 1970 by the Bureau of the Census shows that the socioeconomic condition of the Indians has not improved appreciably over the years. Even though much money and manpower has been used to alleviate their problems,

7U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Indian Education, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. 90th Cong., 1st and 2nd sess., 1969, p. 130.
8Ibid., p. 131.
they still are far behind all other groups. The American Indians are the poorest minority in the United States.

The census corroborated an earlier study in 1970 by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights which had stated that the economic condition of Indians was worse than that of Blacks, Appalachians, or any other minority. This study was based on living conditions of Indians in New Mexico and Arizona.

The census report stated that the median income of Indian families was $5,832 in 1969, compared with the national median of $9,590. In thirty metropolitan areas which contained at least 2,500 Indians, median family income ranged from $3,389 in Tuscon, Arizona to more than $10,000 in Washington, D.C. and Detroit, Michigan. On reservations the incomes were lower, ranging from $2,500 on the Papago reservation in Arizona to $6,115 on the Laguna reservation in New Mexico. Almost 40 percent of the Indian population lived below the poverty level in 1969. This is compared to 13.7 percent of the total population who were living at the poverty level in that year.9

Every year the conscience of the American people is stirred and they become increasingly aware of the economic, social and educational problems of Indians. The condition of the Indians is seen as a deplorable condition and a national disgrace, as both a national tragedy and challenge. The implication is that those in the Federal government

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and all other citizens should consider it their responsibility to remedy the problem. Many studies are made and the reports are often pessimistic. An article in the *Harvard Law Record* stated:

...American Indians are by far the worst-fed, worst-clad and worst-housed group in the United States. These people, recipients of the poorest educational and medical services in the country, are in a state of social and psychological maladjustment. This is a situation of which the American public is only dimly aware.¹⁰

Those who write about the "Indian Problem" generally agree that their living conditions are those of the most abject poverty, that their educational systems are still frightfully outdated, and that they have suffered and still suffer from injustice and exploitation by the dominant society. Each year articles and reports and published concerning these problems. These reports come from sociologists, from government committees and workshops, and from concerned citizens--Indian and non-Indian.

The economic conditions of the Indians are partially a result of the success or lack of success of educational programs. Improvement in the education system, of course, will not solve all of the problems which the Indians face. There are problems of personal adjustment to an industrial society. There are problems concerning the need of the reservations to develop industries, to raise the standard of living, to provide job opportunities, and to solve the problems of road building and transportation. These are

¹⁰Steiner, "Ghettos in Desert," p. 626.
economic problems which require a great deal of money. There are also problems of political leadership on the state and local levels. But the problems surrounding education are crucial and do have an effect on the other problems. Also, more people feel qualified to attack problems in education. The Task Force of 1961 believed that every program sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be specifically directed to the problems of education. It was their assumption that the failure of most BIA programs was due to the inability of the Indians to assume new responsibilities because of a lack of formal education and training. They believed that it was the responsibility of the Bureau to provide for a better quality of education and to provide for more educational opportunities.\footnote{Report by Task Force on Indian Affairs (1961), p. 22.}

The majority of the unpublished articles which have been written about Indian education are of an academic nature, written by graduate students in the field of education as a part of the requirements for a Master's or a Doctor's degree.\footnote{Berry, Education of American Indians: Survey, p. 3.} Now many others are writing articles and conducting studies about Indian education.

Young Indians in college are beginning to make their voices heard, and the voices are often very bitter and very critical. In the hearings of the Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare before the U.S. Senate in 1969, a young college student, William
Penseno, delivered a scathing denunciation of Indian schools which he titled "Nothing...But Death." Mr. Penseno is part Indian and has attended federal boarding schools and public high school in Oklahoma and several state colleges. He maintains that both the federal schools and the public schools create an atmosphere which kills motivation, hinders achievement, and destroys the Indian's self-respect and sense of identity. He cites several instances of anti-Indian prejudice and derisive comments from non-Indian teachers and students. He repeatedly states that "the school is the enemy" and that education as now organized is alien to the Indian. It seeks to obliterate his past and to submerge him in the white society. Indian students in a public school that he visited were so inured to Anglo propaganda that during a movie where the United States cavalry rode in to massacre a group of warring Indians, they all stood and cheered.  

His solution is to bring about Indian control and direction of schools and school boards, and to restore tribalism as a psychological and physical support for Indians searching for their identity. He believes that there should be involvement and interaction between parents and schools, and evaluation of teachers and school programs. He is the vice president of the National Indian Youth Council.  

Many senators and government and civic leaders have

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14Ibid., pp. 18, 24.
become concerned about the state of Indian education. Robert Kennedy and other members of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education concluded that our national policies for educating Indians are "a failure of major proportions." Even today Indian children are not receiving an education equal to the education of other American children and their opportunities for success in school and in the occupation they choose are limited. 15

Ralph Nader wrote in the *Harvard Law Record* that even though improvements have been made in Indian education, the school day is very short, the quality of teaching is inferior, and many children do not benefit from an education at all. This was in 1956. 16

In 1970 the National Education Association President George D. Fischer and Senator Walter F. Mondale from Minnesota in their discussion agreed that the economic and educational state of Indians is still a national disgrace. Even though more government funds are being spent, and more committees and workshops are being formed to study the problems of Indians and to provide training for those who work with Indians, the condition of Indians still is far inferior to that of other Americans. The great volume of reports tends to give us enlightenment and greater understanding, but the conditions which limit the educational and economic opportunity of Indians still persist. Many Indians

16Steiner, "Ghettos in Desert," p. 626.
are still illiterate in English, and achievement tests show that Indian students rank further and further behind non-Indian students as they progress in school. Indians have high rates of unemployment, disease and death. Many still live in terrible conditions of poverty. These men believe that Indians should regain control of their own affairs.¹⁷

Indian children between the ages of five and eighteen attend school. In the fiscal year 1969 the number of school age children was 198,965. About 90 percent of them (178,476) were enrolled in some type of school in the United States. These children attended federal schools operated by BIA, public schools, mission schools, or private schools.¹⁸

One of the goals of BIA is to place as many children as possible in public schools. In California, Idaho, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin the responsibility for the education of Indian children has been entirely assumed by the state. Reports made in 1968 indicate that approximately 61 percent of the Indian children in states where BIA functions are now being educated in public schools under the jurisdiction of the state. About 6 percent are in mission or private schools. Almost 32 percent of the Indian children are being educated by BIA. The remaining percentage is unaccounted for. An unknown number of children not included in this count are

¹⁸Statistics Concerning Indian Education 1969, pp. 1, 37.
attending public school in states in which BIA assumes none of the responsibility for education.\textsuperscript{19}

In 1969 this 32 percent educated by BIA amounted to 56,560 children and was broken down as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
<th>Average Daily Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boarding Schools</td>
<td>36,263</td>
<td>29,984.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Schools</td>
<td>16,100</td>
<td>14,136.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital Schools</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dormitories</td>
<td>4,089</td>
<td>3,279.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the total 56,560 the average daily attendance was 47,423.5.\textsuperscript{20}

Of the 226 federally operated schools, there are 77 boarding schools located in seventeen different states. There are several trailer schools, schools located in hospitals, and 147 day schools. In addition, for those who attend public schools away from home, BIA has established dormitories which house about 4,000 students. BIA provided assistance to about 104 tribes with these services. There are eighteen off-reservation boarding schools which are primarily attended by high school students. There is one each in Colorado, Montana, Utah, South Dakota (Rosebud), seven in New Mexico, three in Oklahoma, and four in Arizona. Most of the children who attend the on-reservation boarding schools are Navajos and many are quite young. In 1967 there were 8,000 children nine years old or younger who were attending boarding schools on the reservation, and they were


\textsuperscript{20} Statistics Concerning Indian Education 1969, p. 37.
almost all Navajos. One reason for this is the lack of educational facilities and good roads on the large Navajo reservation. Even though the goal is to obtain a public school education for more Indian children, BIA is still building more federal facilities because there is such a great need to educate. Approximately 15 percent of the Indian children are being educated in government boarding schools. 21

There have been increases both in the number of children educated in public schools and in the total number of children educated. Charles N. Zellers, Assistant Commissioner of Education in BIA, stated that in 1961, 35 percent of the children were being educated in federally operated schools and 57 percent were educated in public schools. As of 1970 about 32 percent were being educated in federal schools and over 61 percent were being educated in public schools. 22 The number of children in public schools is increasing at a faster rate than in either BIA or mission schools. Some BIA and mission schools have been abolished. 23


The percentage of Indian children who were enrolled in elementary and high school had increased from 88 percent in 1963 to 90 percent in 1969. More recent statistics showed that 95 percent of the Indian children between the ages of seven and thirteen were in school. This does not include, however, those Indians who are of high school age, and this is a vital consideration.

The Federal government is now responsible for the education of 221,000 Indian children. In 1970, 141,000 Indian children were attending public schools near their homes. Of this number 52,000 were under the jurisdiction of local school districts which were not accepting federal aid. There were 89,000 children who attended public schools in districts where enough Indians lived to make the services of the Johnson O'Malley Act available to them. It was suggested by President Nixon that these federal funds should go directly to Indian tribes and communities so that they would benefit the Indians as planned.

Several schools are available to Indian students who wish to continue their education after high school. Haskell Institute, the Institute of American Indian Arts, and Chilocco are three boarding schools operated by BIA which offer postsecondary technical and vocational courses to Indians. At these schools students study business practices.

24Steiner, "Ghettos in Desert," p. 626.
26Josephy, Red Power, pp. 233-34.
electronics, auto mechanics, heavy-equipment operation, commercial cooking, vocations in fine and applied arts and other courses.  

Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas offers a variety of occupational training programs. It offers courses in printing and prints readers in the Indian language based on Indian cultures. A relatively large number of students attend Haskell. Only grades thirteen and fourteen are included. In 1969 it had an enrollment of 1,245 with an average daily attendance of 906. Chilocco, in Chilocco, Oklahoma, which offers similar courses, contains grades nine through fourteen. In 1969 it had an enrollment of 1,025 with an average daily attendance of 856.4. The Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico was established in 1962. Its purpose was to develop the natural creative and artistic abilities of Indian students and to make these talents more profitable for the Indians. This Institute contains grades nine through fourteen, and had in 1969 an enrollment of 367 with an average daily attendance of 310.6.  

There is a Dental Assistant Training Program in Brigham City, Utah, an Indian School of Practical Nursing at Albuquerque, New Mexico, and the Alaska Vocational School in Mt. Edgecumbe, Alaska. All these offer post high school

\footnote{27}{Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, p. 150.}

\footnote{28}{Crow, "Schools for the First Americans," p. 21 and Statistics Concerning Indian Education 1962, p. 13.}
training, but none are colleges.\textsuperscript{29}

The Navajo Community College at Many Farms, Arizona is a two-year college, but is taking steps to become a four-year college. Bacone College in Bacone, Oklahoma formerly had only Indian students, and now the enrollment is still primarily Indian. It is a two-year college.\textsuperscript{30}

More Indian children are being enrolled in elementary and secondary school, but it is discouraging to note that many of them rank very low in achievement. Since the Meriam Report, many tests have been given to ascertain the intelligence and achievement of Indian students. In most cases Indians tested lower in academic achievement than non-Indians.\textsuperscript{31}

Some earlier intelligence tests had led to the conclusion that Indians were inferior in intelligence and that full-blooded Indians were least capable of all since they were farthest removed from the white race.\textsuperscript{32} In the earliest reported study in 1914, Rowe gave Stanford Binet exams to 268 Indians and found 94 percent of them to be below the norm for whites who were the same age. Several other studies appeared to agree with these results. B. F. Haught in "Mental Growth of the Southwestern Indian" concluded in 1934 that "Indians make lower scores than whites because they are lower in native ability." Some test results indicated that

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{29}] Answers to Questions about American Indians, p. 24.
\item[\textsuperscript{30}] Ibid.
\item[\textsuperscript{31}] Perry, Education of American Indians: Survey, p. 20.
\item[\textsuperscript{32}] Ibid., pp. 32-33.
\end{itemize}
the half-blood did better than the full-blood Indian, and that public school Indians were slightly superior to federal school Indians, with a rise in I.Q. in each school grade.\(^{33}\)

Some people questioned the validity of these tests. Most of the early intelligence tests were written tests that required great familiarity with English, high motivation, and working at a fairly fast pace. It was discovered that verbal tests discriminated against Indians and certain other cultural groups. One writer concluded that the amount of education affected intelligence test scores.\(^ {34}\)

In a study conducted by the Psychology Department of Brigham Young University, both verbal and non-verbal tests were given to children in a pre-kindergarten class, a kindergarten class, and first and second grades in a small western town. Some of the children were Utes, but the majority were Navajos. The pre-kindergarten children usually ranked below the norm. After one year of school the children in this school ranked about normal when performance I.Q. tests were given. But on verbal I.Q. tests their scores did not show the expected gradual increase after second grade. More education and experience in taking tests often tends to cause higher scores on intelligence tests as the chronological age increases. It may be that in


\(^{34}\)Ibid.
this case the pace of language instruction increased greatly after second grade, causing frustration and a lack of self-confidence in taking verbal tests. It is possible that these children were victims of the self-fulfilling prophecy explained by sociologist Robert Merton—that expectation of failure leads to a fulfillment of that expectation. Thus it is conceivable that at a certain age Indian children begin to do poorly because they are not expected to do well and are treated as non-achievers. K. B. Clark did a study of the verbal skills of black children in a New York ghetto and R. Rosenthal did a study of the verbal skills of Mexican-American children in the intermediate grades. Both studies corroborate the self-fulfilling prophecy. 35

In other cases where non-verbal tests were given, I.Q. scores of Indians were found to be equal and sometimes superior to those of white children. On the Goodenough "Draw-a-Man" test the average score for Zunis was 112, compared to an average score for Anglos of 101. On a separate intelligence test, the average score for Zunis was 101, while for Anglos it was 103. Intelligence tests given to other Indians have showed similar results. 36

Apache students ranked much lower than non-Indians on I.Q. tests in one study that was made. Many were overage for their grade. In some grades there was a 5, 6, or 7-year


36Embry, America's Concentration Camps, p. 28.
span in age. Some had been socially promoted. The dropout rate for these students was high and very few went to college and graduated.\textsuperscript{37} Many socioeconomic factors could have caused low I.Q. scores and low achievement here. Most of the students had lived in relative isolation on the reservation and had not had a varied experience background. It is not known whether these I.Q. tests were verbal or non-verbal.

It is the opinion of this writer that I.Q. tests are necessarily biased in favor of those who have backgrounds of varied experience and high motivation. Those who have lived in isolated, rural areas, and face social disadvantages and have expectations of failure are not likely to do well on any test which assumes an intellectual background and high motivation. This is especially true for Indians who must function in a language which is not their own. Other cultural groups which are physically and culturally isolated, such as rural students in Appalachia show similar results, so it could not be only race which makes the difference.

Havighurst and Hilkevitch gave intelligence tests to children from six different tribes in 1942-43. These tribes were the Sioux, Navajo, Papago, Hopi, Zuni, and Zia. The test used was the nonverbal Arthur Performance Test. Most of the groups performed about as well as white children. The

two groups whose test scores were much lower than white children, a Papago group from Hickwan-GuVe and a Navajo group from Ramah, had not had very much contact with white culture, but lived in a very isolated area and had not had experiences with a variety of cultures. There is some evidence that Indians who have less contact with white culture do less well on I.Q. tests, but this evidence is not at all conclusive, for some other unacculturated groups scored very high in this study. Differences in I.Q. related to sex or degree of Indian blood were negligible. There were some differences between tribes and within tribes, as was expected. It was also found that, contrary to previous beliefs, Indian children do not work more slowly than others. 38

It is reasonable to believe that all national or racial groups are equal in intelligence and ability. It is other factors, such as the social, intellectual and economic atmosphere of home and community, and motivation which affect achievement. Low socioeconomic status adversely affects achievement, leading to increasing lag in achievement and to students eventually dropping out of school. 39

Thus Indians have the ability to succeed in school and many have the desire, but other factors intercede which cause poor adjustment to the academic and social environment

38 Havighurst and Hilkevitch, "Intelligence of Indian Children," pp. 53-63 passim.

of the school system.

Almost all the studies done of Indians in elementary and secondary schools show that their achievement test scores are equal to or slightly below those of non-Indians in the early years of school. As they continue through school their achievement scores become progressively lower as compared to achievement scores of non-Indians. By the time they reach high school many are scoring far below grade level. This also holds true for some other ethnic minorities. Most researchers agree that this achievement lag exists for ethnic minorities, but their analyses of the reason for it vary.

In a study done by Coombs, Kron, Collister, and Anderson in 1958, the order of achievement from high to low was (1) white pupils in public schools, (2) Indian pupils in public schools, (3) Indian pupils in federal schools, and (4) Indian pupils in mission schools. These results and others led several researchers to conclude that the Indian students who are most like Anglo students in educational and cultural background are the highest achievers. They believed that being integrated into Anglo schools aided Indian achievement. Harold J. Miller, however, found that Indian students ranked lower even when they were in the same classroom and had the same teachers as the other students.40

The educational environment does have an affect on achievement, but it is not the only factor to explain

40 Edington, Academic Achievement of American Indian Students, pp. 2-5.
achievement lag. The morale and self-concept of Indian students may be adversely affected by a school environment which is favorable to Anglos. Once Indian students become classified as failures and non-achievers, it is more difficult for them to be motivated.

Most achievement tests contain cultural biases that discriminate against Indians and other cultural minorities. Achievement is measured by Anglo middle-class standards and the wording of questions often relates to their values and cultural experience. Tests are organized in such a way that metropolitan children rank higher than others. White children raised in metropolitan areas usually have the advantages of an intellectual environment and many other learning experiences. Their early socialization has prepared them for the educational environment in which they will develop socially and mentally. Rural students and minorities often rank lower than Anglo students in metropolitan areas, and their orientation and cultural values differ from metropolitan values.

In one study metropolitan white student achievement scores were eliminated from consideration while scores of Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Negroes, and Indians in sixth, ninth, and twelfth grades were compared. It was found that Indian students did slightly better than the other minorities, but ranked lower than rural Anglos. On verbal ability tests sixth grade Indians ranked 1.3 years, ninth graders ranked 1.5 years, and twelfth graders ranked
2.4 years below rural Anglo students. On reading comprehension sixth graders ranked 1.7 years, ninth graders ranked 1.8 years, and twelfth graders ranked 2.5 years behind the Anglos. On math sixth graders ranked 1.6 years, ninth graders ranked 2.0 years, and twelfth graders ranked 2.9 years below Anglos. When the scores of these Indian students were compared to metropolitan Anglo students, the Indians were found to be even farther behind. In one boarding school nine out of thirteen graduating seniors scored in the lowest 10 percent on the California Achievement Test. These scores show great achievement lag for Indians, and this lag increases as they progress in school. By twelfth grade Indian students rank much lower than Anglo students. Indians have most trouble with reading readiness and reading comprehension tests. Many high school Indian students ranked as much as five years behind other students in reading. They ranked slightly lower than other students in non-verbal tests.

The statistics concerning educational achievement vary from tribe to tribe. Those which are most conservative and maintain cultural aloofness often rank low in achievement. Those tribes which are in poorly developed isolated areas do not have the money or facilities to maintain their education programs as well as groups which have available special educational resources and personnel. Isolated tribes lack

41Birchard, Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth, p. 32.
42Edington, Academic Achievement of American Indian Students, pp. 2-5.
counselors, special reading teachers, educational television, films, community workers, and other special aids. In 1957 only 6 percent of the Navajo students had achievement scores at grade level. Forty percent were ranking one year behind grade level and 54 percent were ranking two years or more behind grade level. This situation has changed considerably, but many Navajos are still far behind in education.\textsuperscript{43}

At Chilocco a random sample of forty C.A.T. scores were taken. In math Indian students in tenth grade ranked 3.0 years behind other students. Those in eleventh grade were 3.5 years behind. In reading the scores of tenth grade Indians were 2.0 years below other students, and eleventh graders were 2.3 years below. In language they were .9 year behind in tenth grade, and 1.3 years behind in eleventh grade.\textsuperscript{44}

At Stewart Indian School over one hundred students were tested. Indian children were found to be about one school year behind other students in grades six and seven, about 1\frac{1}{2} school years behind in grades eight and nine, about 2\frac{1}{2} grade levels behind in grades ten and eleven, and about 3\frac{1}{2} grade levels behind in grade twelve.\textsuperscript{45}

Of 22,000 Indian pupils in BIA schools the mean

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{44}]Birchard, Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth, p. 32.
  \item[\textsuperscript{45}]Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Achievement lag was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Number of grade levels behind national average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This shows an increase in lag with almost every year.\(^{46}\)

Thus the available evidence indicates that there is a great deal of achievement lag for Indians. It usually is first noticeable to any extent in about fifth or sixth grade. Wherever it starts, it is most evident in later high school years. A longitudinal three-year study done by Southwest Regional Laboratories around 1969 showed Indian achievement to be 1 to 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) years behind the national average in the ninth grade and 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 3 years behind the national average in the twelfth grade.\(^{47}\) Havighurst feels that often the interpretation of these findings is too extreme. On the basis of achievement scores in early grades he predicted what achievement scores would be expected to be the following year and found that Indian students rarely digress from that expectation. He concludes that Indian students progress at the same rate throughout school. They are learning at a

\(^{46}\)Ibid., p. 33.

\(^{47}\)First National Indian Workshop, p. 154.
slower rate than non-Indians, but they are learning at the same speed as before. 48

It must be admitted, however, that Indian students are disadvantaged in school. Previous studies mentioned show that they get farther behind with each passing year. This is bound to affect morale and motivation.

About half of the number of Indians in elementary and high school are overage. This is due to several factors. Some are held over in the same grade for two years because of low achievement and/or excessive absenteism. Many are overage because they spent their first year of School in a "Beginner" class to become more proficient in English. The youngest beginners accepted by BIA are those who will be six years old on January 1st of the school year they enter. After spending a year in the beginner class, they are promoted and begin first grade in their second year of school. 49 This affects the range of achievement scores. It tends to push the scores up higher for that grade. Havighurst suggests that it is this factor which may account for the phenomenon of "crossover" recorded by Bryde based on a study of the Ogala Sioux at Pine Ridge Reservation. From his findings Bryde stated that Sioux children's achievement scores are below those of the national average during the first three years of school, in grades four and five their

48 Havighurst, Mental Development and School Achievement, p. 3.
49 Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, p. 147.
scores reach or exceed the national average, and by seventh or eighth grade their scores have crossed over and are again far below the national average. Bryde's explanation is that it takes two or three years for rural Indians to become adjusted to the school environment, that once they do become adjusted they do well in school, then adolescence brings its problems of identity, role conflict, increased emotionality, and alienation, and leads to deviance, decreased motivation, and low achievement. This may be true of Sioux Indians (although Bryde's study was not longitudinal) but it has not been proven that it is universally true of Indians. Most of the studies, as we have noticed, do show the Indian child to be just below the national average in achievement during the first few grades, and then substantially below during the remainder of his school life. The cross-over phenomenon does not seem to be evident in most Indian groups. Indian students do often feel alienated and have low self-concepts, but puberty is not the only time when this occurs. 

The dropout rate for Indian students in elementary and secondary school is high. Studies made around the year 1969 by both Northwest and Southwest Regional Laboratories indicate that the dropout rate is 42 percent instead of the earlier 50 percent or 60 percent. This is still compared to a national dropout rate of 27 percent. So dropout rate for Indians is about 1½ times the national average, but formerly

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50 Havighurst, Mental Development and School Achievement, pp. 4-8.
it was twice as much. Seventy percent of the Navajos and 80 percent of the Hopis do graduate from high school and this is above the national average. Dropout is highest in Oklahoma, North Dakota, and South Dakota.  

Some studies have indicated that the dropout rate for Indian female students is higher than for Indian male students, a situation that is reversed for the general population. Charles S. Owens and Willard P. Bass did a longitudinal study in a six-state area of the Southwest from 1962 to 1967 and found different results. The number of students who dropped out varied in different schools and in different states.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number enrolled in BIA schools in 1962 who dropped out and did not graduate by 1968</th>
<th>Percent of dropout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number enrolled in public schools in 1962 who dropped out and did not graduate by 1968</th>
<th>Percent of dropout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These findings indicated that the overall dropout rate was

52 Birchard, Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth, p. 33.
38.7 percent and that there was no significant difference between sexes.\textsuperscript{53}

In its statistics for the year 1969 BIA recorded 2,039 graduates of a total of 2,392 twelfth graders, and 2,689 eighth grade completions of a total number of 2,887 eighth graders.\textsuperscript{54} These facts do not tell us of students who entered eighth grade and dropped out before ever enrolling in twelfth grade.

The 1970 census report indicates that some progress has been made in the number of years of school completed by Indians. In Washington the median number of school years completed by Indians was 12.6, above the national average. Sixty-six percent of those over 25 had graduated from high school. But the median number of years of school completed by the Navajos was 4.1 and only 17 percent of those 25 years old or over had completed high school. Of the total Indian population one-third of those over 25 had completed high school, as compared with one-fifth in 1960. The median number of years of school completed was 9.8 which is the same as for Blacks. Of all the people in the nation the median number of years of school completed was 12.1, and 52.3 percent of those over 25 had graduated from high school.\textsuperscript{55}

The Task Force under the Kennedy administration in 1961 stated that \(\frac{1}{4}\) of 1 percent of the total Indian population

\textsuperscript{53}Edington, \textit{Academic Achievement of American Indian Students}, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{54}Statistics Concerning Indian Education 1969, p. 37.
was enrolled in college, compared to 2 percent of the general population.  

Other sources stated that in the early 1960s there were about 4,000 Indians enrolled in college and that that number increased in the 1970s to 6,000. These sources also stated that of the number who graduate from high school about half go to college. This probably means the total number of graduates from BIA high schools and includes both college and other specialized training. If so, then these statistics are in agreement with another source which states that about half of the Bureau high school graduates go on to college or into advanced vocational training. Birchard states that the data suggests that 28 percent of the BIA high school graduates enter college, compared to a national average of 50 percent, and that an additional unknown number go on to vocational technical training. This could add up to about 50 percent.  

Part of the problem in obtaining accurate statistics on this subject lies in the fact that the Indian students attempt several different programs. In a Southwest Laboratories experiment it was found that of the total number of public school graduates 68 percent attended vocational 

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59 Birchard, Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth, p. 34.
schools, 46 percent attended colleges, and 25 percent attended junior colleges. Of the total number of high school graduates from federal schools 94 percent attended vocational and technical schools, 28 percent attended colleges, and 9 percent attended junior colleges. These statistics do not add up to 100 percent because the students had frequently attempted several different programs before completing one or dropping out. 60 This does not tell us the degree of success of the high school graduates, only how often the programs were used. But the percentages do indicate that more federal high school graduates attend vocational schools.

In the statistics quoted by Josephy and in the Indian Education hearings it was stated that in 1966 many BIA scholarships were available, but that only 18 percent of federal high school graduates were enrolled in college compared to 50 percent for the general population. 61 In Everett Edington's survey he found that of Indian high school graduates, 42 percent attended college or some type of school in 1958, but that this number had increased to 70 percent in 1968. 62 The 1970 census report stated that the number of Indians attending college doubled between 1960 and 1970. 63

While considering the percentages of high school

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60 Ibid., p. 35.
graduates who enrolled in college it must be remembered that a smaller percentage of Indian students graduated from high school. Another fact is that many who enroll in colleges or technical schools do not complete that post high school training. College dropout is high—only 35 percent of those Indians who enroll attain a college degree. Compare this to the fact that 37 percent of all Americans of college age attend college and 60 percent of those who enroll receive degrees. 64 G. G. McGrath and others reviewed three colleges in the Southwest and found that 60 percent of the Indian students dropped out, usually during the first year of school. The main reason for not finishing college, of course, is academic difficulty. This holds true for all students. But for the Indians there are other difficulties as well. Forty percent of the Indian students who dropped out of one college had been in the upper third of their high school classes. These students often had high aptitude, but dropped out because of economic, emotional, and social problems. 65 Birchard states that about half of the high school Indian graduates from federal and public schools completed their post high school programs. 66 BIA listed 324 post graduate completions in 1969. 67

66 Birchard, Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth, p. 36.
After finishing their education, many Indians do not really use it in the occupation they choose. One writer says that only 10 percent of the college graduates go into "the professions," while others take lower prestige jobs.\textsuperscript{68} Another study found that six years after high school graduation, slightly less than half of the females and slightly more than half of the males were employed for pay or profit. Most were working for low pay in nonpermanent jobs, and three-fifths were living on or near a reservation. Two-thirds of the males and one-third of the females were in jobs unrelated to their training and most of those who accepted these jobs, had done so to be near their home reservation.\textsuperscript{69}

Following are some of the facts which increase the problems of education for the Indians. In many cases the quality of the education they receive is very low. Many school buildings are dilapidated and provide a poor atmosphere in which to learn. There is a tremendous lack of educational materials and facilities. There is a crucial lack of money with which to provide these. BIA only spends $18 a year per child on textbooks and supplies compared to a national average of $40 per child.\textsuperscript{70}

The fact that some of the areas of our country where Indians live and attend school are poor and not easily


\textsuperscript{69}Edington, \textit{Academic Achievement of American Indian Students}, p. 8.

accessible creates additional problems. The condition of the roads in the desert areas of New Mexico and Arizona make transportation difficult. Domingo Montoya, Chairman of the All-Indian Pueblo Council in Albuquerque, is a member of the Sandia Pueblo. He states that nineteen tribes of the Pueblos make up from 25,000 to 30,000 of the population of New Mexico. In New Mexico, some Indian high school students have to walk two miles every day to reach the bus and then ride fifty miles to school. 71 Many children on reservations in this state must leave home 1½ or 2 hours early to reach school on time; then they must leave early enough to reach home at a reasonable hour. They can never stay late at school and get extra help or guidance, or get involved in extra-curricular activities. The schools are often overcrowded and understaffed. Mr. Montoya stated that in New Mexico the ratio of pupil to teacher is forty to one. The ratio of pupils to counselor, five hundred to one, also creates a desperate situation, for almost all Indian children need counseling. In the public school system in this state, achievement test scores for the Indians all fell in the percentiles below fifty, and most were in the twenties and thirties. 72

A major problem is that the control and administration of education is still primarily in the hands of those who are far removed from the Indian way of life. Many Indians now

71 Ibid., p. 171.
72 U.S. Senate, Indian Education Hearings, pp. 86-87.
want the power to determine their own educational policy and procedures. They feel that education of their children by those who are ignorant of and intolerant of their culture is destructive.

During the years from 1953 to 1967 when BIA made Navajo education a major concern, many administrative positions were added, but very few extra teachers were hired. Most school board members are non-Indian. In the late 1960s only one of BIA's 226 schools was governed by a school board which was elected by the local community. In one school in Oklahoma an all-Indian student body was controlled by a three-man non-Indian school board.73 In 1970, 50,000 Indian children were attending schools which were directly operated by BIA. Only 750 were in schools controlled by Indian school boards.74

Most teachers in BIA schools are still recruited and hired by the Teacher Recruitment Office of BIA and the Interagency Board of U.S. Civil Service Examiners. There is usually not an orientation period for the teacher to learn more about the school and for the principal to become acquainted with the new teacher. The principal has no authority in hiring teachers.75

According to the Coleman report on equal education opportunity in 1966, most Indian children had non-Indian teachers. Only 1 percent of the Indian children in elementary

73 Josephy, Red Power, p. 171. 74 Ibid., p. 233. 75 Birchard, Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth, pp. 37-38.
schools then had Indian teachers or principals. One-fourth of those who taught Indian children in elementary or secondary schools stated that they would rather not be teaching them. Having Anglo models of success and judging themselves by Anglo standards may be a factor in the development of a negative self-concept by many Indian children. More than any other group of children tested, Indians believed themselves to have less than average intelligence. Twelfth grade Indian students had the poorest self-concept of all.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{76}U.S. Senate, \textit{Indian Education Hearings}, p. 5.
CHAPTER IV

CHANGING PERSPECTIVES IN PUBLIC SENTIMENT
AND GOVERNMENTAL POLICY: EFFECT ON
INDIVIDUAL PERSONALITY AND
CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION

The attitudes and actions of the Federal government and their reinforcement by the general public have in great part created the present economic status of Indians and influenced their identification as a separate culture. Negative reaction to or positive acceptance of governmental dictates has at times served to enhance the cultural pride of Indians and at other times to create within them a negative concept—a concept of worthlessness and failure. Rebellion against government actions and against those individuals who carried them out has often served to create a type of segregation that the Indians imposed upon themselves. Stereotyping and prejudice growing out of ethnocentrism then become reinforced by the actions and attitudes of both Indians and Anglos.

An analysis of past and present government policy indicates that it has undergone several stages of modification. These changes in policy, of course, mirrored the changing attitudes of the American people as the nation
developed. These variant stages have had a decisive influence on the educational and cultural development of the Indians.

These stages in part parallel the five main social processes: cooperation, competition, conflict, accomodation, and assimilation. In almost all relationships between Indians and Anglos where these concepts can be applied, the Anglos were the dominant people and the policies which developed were Anglo-directed.

During the early history of the United States, there was generally cooperation between the Indian tribes and the white settlers. Most of the European settlers who came to this country in the 1600s were not conquerors, but were seeking a new land in which to begin a new life. They wanted religious freedom and a chance to achieve their own economic independence. Some of the conquerors who came seeking gold and other treasures did not establish permanent settlements. People living in small agricultural settlements were often dependent on the Indians for survival because their knowledge of this new land was greater. For their own protection they needed a peaceful relationship with the Indians. Inhabitants in some of the early religious settlements believed that the Indians should have the same freedom to live according to their own culture that they themselves had. The cultural differences between Indians and white settlers were great and different cultural goals were not always understood, but since there was enough land and the European settlers did not yet pose a great threat,
there was general tolerance.

**Extermination**

As the settlers from Europe increased in number and their demand for land became greater, Indians became increasingly uneasy about the situation. The greater economic and political strength of the settlements made the Anglo settlers more able to exploit the Indians, and some of the Anglos did this. The ethnocentric tendency to distrust those of another culture and to ignore their rights, combined with the attempts of white settlers to acquire or use more of the land claimed by the Indians, led to outbreaks of violence. Thus competition very early led to conflict. Conflict bred more conflict as retaliations followed.

When the United States achieved its independence and became a nation, it became the responsibility of the Federal government to maintain a peaceful coexistence between the Indians and the settlers. Treaties were made to define the boundaries of land open to settlement and to prevent encroachment on Indian land. As time went on many of these treaties were broken or boundaries were redefined. The result was that Indians were forced to move farther west as the American frontier moved westward.

When two cultures come together in conflict, the extermination of one of the groups by the other is often a goal. During the actual fighting between Indians and Anglos the goal was the annihilation of the enemy. Fighting Indians
became the vocation of the United States military forces and of many frontiersmen. Extermination was the goal of many people who saw Indians only as heathen savages, a threat to their security, and a deterrent to their expansion. This was voiced in such sayings as "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." Those who believed in extermination as the solution to the Indian problem wanted to either destroy them or so weaken them that they would be powerless to stop westward expansion. Indian affairs at that time were administered by the Department of War.

The Federal government became an arbitrator to resolve the differences between white settlers and Indians. The decisions which were made usually left the Indians in worse circumstances and improved the situation of white settlers. Extermination appeared to be the underlying goal of government "compromises" as the Indians were required to move westward as the American frontier moved westward. The intent was to put the Indians out of the way and to forget about them as if they no longer existed.

In its attempt to prevent bloodshed and pacify the people, the Federal government promoted the education and "civilization" of the Indians. The goals of education then were to teach them farming or other skills practiced by white settlers so that they would need less land, and to teach them to live like the white settlers so that they would be more acceptable to white settlers. Many treaties which were made provided for education. This education
usually imposed on Indian children a style of life and a set of values which was completely different from anything they had previously known. They were required to speak the English language and to obey Anglo standards of behavior. Supposedly, when Indians had been educated in the white man's schools, they would disappear into American society and would no longer present a problem to the Anglos. Many Indian tribes did not accept this education because they believed that it would ruin their people and that they would no longer know how to be good Indians. The goal of extermination was evidenced in the attempt of the schools to destroy the Indians' uniqueness and existence as separate cultural entities.

Another type of extermination is the complete removal from a specific area of one of the groups. The policy of setting aside certain sections of land as reservations and placing the various Indian tribes on them had this effect. The stated goal was to provide a protective atmosphere in which Indians could become educated and prepare themselves to enter white society. Supposedly, on the reservation they could progress at their own rate and be protected from hostility and exploitation.

But segregation and lack of resources intensified prejudice based on cultural differences and intensified conditions of poverty. The land allotted for reservations was often the least desirable land in the country. The Indians found themselves with less land and with many
restrictions. Their segregation served to increase their isolation and to retard their economic and educational development.

In the early 1800s the policy of removal caused the migration of most Indian tribes to lands west of the Mississippi River. Many tribes were forcibly removed to "Indian territory" in Oklahoma. Others were coerced by threats of loss of liberty, land, and withdrawal of government funds for education and economic assistance. Many Indians left their homeland taking very few personal possessions or supplies and many died during the long, arduous journey. They were to find later that even these new homes were not entirely safe from white frontiersmen, for homesteading and discovery of minerals would again create a desire for their land. It would indeed seem that the intent was to destroy Indian strength and to create conditions under which the tribes would not survive.

**Paternalism**

After the removal of the Indians to the West, it became evident that the Indians were going to survive. The Indian population was increasing, not decreasing as some had believed, and their problems of poverty, health, and education were also increasing. Ignoring these problems and putting the Indians aside would not make them go away. The conditions under which Indians lived were becoming a problem of national concern. More people now began to speak out against injustices which had been done to Indian
tribes and the conscience of the nation was stirred. A Bureau of Indian Affairs was established to aid the Indians in their development. The aim was to protect the Indians from further injustice and to provide assistance in health, education, and economy. A type of accommodation was in evidence as the Indians tried to adjust to their new status and maintain a peaceful relationship with the dominant society. The Federal government established programs to create better conditions for them. It was in 1831 that Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, created a program to soften the impact of removal and improve the living conditions of Indians. (See pp. 39-40 above.) In 1849 BIA was transferred to the Department of the Interior. (See p. 42 above.) Many of those who then tried to help the Indians believed that most of their problems were a result of their culture. They imposed Anglo cultural values and goals. They decided what Indian needs were and proceeded to work toward fulfillment of those needs often without consulting the Indian tribes. At times they discussed the programs with them, but the programs were not initiated by the Indians—they were planned and implemented by the dominant society. Thus the era of paternalism began.

There was some progress under paternalism. The Indian tribes were not permitted to remain as sovereign nations and to rule themselves as such, but they did have a special relationship with the Federal government, whose wardship helped to insure the protection of their lands and
finances. Some of the land they had lost was restored to them. Their economic situation was improved. As a part of their accommodation to the situation the Indians accepted federal control and direction, for with it came the federal aid which they so desperately needed. Restrictions were imposed both on Indians and on the white settlers. Some of the restrictions were accepted by the Indians because they meant less interaction with the white society, and they wanted to preserve and protect their own society. Laws which forbade the selling of alcoholic beverages to Indians were upheld by many older Indians, for they believed liquor to be a destructive influence.

The majority of the restrictions were directed against the Indians. The paternalistic approach negated the right of the Indians to determine their own lives. It created helplessness and dependence in a people who had been fiercely independent and self-sufficient. Many Indians began to lose dignity and self-respect. They were treated as children who did not know how to provide for their own needs. They were forbidden to have the things that the Federal government had decided were not good for them.

The supposition underlying paternalism was that Indians were ignorant and superstitious and would still have a tendency to become savage unless they were properly trained for existence in the white society. Many teachers and others who worked with Indians believed them to be lazy, unreliable, immoral, and less intelligent than other members of society.
Indians were given very little power and were often trained for menial jobs rather than educated for employment which would improve their situation. Paternalism seemed to be "democratically legislated colonialism," a system which meant to provide control over the Indians and keep them in line.¹ It was professed that Indians were unsophisticated and therefore could not manage economic, political, and educational affairs. Yet many Indians then were well-informed and had the capability to establish policy for their people. But they found themselves helpless to combat the bureaucratic authority of the Federal government. In their special relationship as wards, many types of business agreements, contracts, special programs, land sales, and affairs of government could not be accomplished without first seeking the approval of a government official.²

The Indian agency town of the 1930s was a prime example of the paternalistic attitude. A small enclave of BIA employees lived apart from the Indians they served and dictated policy which directed Indian education and employment. There was little interaction between the cultures on a personal basis and the Anglo children and the Indian children attended separate schools. The Indians remained in

¹Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst, To Live on This Earth (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1972), pp. 314-15.
low-pay, low-prestige jobs. They were believed to be incapable of governing themselves. There was much prejudice against the Indians and their culture. Programs were imposed that restricted the Indians in areas of agriculture, education, and daily living. The system was in no way democratic. For the many reservations, this was the main type of contact with Anglo society and they acquired a very negative opinion of Anglos and their policies.³

Indians have some of the same economic and educational problems as other minorities. Physical or social isolation is one factor that serves to retard the development of minorities. But the special wardship of the Indians served to intensify their differences and widened the gap between the cultures.⁴

It was partially an adverse reaction to paternalism that inspired talk of termination. Many people felt that BIA should not continue to shoulder the major responsibility for Indian development. They believed that Indians should be ready to manage their affairs independently. This meant withdrawal of federal aid as well as of federal control. Many Indians resented federal control and paternalistic attitudes. Unfortunately, the Indians had not been allowed to learn the things they needed to know in order to manage all the problems of their reservations. They had fallen so far behind the white society in their educational and

³Ibid., pp. 356-57.
⁴Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, p. 298.
economic development that it was impossible to function without the added financial assistance from government agencies. It was not reasonable to believe that people who had not been given the powers of leadership and who were lacking in financial resources would suddenly and automatically be able to manage in a new industrial age which had progressed faster than they had.

Although House Concurrent Resolution 108 of 1953 never actually became a law, termination became a reality for some tribes and some federal services were withdrawn from many tribes. The poverty and disorganization that resulted has caused a great fear of termination among Indian tribes even today. Every new proposal is closely watched for fear that termination might be written into it. Indians are often suspicious of and opposed to changes in the structure of BIA, unless it is clearly stated that termination is not a motive for the change. 5

Today the Indians want the authority to organize and run their own programs, especially in education, but are not ready to end the special relationship with the government. Government officials are much less paternalistic now. Today the aim of many BIA employees is to prepare Indians for self-determination. Fear of termination and suspicion of paternalism still lingers on, however, because of the events of the past. Many people today, some of them Indians, believe that Indians would have more rights and could fulfill

5U.S. Senate, Indian Education Hearings, p. 20.
leadership responsibilities better if the Indian Bureau was abolished. Others would like to see Indian education handled exclusively by Indians and not by BIA. Many believe that the Bureau should remain in existence, but that it should have Indian employees and Indians in the top administrative posts.\textsuperscript{6}

**Assimilation**

Throughout most of our country’s history great emphasis has been placed on the assimilation of Indians into the mainstream of American life. After it was realized that the Indian tribes would endure and would forever be a part of America, various agencies took steps to insure that they would fit in. The professed goal of educators was assimilation. But the kind of structural assimilation outlined by Gordon did not become fact. There was a great deal of acculturation, or cultural assimilation, but very little structural assimilation. Those of the Anglo culture were not prepared to let minorities actually take part in their cultural and social institutions. They wanted them to conform to their way of life, but not to become competitive with them in civic and social endeavors. The minorities themselves often sought the support and security of their own group and did not attempt to assimilate. For the second generation of European immigrants there was a greater possibility of assimilation. Many of their success goals were compatible

\textsuperscript{6}Steiner, *The New Indians*, p. 264.
with Anglo success goals. They acquired the tools to achieve the goals of American society and many were successful. They caught the spirit of the American dream of success and consciously sought it. Part of the successful acculturation of second-generation European and Asian immigrant children was due to greater communication through mass media and to indoctrination through the school system.\(^7\) Many of them did not achieve this success and became marginal persons caught between two cultures and belonging to neither. Some applied criminal means to achieve the goals of wealth and power, because they perceived a conflict between goals and means.

Indians did not seek assimilation as much as the European and Asian immigrants had. Because of their earlier dealings with Anglos they feared total destruction of their culture and loss of identity. Their life goals were incongruous with those of the people who were trying to acculturate them. The competitive industrial society was alien to their way of life. Acculturation was in most cases imposed on them. They were encouraged to believe that conformity to the Anglo life style was necessary to their survival. There is some indication that this attitude still prevails. A Civil Rights Commission official, Joe Muskrat, wrote in the Civil Rights Digest in 1972 that Indians were constantly pressured to leave the reservations and live in cities and adopt the Anglo life style. This was, he said,

in essence an ultimatum to "Assimilate or starve." He maintained that the approach to Indians had generally been based on a feeling of superiority by the dominant society and a great lack of understanding of Indian needs and aspirations. It had had the effect of losing Indian identity and culture in the larger society, while neglecting their actual needs. 8

In America there have been three general ideologies of assimilation: the "melting pot," "Anglo-conformity," and "cultural pluralism." 9 Many people who supported assimilation of the Indians as a good and necessary thing held on to a belief in the melting pot ideology. They believed that America could be a huge melting pot within which all races and cultures would mix and add their individual flavors to the whole. They thought that this would resolve all differences and prejudices, and discrimination would disappear. For this to occur there would have to be a considerable degree of amalgamation (marital assimilation). Intermarriage took place among the Europeans who came to this country and who often differed in cultural heritage and religious beliefs. But prejudice against those who skins are a darker shade or whose cultural and social institutions are very distinctive has been strong in America, and intermarriage between Indians and the colonists (as between several other distinctive races) seldom took place, and the

9 Gordon, Assimilation, p. 85.
two groups retained their physical differences. ¹⁰

The Indians also wanted to preserve their cultures and racial identity. Too often those who wanted America to be a melting pot really wanted merely to submerge all the other races in the Anglo culture so that they would no longer be visible. Our educational system has been a strong force in this effort. Too often our society and our educational system has tried to become unidimensional. Since the Anglo society is the dominant majority, other races have usually been evaluated unfavorably. ¹¹

So the total assimilation that would have created a melting pot did not come about. The Indians were being asked to give up everything that was their unique culture and to become absorbed into American society. Some cultural traits were transferred between the cultures, but there was little group interaction on a primary level and there was little alteration of cultural and social institutions in either culture. ¹²

For the melting pot to become a reality there must be identificational assimilation, in which all groups which merge discard their previous separate ethnicity and adopt


a new sense of peoplehood in the new group which honors the cultural heritage of all the previous groups. For this to happen the groups must meet each other on an equalitarian basis. This did not occur with the Indians, as it did not with several other cultural groups, for several reasons. The English were among the earliest colonists. Their numbers were greater and their cultural and social institutions were strong. Their technological development gave them greater power than the Indians. At the time of the American Revolution the white population was mostly English and Protestant. There were also Germans, Scotch-Irish, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Swedes, Swiss, South Irish, Poles, and a few from other European nations. There were some Catholics and a few Jews. Except for the Quakers and some missionaries, most of these were hostile to and contemptuous of the Indian and his social and religious institutions. They considered him a savage and a heathen and in no way looked upon him as an equal. They did at times feel sympathy for him or guilt for their actions concerning him, but considered him to be at a lower stage of development and therefore not deserving of equal citizenship status. The greater power and dominance of the Anglo society and the feeling of cultural superiority of Anglos meant that cultural minorities must either remain separate or submerge themselves into Anglo culture and conform to it. So the melting pot ideal did not become reality for the Indians. Even though some individual Indians were "assimilated," there still has not been structural
assimilation for them as a group, and there has not been the identificational assimilation and amalgamation which would follow. 13

The melting pot has become a partial reality for some groups in America, but not for those who were physically distinctive or who had a very different value system from that of Anglos. For the melting pot to work, the government would need to provide programs in the schools which would emphasize a knowledge and appreciation of all the different ethnic cultural heritages. The melting process would then be somewhat slower and the resulting culture would truly be enriched by the contributions of all. 14

The negative attitude of the Americans toward their minorities has generally led not to assimilation, but to Anglo-conformity. Anglo-conformity encompasses several viewpoints which assume that it is necessary and desirable to maintain Americanized English institutions, the English language, and English-based cultural patterns, and to make these the standard for all groups. 15 This belief holds that the minorities whose cultures are farthest removed from that of the dominant society are less civilized and must be converted in order to progress as they should. In 1909 this statement was made by an educator concerning the European immigrants:

Everywhere these people tend to settle in groups or

13 Gordon, Assimilation, pp. 86, 114, 125, 129.
14 Ibid., p. 155. 15 Ibid., p. 88.
settlements, and to set up their national manners, customs, and observances. Our task is to break up these groups of settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as a part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth.\\n
This concept was employed in the education of the Indians. Many considered them barbarians and believed that the goal of educators should be the "civilization" of the Indians. The terms of assimilation and civilization were often used synonymously. What was actually meant was Anglo-conformity. The Anglo society attempted to persuade or force them to accept the white man's habits, skills, knowledge, language, values, religion, attitudes, and customs. It was assumed that this would pacify them, make them productive, and remove the responsibility for their welfare from the Anglo society. General Richard Henry Pratt founded the Carlisle boarding school in 1878 because he sincerely wanted to create a better educational environment for the Indians and help to solve their problems. But he believed that the function of boarding schools should be that type of assimilation which we would call Anglo-conformity, "...immersing the Indians in our own civilization, and, when we get them under, holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked."\\n
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 98.\\n
\textsuperscript{17} Berry, \textit{Education of American Indians: Survey}, pp. 15-16.\\n
\textsuperscript{18} Birchard, \textit{Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth}, p. 2.
As new boarding schools were built and the concept became popular among Anglos, they adopted a "divide and conquer" attitude. It was believed that removing the children from the reservations, taking them away from their homes and parents, their culture and their language, and segregating them in boarding schools would make it easier to erase the influence of the reservation and to immerse them in white society. Young Indians were required to make the transition from their society and enter an alien culture without the support of their own families and communities. In the earlier boarding schools, Indian languages were forbidden and teachers and administrators were often hostile to their culture. The transition was especially traumatic for the Navajos of the Southwest.19

So education was understood by the Indians as the way to become white. To acquire an education, they must travel far from home and turn their backs on family and friends, relinquishing their former heritage.20 These boarding schools also did not provide the skills necessary to become successful citizens. Too many educators were still convinced that Indian children had less innate ability than white children. In 1928 the superintendent of the state of Nevada wrote:

The Indian will never develop into much more than a mediocre American citizen.... It is our belief that

Indian children should be provided with only such fundamental teachings as will fit them to make a living of a decent sort, through the use of simple tools, the simple elements of farming, cattle raising, gardening, washing, ironing, cooking, sewing, etc. 21

Many Indian children face disadvantages in any kind of school. Not all educational problems are the responsibility of school administrators and teachers. It must be recognized that education itself is a social system which is shaped by political and social forces and that the schools are products of the surrounding area. Schools mirror the social values and cultural patterns of the communities they serve and they rely on the economy of the community and the state to provide for educational needs. Indians have often had to attend schools in communities or states which lacked many physical and economic resources. Unless these schools can receive special financial aid from the Federal government, they are not equipped to provide the kind of education needed to solve problems of poverty and deprivation. 22 So some problems of schools which educate Indians are the problems of all schools. Lack of funds make it difficult to recruit enough well-trained teachers and provide buildings and educational facilities. There is too often a lack of communication and understanding between teachers and students. There is not equal and sufficient interaction


between educators and community members, and there is not enough involvement of the community in the educational process. Many schools face these problems.²³

There has been some controversy about the use of the term "culturally deprived." Many believe that the term simply means a lack of knowledge of the cultural values and tools of the white middle class urban society, and they state that many minority groups are culturally rich, not culturally deprived. Cultural deprivation, however, can refer to a kind of isolation in which children do not have a variety of social experiences and have not learned to communicate with cultures outside their own. So they are handicapped when thrust into new situations. Some Indian children from isolated reservations, like those children from small rural mountain communities who grew up within a secure environment protected from outside influences, have found it difficult to adjust to the school environment where they must compete with many others to achieve academic and social success. "Culturally deprived" (or socially deprived) children have high rates of dropout, lack of reading skills, and low achievement test scores. School attendance is often irregular. They do not see education as a medium through which they can achieve future life goals, for their immediate concern is to be socially accepted by their peers. So they often become apathetic toward learning and some become

discipline problems. The school does not meet their social and emotional needs, so their academic needs are not met. Culturally deprived children show lower achievement scores and lower I.Q. scores and the lag becomes greater as they grow older. This same thing happens with Indian children.\textsuperscript{24}

In their study of the high school Sioux on Pine Ridge Reservation Rosalie and Murray Wax found that parents and relatives usually encouraged their children to go to school. For the rural Indian it was not the hostility of the Anglo community that caused the children to drop out; it was the students' inability to cope with a school social system that favored the more advantaged and more socially adept students. Most of the students who were interviewed stated that they liked school fairly well. They liked being away from the restrictions of conservative parents, being involved in sports, being involved in social activities with friends, and enjoying various urban activities which were not available on the reservation. They wanted to learn English, for knowledge of it was a social advantage. They stated that they wanted to get an education and get a better job, but most of all they wanted to be accepted in the present school environment.\textsuperscript{25}


\textsuperscript{25}Wax and Wax, "Indian Education For What?" pp. 166-69.
Living in poor economic conditions contributed to disease and resultant absenteeism among the Apache students. Parents who were not well-informed about germs and minor diseases at times kept them at home because of unnecessary worry about their health. Poor housing and poor clothing often caused health problems and embarrassment that caused children to stay at home or finally drop out of an environment that was unsympathetic to them.

Indian children often have to overcome a language barrier. For many reservation families English is not the primary language. When they go to public schools they must learn to express themselves in the English language before all other learning can take place. It is very difficult for the Indian child to become so skilled in a second language that he can really communicate his desires and feelings and learn new concepts and techniques. This language difficulty has the effect of causing Indian children to be forever behind other students in achievement. Verbal I.Q. tests and achievement tests that require a good knowledge of English show lower scores for Indian students. Facility in English is positively correlated with successful achievement at all levels of education, including college. The low scores often tend to reinforce the prejudices some people have about Indians and they cause the Indian students to become discouraged about their progress and to identify themselves

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as failures.  

Even if the language barrier is overcome, many types of "noise" can interfere with the communication between teacher and child during the learning process. This interference may be due to her low expectations of him, his inefficiency with a new language, his alienation from the educational environment and its expectations, and the differences in their cultural orientations.  

The orientation of teachers and students to life itself is often quite different. Of course not all Indians have identical cultural values. The cultural values of the various Indian tribes and of the Anglo culture are constantly changing. But in the Anglo society, the following values are consistently held in high favor: achievement and success, work and activity, efficiency and practicality, progress, material comfort, freedom and equality, humanitarianism, conformity, nationalism, and science and secular rationality. These are powerful forces in the dominant culture and are taught as ideals in the public schools. They are part of the Americanization process for minorities.

There are five basic ways in which there is a conflict between the cultural orientation of the Pueblo Indians and the Anglos who have more authority in enforcing

28U.S. Senate, Indian Education Hearings, p. 138.
29Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, p. 247.
cultural values in the public schools. In the comparisons which follow, the Pueblo orientation is given first and the Anglo orientation second. They are: (1) harmony with nature vs. mastery over nature; (2) present time orientation vs. future time orientation; (3) mythology and fear of the supernatural vs. scientific explanation of natural phenomena; (4) aspirations to follow the old ways and old people's wisdom, to cooperate, and maintain the status quo vs. competition and success; (5) anonymity and submission vs. individuality and aggression; and (6) to satisfy present needs and share vs. to work to get ahead and save for the future. Navajos and many other Indians have cultural orientations similar to those of the Pueblos. 30

Orientation of Teachers

Most of the teachers of the Indian children are non-Indian and usually have a very different cultural background and value system from their students. They evaluate the students in terms of their own goals and expectations and some of them acquire a very negative opinion of Indians in general. Teachers who are prejudiced against the Indians do not constitute a majority, but there are enough of them to cause Indians to have negative attitudes toward educators. Berry in his survey mentioned that a few teachers actually believed that Indian children are mentally and socially inferior; and that others believed

that Indians have sufficient ability, but are lazy, hostile, dirty, undependable, uncooperative and inattentive. Many stated that they would prefer not to have Indians in the classroom. It was noted that most teachers liked the Indian students, but had an attitude of condescension and criticism toward them. They often gave special favors and recognition to students just because they were Indians, again setting them apart from other students and insinuating that they could not have achieved excellence on an equal competitive basis. This type of reverse prejudice can be just as detrimental to a student's self-image and growth because it assumes inferiority and does not encourage him to use his fullest potential. There were some very good teachers who had good rapport with their students and developed a classroom environment which encouraged mental and social development. These successful teachers respected all their pupils as individuals.31

In one study it was found that of those teachers who answered the questionnaires, slightly over half of them lived in areas separate from the communities they served. There seemed to be a tendency for teachers in BIA schools and rural public schools to keep at a distance from the Indian community, to remain uninvolved socially, and to be highly mobile.32 In a state that has a large Indian


32Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, 200-201.
population, Roy L. Adkins studied a sample of 162 teachers in the Aberdeen area and found these facts about them: Most of them were of mixed American descent and had grown up in villages with populations of 500 or less. Their background was rural and the occupation of most of their parents was agricultural. Their median age was 38.7 and 75 percent of them were married. Thirty-seven percent were natives of the Dakotas. Seventy percent held a Bachelor's degree and 12.3 percent had a Master's degree. Seventy-three percent had acquired extra college credit since becoming a teacher. 33

While it is true that some government-employed teachers are inadequately trained and some lack true dedication to their profession, this is a problem faced by all educators. Some of our teacher training institutions lack the funds and qualified personnel to provide a really good educational program for teachers. Teaching competence is also very difficult to measure. In general teachers of Indians do have the proper credentials and education experience, and are professionally dedicated. They do have concern for the children they teach. The basic problem they have in dealing with ethnic minorities is that they are homogeneous and are chiefly products of a middle-class, rural culture. The high value which they place on industry, competition, achievement, independent individualism, attainment of material wealth, and respect for authority

interferes with their understanding and tolerance of cultures which do not value these attributes quite so highly. Being a homogeneous group, they reinforce each other's biases. The result is that they do not truly respect their students.\(^{34}\)

An Indian of the Blackfoot tribe stated that a major problem in education is the negative attitude of non-Indians toward Indians. Many teachers go to reservations planning only to teach basic educational skills and have no expectations of excellence. Children internalize these negative feelings about their ability and develop feelings of inferiority.\(^{35}\) During the school years a child's personality is developing and his concept of self is greatly affected by the image of himself as seen in the eyes of others. His teachers have especially great influence on his personality development. If he lacks acceptance at school it is very difficult for him to maintain a positive self-image. At this time the attitudes of his peers are very important to him. Also Indian children who are poor become more aware of their clothing and poor home surroundings and become self-conscious and ashamed. The emotional support and sustenance of home and family are not enough if the school environment appears hostile to him. A child must have self-confidence in order to achieve. Outside of


\(^{35}\)U.S. Senate, *Indian Education Hearings*, pp. 48-49, 562-64.
school itself, prejudice and discrimination is still a problem in some areas and this also undermines successful achievement in school. Expectations of failure result in failure, and treating a child as if he is inferior results in a low self-image and lack of self-confidence. This generally leads to inachievement, thus fulfilling the self-fulfilling prophecy discussed by Robert Merton. Negative attitudes toward the ability of Indian students are reinforced by reports of their failure.36

The poor achievement of Indian students was intensified by putting them in slower groups. The tests which supposedly measured intelligence and achievement were unfair because they were strongly language-oriented. But they were used as standards by which to group the children. Some Indians were struggling to make the transition from boarding school to public school. They often found the work in public schools very difficult and social adjustments were hard to make. Social promotions and classification as slow learners led to their identification of themselves as failures. It also increased their social isolation. Indian students faced with low expectations have often lived up to those expectations and have withdrawn from class participation, ceased to do the necessary work, or have dropped out of

Recent research indicates that teachers are becoming much more aware of the special problems faced by many Indian students. Those who must move far from their reservation home where life is secure and predictable to attend schools where they must become more competitive and achievement-oriented need counsel and assistance to make the transition. They must manage to sustain contact with their family, community, and heritage while learning skills that will enable them to have a happy and successful life. Federal aid to public schools to provide special programs for children who need them is helping to alleviate the need for special schools where children with special needs were formerly segregated. 38

A national study recently revealed that most teachers believe that Indians should acquire skills and attitudes that will enable them to have vocational and social success in the Anglo society, but that they should also have a thorough knowledge of and respect for their own tribal cultures. Most of the teachers in this study admitted that their school was a little more Anglo-oriented than it should be. They believed that tribal or Indian culture and history should be taught in schools. These teachers did not exhibit prejudice and were very humane in

38 Gifford, "Educating the American Insian," p. 11.
their treatment of the children. They were sometimes lacking in a knowledge of Indians and Indian cultures that would have helped them to understand the different value orientations of their students. Teachers and researchers all now seem to agree that teachers and prospective teachers need special training in Indian culture and history and psychological knowledge of the problems of adjustment of ethnic minorities and those who are economically deprived.

The early myths of racial and cultural superiority must be permanently dispelled and teachers and students of different races or cultures must come to a common ground of understanding. Then the goals of the schools would not be Anglo-conformity, but a sharing of cultures.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has changed policy and organization over the years as the needs of the Indians and the opinions of the people have changed. Many think that the Bureau should change a great deal more, but most now agree that its existence is necessary for the welfare of the Indian population. Its original function was to hold Indian land in trust and to be responsible for land negotiations, in order to prevent Anglo exploitation. Because there was great need, from its beginning it has also been deeply involved in Indian education. Most of the BIA


budget is used for education. Whenever feasible it gives aid to public schools. Its primary purpose in education is to provide schools and facilities for those Indian children who have special needs due to social, economic, or educational deprivation.41

The central office of BIA is in Washington, D.C. and the affairs of that office are directed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He has the final responsibility for fulfilling federal obligations to the Indians. Since the latest revision of administrative offices, the Commissioner has been assisted by a Deputy Commissioner, an Associate Commissioner, four Assistant Commissioners, two Assistants to the Commissioner, and an Information Officer. The Deputy Commissioner supervises three divisions: (1) Administration (budget, finance, plant construction, and other affiliated concerns), (2) Community Services (education, employment assistance, law and order, and welfare), and (3) Economic Development (agricultural assistance, forestry, industrial development, roads, and other similar activities). Each of these three divisions is under the direct control of an assistant commissioner. In the field there are ten administrative area offices. At the area offices in Aberdeen, Gallup, Phoenix, and Portland, these office heads are called area directors rather than commissioners. In addition, there are about sixty Indian agencies, many major field installations such as boarding schools and irrigation

41 Gifford, "Educating the American Indian," p. 10.
projects, and about 450 minor installations.\textsuperscript{42}

There has historically been a reluctance among BIA administrators to let Indians run their own affairs. But there was also a reluctance among BIA employees to be forever responsible for Indian education. The Bureau has wished to acculturate Indian children and to overcome their special problems so that they might be placed in public schools. As early as 1890 it was felt that Indian children would be better adjusted to living in a multi-ethnic community if they had learned to associate with children of all races and cultures in public schools. The Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 in accordance with this view authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with the states to provide for education of Indians and to allow the use of federal school buildings and equipment by local school authorities.\textsuperscript{43} Recently the Bureau has been made aware of the crucial need for its continuing services and of the necessity of changing its image and its tactics to include the Indians in policy-making procedure. The Senate recently proposed that the Bureau should definitely continue, but should improve its services by providing more funds for public school education and by providing for more Indian involvement. Now the officer formerly known as an Indian Agent is called a Superintendent. Preference is given to

\textsuperscript{42} Brophy and Aberle, \textit{America's Unfinished Business}, pp. 119-20.

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Statistics Concerning Indian Education} 1969, p. 2.
those who one-fourth or more Indian blood when recruiting for BIA employees. Now more than half of the Bureau's 14,500 employees have Indian ancestry. 44

Boarding Schools

Boarding schools were originally established to meet the critical educational need of Indians. Many school age children were not in school and adult illiteracy was high. They were an attempt to raise the educational level of Indians to that of the non-Indian population. One of their aims was to speed up the acculturation process for the Indians and to insure their integration into Anglo society. A public school education was at that time simply not available to many Indians because no public schools were close enough for them to attend. Many Indian children also needed a special educational program to catch them up with their age group because of language difficulties and a lack of previous education. Boarding schools were able to obtain funds and assistance for their educational programs and they educated large numbers of Indian children. The results of their efforts were educationally and economically beneficial to many. It has been suggested that boarding schools also created emotional and psychological problems for many others. There were and still are both advantages and disadvantages in acquiring an education within a boarding school climate.

As the educational level of Indians improved and as more public schools were built in Indian-populated areas, there was less need for boarding schools. BIA has stated that its goal is to put as many children as possible into public school. In accordance with this goal many boarding schools have been abolished and some other type of education has been provided for the students. But even today much of the money spent on education goes to boarding schools and provides for the construction of new boarding schools. Several boarding schools that are in very poor physical condition still are in use. In the book by Fuchs and Havighurst, statistics are cited which indicate that in the forty years after the Meriam Report the number of Indian children in boarding school increased. Of 52,000 Indian children under BIA responsibility 35,000 were found to be enrolled in boarding schools. Between 1959 and 1967 the enrollment in BIA boarding schools doubled. Over 23,000 children in 1967 were attending elementary boarding schools. Also in 1967 it was noted that 9,000 of the children in boarding schools were nine years old or younger. About 8,000 of these children were Navajo.

It should be realized that the increase in the total Indian population has contributed to the increased number of Indian children in boarding schools. Beyond that boarding

45 Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, p. 228.
46 U.S. Senate, Indian Education Hearings, pp. 2129-30.
schools today are intended to provide for children with special needs—those who would not be able to acquire an education in any other way. One special problem is that of transportation. There is a lack of good roads to transport children to public schools, especially on the large Navajo reservation. While it is not a policy to send very young children far from home to be educated, it seems that the physical isolation of some reservations and the lack of schools often makes it necessary. Most of the children in boarding schools are in the higher grades. A second special problem which boarding schools propose to solve is that of language difficulties and/or educational retardation due to delayed school entrance or past social or behavioral problems. The third type of student found in boarding school is the one who has had unsatisfactory home conditions or who has social-emotional problems. This includes students whose families cannot afford to feed and clothe them adequately and look after their medical needs, and those who are handicapped physically or emotionally. Parents do not often suggest the abolishment of boarding schools. They tolerate them for they see no alternative way to educate their children. Many Indian adults and leaders favor the continuation of boarding schools because they are more familiar with them, they provide jobs for Indians, and they provide a way to cope with problems of food, shelter and transportation. Sending a child away to a boarding school can sometimes alleviate economic
problems at home. 47

Many people agree that boarding schools are necessary, but believe that they need to change in value-orientation, methods, and curriculum. At boarding schools physical needs such as health, nutrition, clothing, and shelter are taken care of for some children. It is also true that there are many capable teachers at these schools. They are sometimes better trained than many public school teachers. Some schools have a capable faculty, innovative ideas, and good facilities; others are very, very bad. The problems lie in physical separation of children from parents, a lack of understanding of Indian culture, and a narrow curriculum. Many researchers are negative about boarding schools and feel that they do more harm than good. Yet consolidation of schools, isolation, and bureaucratic inertia have served to keep many substandard schools in existence. Nothing else has yet been created to fill the gap they would leave if they were abolished. 48 Domingo Montoya, the Chairman of the All-Indian Pueblo Council, feels that they serve a purpose because of the need for remedial work in certain subjects and the need for specialized language instruction. He believes that teachers of Indians should have cross-cultural orientation and that Indians


48 Birchard, Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth, pp. 10, 20-21, 38, 40.
should be more involved with the educational process. In his district the five school board members are elected and they direct a school system which is half Indian, but no board member is an Indian. Indians are only slowly developing a concept of what politics can do for them. Others also believe in maintaining boarding schools, but that providing for local control of them would solve many problems. 49

There are many negative reports about boarding schools. Though they are supposed to take care of children with special problems there is a high percentage of failure and dropout. In addition, many who remain in school are found to be academically retarded and to possess only those skills which will enable them to do the most menial work. 50

One of the problems is a boarding school curriculum that does not truly prepare students for higher education or for a good vocation after graduation. Many who have studied the situation feel that academic standards are lower at boarding schools. Indian students are often isolated from other students in academic programs that are supposed to be geared to their special needs. But the result is that they are also socially isolated and still lack guidance to solve their problems. The schools are understaffed. 51

49 U.S. Senate, Indian Education Hearings, p. 89.
50 Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, p. 237.
51 Parmee, Formal Education and Culture Change, pp. 102-3.
With poor facilities, an outdated curriculum, and a lack of personnel, students in these schools often get into an easy program of study that in no way prepares them for future success.

There is still some disagreement about what should be stressed in the off-reservation boarding school curriculum. In the past the greatest emphasis was placed on vocational training. Many people feel that there is still far too much emphasis on vocational training and not enough on academic preparation and liberal arts. The early tendency to stress courses of study that would enhance acculturation and just teach some way of making an adequate living in Anglo society is still in evidence. Often these vocational programs are poorly designed. Boarding school curriculum is irrelevant to the needs of many Indian students. There is a need for Indian students to learn more about Indian culture and about the social sciences. Some of them, if they could acquire the proper knowledge and skills, would like to provide leadership and guidance for their people by working on the reservation in administrative positions. Many students want to return home to live after acquiring an education, but feel estranged and alienated from their former culture after spending time in boarding schools.52

As a result of the Meriam Survey, many boarding schools were evaluated. The reports led to the closing of several boarding schools and the establishment of more day schools. It was felt that many boarding schools were not successful in their educational goals and that they were often causing, or intensifying, personality problems of the students. These were the general conclusions of the studies of boarding schools: (1) A majority of the male students do not enter the industrial trades for which they trained. (2) As many as half of the males who are employed work for the United States government in temporary or relief work. (3) Most of the female students return home and become housewives. (4) Most students in South Dakota and Arizona return to the reservation to work. (5) Most males in California and most students in Oklahoma take off-reservation jobs. (6) Training in the industrial trades and in home economics does not appear to necessarily lead to successful placement in good jobs after graduation.\(^5^3\)

Too often those who try to improve curriculum have placed all their hopes on a single technique such as TESL (teaching English as a second language). This is not enough. The boarding school curriculum must be expanded to include teaching the skills needed in our technological, computerized, space-oriented society, and knowledge and understanding of all ethnic groups and cultures. Indian students must learn enough to give them freedom to choose

\(^{53}\)LaFarge, *Changing Indian*, pp. 119, 122.
the kind of life they will live. Teachers must learn to understand and respect the cultural values and the special needs of all children with whom they work. Our world is constantly changing and all of us must change and grow along with it. This requires a broader perspective and flexibility, especially for teachers.\textsuperscript{54}

A study was made of students who were attending Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas in 1968 to determine their general characteristics and attitudes and to determine the degree to which they applied the skills acquired. Haskell is a government boarding school which is managed by BIA in the Department of the Interior. Information was obtained from student answers to a survey questionnaire. The study was financed with a grant from the U.S. Office of Education.\textsuperscript{55}

The students who attend Haskell must be at least one-fourth Indian. They must have completed high school or have passed the GED. Other criteria considered in the acceptance of students are residence, ability, aptitude, and choice of vocation.\textsuperscript{56} The 689 students who did the questionnaire represented 71 different tribes. A few of them were Pueblos, but the greatest number were Navajos.

\textsuperscript{54}U.S. Senate, \textbf{Indian Education Hearings}, pp. 15-19.


\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., p. 2.
The majority of the student body were those tribes which were geographically close to the school. Most were from Arizona, Oklahoma, and New Mexico, but quite a few were from Alaska and Montana. About half of the group studied had previously attended a boarding school and about half had never before attended one. \footnote{Ibid., pp. 7-9.}

Haskell has placed great emphasis on preparing students for particular vocations. Specialized training is provided for these vocations. It is assumed that most students will not have the opportunity to attend school after leaving Haskell, so all except pre-professional majors are required to take terminal vocational training. The school motto is "Learn to Earn," and they do their best to make true the slogan: "Every Haskell vocational graduate is prepared to earn a living." \footnote{Ibid., p. 3.} The school now provides a program of study for those who wish to continue into higher education. It has a general education program which attempts to give students skills and experiences in living either on or away from the reservation, to develop citizenship, to train leaders, and to prepare them for happy and healthful family living. The curriculum has been expanded to include subjects necessary for laboratory assistants, practical nurses, and radiation technologists. Other courses have been added in Indian American folklore, history, Human Origins, and North American Indians. \footnote{Ibid., p. 6.}

Most of the students in the study had selected
business careers. When asked where they wanted to live, about one-fifth mentioned a specific city, usually in the southwestern or western area of the United States. An Institute publication states that there is evidence that the program furthers assimilation in the fact that many former students become successfully employed off the reservation. 60

Most of the students like Haskell. There were 58 percent who stated that they liked it and 26 percent who liked it very much. Some of the things they disliked were strictness of rules, the great distance from home, an overprotective atmosphere, and too much emphasis on details and regimentation. 61

There are many boarding schools like this one which have a vocational education orientation, but have expanded their programs to meet the needs of a changing society. They try to provide a program that will benefit all types of students with all types of goals. They also try to maintain a program of study that will enable students to experience success and maintain cultural pride and self-respect.

Other boarding schools have not changed with the changing times. Their construction, orientation, and curriculum are outdated and have a depressive influence on the children. When public schools were considered the best way to acculturate and educate Indian children BIA

60 Ibid., pp. 3-4, 17, 21. 61 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
established dormitories in small towns near the reservations. This had the effect of removing the child from his home environment while immersing him in Anglo culture in public schools. One of these, Manuelito Hall in Gallup, had been built for a motel and rented in 1958 by BIA for a dormitory. The buildings are very stark with no landscaping. Sleeping quarters are very small and there is very little privacy. There is hardly any way in which the students can channel their energy and creativity. There is, therefore, a great deal of vandalism, and many pranks occur, resulting in destruction of property which makes the physical condition of the buildings even worse. 

Unfortunately many dormitories like this one and many boarding schools in poor condition still exist. The structure of the schools, the great distance from Indian homes, and the Anglo-conformity orientation of the schools have resulted, many researchers think, in personality problems that make high achievement and a well-adjusted life impossible.

There are several reasons why boarding schools tend to create or intensify emotional problems in Indian children. The main reason—the one under which all others may be subsumed—is that the schools try to push acculturation much too rapidly. As previously mentioned, the process of acculturation is the process by which the customs, knowledge, attitudes, values, and objects of one

62 Brophy and Aberle, America’s Unfinished Business, pp. 150-51.
culture are adopted by the people of another culture. The greatest amount of acculturation usually occurs in the environment which provides for gradual and continual change and in which stress and conflict are diminished. The goal of Anglo-conformity led boarding school administrators and other personnel to speed up the process of change, often using coercion and even force in persuading children to relinquish their former values, language and culture in favor of the Anglo way of life. These stressful situations often led to regression to more immature forms of behavior and confusion as to what values and principles for living were really acceptable and right. In one study it was found that Indians who had been sent to boarding schools exhibited very aggressive behavior, were insecure, or had other personality problems.63

One of the ways in which boarding schools have an ill effect on emotional and social adjustment is by removing children from their homes and families before they are able to adjust to this separation for long periods of time, and before they have enough self-confidence and self-acceptance to become involved with new cultural surroundings. Most psychologists agree that to take a child from his family at an early age is destructive to his personality. Many have stated that mental illness and great emotional damage can be caused by keeping the very young child away from his parents. It is especially destructive for children

63 Cobb, Emotional Problems, pp. 16, 43.
younger than nine years old. Boarding schools cannot be good substitutes for parents and family. Yet this is the way in which many Navajo children and those of other tribes are educated because, it is said, there is no other alternative. According to Dr. Karl Menninger, a psychiatrist, Navajo children in BIA elementary boarding schools have extremely high anxiety levels and low self-images. In boarding school their physical needs are met, but their isolation is great. They often do not get the opportunity to associate even with brothers and sisters who are in the same school. Those children who become problems or who run away from the school are even more closely watched and are seldom allowed to visit their homes. To an Indian child family and community relationships are very important, for it is mainly these relationships which help him to acquire a sense of his identity and worth. Recently some boarding schools have attempted to alleviate the problem of runaways and to lessen the feeling of estrangement by encouraging parent visitation and involvement and by allowing children to visit their homes more often.64

The regimentation and impersonality of boarding schools have a negative influence on personality development. Students have little free time, are closely supervised, and rules are strictly enforced. There is a shortage of personnel and the schools are often overcrowded. So the

64Birchard, Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth, p. 11; "Indian Education--A National Disgrace," p. 26; and U.S. Senate, Indian Education Hearings, pp. 2129-33.
school leaders follow the rules exactly in order to feel more secure in their roles and to prevent problems from surfacing. There is a tendency to herd the children around and to give orders rather than to teach them individual responsibility and respect. Sometimes the rules and restrictions governing male-female relationships are unreasonably strict. Irrational and childish acts are expected of students who, if they were still on the reservation, would be expected to function as responsible adults. All students are treated alike and expected to fit into precise categories, in spite of the fact that many came to the school with specific problems and needs. Because of crowded conditions and lack of personnel little concern is given to individual problems and needs. The atmosphere of regimentation and impersonality combined with the frustration of not being able to get special help aggravates these problems.

Some guidance is provided, but not the sort that can deal with the great number of different types of problems that Indian children have. Sometimes the people who work with the Indians are themselves disturbed about their roles and their successful achievement of their jobs and they communicate this feeling of insecurity to students.


67 Cobb, Emotional Problems, p. 42.
Sometimes the children meet the rigidity of the school program and the isolation they feel as a result of being far away from the culture and the people who understand and care about them with a different kind of resistance. They and their peers develop a group culture through which they find emotional and social satisfaction. Often in an institution like this, a power structure develops among the children. They function through this separate culture and withstand efforts of school personnel to break it apart. Those who work with the children must recognize that this structure exists and has a purpose. Its destruction may mean the loss of identity and self-protection for many students and may cause complete withdrawal from social and academic relationships. 68

Communication between Indians and Anglos is often limited. Ideas are expressed in different ways and in different languages and values are often very different. There is also a reluctance among Indians to make known their most important values, attitudes, and feelings for fear that Anglos will try to change them. Culture conflict often creates stress between school personnel and Indian students. For the Pueblos, a highly valued concept is cooperation among all units of society and this often is in conflict with the school ideal of competition to achieve excellence. Pueblo children are very much involved with family and community. When they do something wrong, the

68 Ibid., pp. 38, 45.
whole community is affected. They have a close, dependent relationship with their families and this is seldom broken even when they have been educated away from home. In the Pueblo culture, passive resistance is an acceptable defense mechanism in a stressful situation so they use it in school to prevent other people from learning too much about them and changing them. But rapport can be established with Pueblo children and they will then be cooperative and studious, though they still resist being pushed. Cobb believes that Pueblo children who are community-oriented are better able to adjust to the community associated with boarding school and dormitory living than are the Navajos who are more used to an isolated, independent life.69

It is when school authorities try to alter the lifestyle of the Indian students and change their values too quickly that trouble arises. Culture conflict may cause resistance of the students toward the total education system. Or changing too quickly may cause a loss of an understanding of self as an important member of an Indian culture where values were understood and predictable. The person may become estranged from both cultures and be without a workable set of values. The student often suffers from deep emotional and spiritual insecurity when he finds conflicts between his religious teachings and the teachings of the Anglo culture. He sometimes finds that both cultures reject him. Indian students hesitate to change, because they fear

69 Ibid., pp. 40-42.
that they will be rejected by their Indian community when they return home. Many times this rejection becomes fact unless they forget the things they learned at school and conform to the old way of life. 70 This lack of communication between school and community has often been aggravated by a restrictive school schedule that keeps students away from participation in community activities. 71

With both boarding schools and public schools there is sometimes value conflict and a lack of communication and understanding. Sometimes parents are accused of being hostile or apathetic. A greater truth is that the parents do not have the educational background or the community facilities to encourage and assist their children in school. They do resent the school at times because they see it as a way to separate their children from them and to alienate them from the Indian culture. The educational level of parents is in many cases lower than that of their children. So the children are not able to share their newly acquired goals and aspirations with their parents. They often feel that their parents are old-fashioned and will not understand them. Students are often told by their parents, "You're acting like a white man" when they adopt part of the Anglo culture, and this is an insult which has the power to hurt them deeply. Students find themselves at odds with both


71 *Birchard, Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth*, p. 24.
Sometimes educational activities interfere with community activities and this causes resentment among community members. Compatibility between school and community is often lost because the community is not at a stage of development in which the newly acquired skills of students can be used. Many Indian communities are not able to offer access to educational institutions such as libraries and museums, and those professionals who are good examples of what good education can accomplish are usually living and working elsewhere. So the community perceives the school as an agency to separate and alienate them from their children, and children see the reservation as a dead-end street as far as their educational skills are concerned. Parents feel discouraged and frustrated because they cannot reach the point at which their children are and so cannot have better communication with them. Many parents believe that education is necessary for success in the modern world and wish their children to be successful. But they feel helpless and resentful about having to accept it from the hands of another culture.

Motivation and encouragement from the parents must become a reality if children are to really succeed in school.

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74 Parmee, *Formal Education and Culture Change*, p. 117.
Sometimes parents remember how difficult it was for them in boarding school and they try not to push their children too hard. Some feel that they should simply leave all educational matters up to the school because school personnel have more experience and knowledge than they do. For a child to do well in school, however, he needs to have had educational experiences at home and needs to have his parents understand what he is trying to achieve. 75

Parents and other adults of the Indian community are beginning to realize the need for their involvement in the education process. They want to establish more day schools so that children can attend school near their homes, avoiding the culture crisis so often found in boarding schools. More money and better roads are a critical need in the attainment of this goal. They are becoming directly involved in the planning of school curriculum and in extra-curricular activities. 76 They realize the great need for the recruitment of more Indian educators. One report says that only one percent of the Indian children in elementary schools have Indian teachers or principals. 77 Only 260 out of 1,772 teachers in BIA schools are Indians, but this figure is expected to increase to at least 1,000 in the 1970s. Paraprofessionals are also being used in the school system.

75 First National Indian Workshop, pp. 142-43.
76 U.S. Senate, Indian Education Hearings, p. 1042.
77 "Indian Education--A National Disgrace," p. 27.
So parents and teachers are becoming involved in a cooperative effort in the education of the children. The study in this source was conducted by Robert J. Havighurst, several other professors, and a twelve-member advisory board, six of whom were Indians.78

Some social science researchers believe that a condition called anomie (or anomy) often exists in societies where goals and the means for reaching them are inconsistent. This phenomenon has been analyzed in various ways. Anthropologists use the term to refer to a society in which the cultural systems have broken down and cultural traits and elements no longer fit into the cultural pattern. There is an inconsistency and unpredictability that causes the members of the society to feel panic, depression, or apathy. Sociologists use the term to refer to a condition of normlessness in a society in which the societal rules are no longer followed by the majority and previous normative patterns are no longer understood as right and good for the society and its members. The researchers often emphasize the psychological aspect of this phenomenon in their analyses when they speak of the alienation, demoralization, disillusionment, and powerlessness felt by individuals in an anomic society.79

Leo Srole uses the term "anomia" to refer to the

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alienation and disorientation felt by individuals. He developed the scale which is often used by sociologists to measure anomia. The measuring instrument contains five questions to determine a person's evaluation of the consistency between his life goals and the available means for attaining them. These are the questions:

(1) In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.

(2) It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

(3) Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

(4) These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.

(5) There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

The respondent is to use a five-point scale of agreement or disagreement in recording his reactions to the five comments.

The questions are intended to determine the existence of the following feelings: (1) the perception that community leaders are indifferent to one's needs; (2) the perception that little can be accomplished in the society which is seen as basically unpredictable and lacking order; (3) the perception that life-goals are receding.

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81 Ibid., p. 190.
rather than being realized; (4) a sense of futility; and (5) the conviction that one cannot count on personal associates for social and psychological support.  

Some have suggested that Srole’s scale measures despair and hopelessness rather than anomia. This is possibly a valid criticism. His analysis leads to the generalization that anomia results when individuals are frustrated in their attempts to reach life goals. He indicates that those in lower socioeconomic classes are more likely to show evidence of anomia. Meier and Bell suggest that an individual’s socioeconomic status, class identification, age, social isolation, occupational mobility, marital status, and religious preference all determine his opportunities and chances for success. Anomia results when the means to success are not accessible, when obstacles continually come between an individual and achievement of his life goals. They do admit, however, that this is a post factum analysis and that anomia may be the cause of an individual's not trying to achieve success, as well as the result of his frustrated attempts.  

William A. Rushing agrees with Robert Merton’s conceptual analysis that the disjunction between goals and means leads to anomia. He found that anomie is not limited

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to groups with low socioeconomic status and is sometimes not even found in groups with low socioeconomic status. He suggests that the way in which those of a culture interpret the goals and view their chances of success helps to determine their efforts and their ensuing success or failure. Sometimes a group keeps itself in a lower status because they believe that they have no chance of reaching higher goals, when actually their opportunities for success are good. 84

Robert Merton states that there are in a society culturally defined goals which are held as reasonable and legitimate goals for all members of the society. These are considered to be the things that are really worth striving for. They are often exaggerated in importance because they are the ideals. Certain normative patterns are established for the attainment of these goals. Supposedly a natural sequence of events will lead to successful achievement of them. In Anglo society acquisition of wealth, power, and prestige are valued highly. These goals are usually reached through acquiring a good education, working very hard, sometimes making sacrifices, and maintaining rapport with influential people. 85

As increasing emphasis is placed on the attainment of


85. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, pp. 132-33.
the goals while many perceive no legitimate way of reaching them, other techniques for reaching the goals develop which do not follow the norms of society. Merton suggests that it is the conflict between the cultural goals and the availability of using the institutional means which produces the strain toward anomie.  

According to Merton, there are several individual adaptations to the discrepancy between the institutionalized norms and the available accepted means for reaching them. He outlines this in the following table. Plus means acceptance, minus means rejection, and ± means rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of Adaptation</th>
<th>Culture Goals</th>
<th>Institutionalized Means</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritualism</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retreatism</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebellion</td>
<td>±</td>
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The fifth mode of adaptation means trying to institutionalize new goals and new procedures to be shared by other members of the society. The group actually attempts to change the existing cultural and social structure.  

In a stable society conformity is the usual accepted way to attain life goals. Innovation may take the form of criminal acts or may be new, creative ways to reach the accepted life goals. If in an entire society the people

87 Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, p. 140.
see no correlation between institutionalized norms for reaching goals and the achievement of those goals, but attribute success or failure to luck, anomie may result. 88

In ritualism the people of the society do not reach for the high goals, but they still go through the proper steps. They work hard, are very concerned with details, and are very meticulous, but do not expect to attain the rewards of success. They do not gamble a lot, but opt for lesser rewards. Retreatism is the least frequent mode of adaptation, but is the most noticed. This includes all kinds of dropouts from society, drunkards, outcasts, drug addicts, anyone who has given up. These people still realize the importance of the success goals of society, but feel that they cannot possibly reach them. They feel guilty because they have not been able to do things according to the normative pattern. 89

Rebellion is a kind of revolutionary mode of adaptation in which a new set of norms and values is established. 90 This sometimes becomes the tactic of minority groups whose efforts to attain societal goals are continually frustrated. They may establish new social groups where they can have their own goals and methods for achieving them.

Some suggest that discrepancy between goals and

88 Ibid., pp. 141, 148. 89 Ibid., pp. 150, 153.
90 Ibid., p. 156.
means is not the only factor which causes anomie. McClosky and Schaar suggest that if a minority or a subgroup is in a situation where they do not become aware of the goals and values of the wider society, anomie may result. Berreman suggests that the dominant society often serves as a reference group for various other cultural groups even though they are not assimilated into it. If they try to attain membership and upward mobility in the dominant group and fail, anomie may result. Evaluating themselves through the eyes of the dominant society and according to their standards causes the self-image of those in the minority group to suffer and increases their alienation and despair. But Berreman also states that if a subordinate minority can maintain contact with the dominant group and be benefitted by such contact, the dominant group may become a "valuation group" for them, but not their only point of reference. This is because the minority group maintains its own group identity and takes satisfaction in its own culture. Thus culture change may take place without disorganization. 91

In Stanton Tefft's study Arapaho, Shoshone, and white students are compared. The information gathered indicated that all three groups had fairly equal opportunities for reaching life goals insofar as their training, capability, and accessibility to jobs were concerned. Both Indian groups had had the same degree of contact with the white society. Counselors felt that the Indians often restricted themselves

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by seeking jobs that allowed them to live close to the reservation.92

The scale used by Tefft to discover the presence of anomie and self-to-other alienation was a modified version of the one developed by Leo Srole. The questions were designed to find the degree of existence of the following: (1) the perception that the community leaders are indifferent to one's needs; (2) the perception that one can't count on people to help one out in emergencies; (3) the perception that education will do little to improve one's life chances; (4) a sense of futility; and (5) a perception of social relations as being unpredictable.93

Tefft’s findings indicate that subordinate groups who have had considerable contact with the dominant culture do tend to regard it as a reference group. Being denied both membership in and social acceptance by the dominant group could result in anomic attitudes among members of the subordinate group.94

It is possible that anomie (meaning a breakdown of the norms of a cultural group) does not exist in great measure among Indian tribes which hold their cultural institutions intact and withstand rapid acculturative change. But there is some evidence that individual Indians who have been removed from their home environment where cultural values and expectations were stable and predictable, and placed in a new sociocultural environment where they must

92 Ibid., p. 148. 93 Ibid., p. 149. 94 Ibid., p. 157.
undergo rapid change and adjustment, suffer from feelings of alienation and a sense of futility and despair. The self-image suffers from negative evaluation by the dominant group and from using the dominant group as a reference group to measure one's failure or success.

Melvin Seeman has outlined five types of alienation which partially correspond with the concept of anomia. This means the forms of alienation which are felt by the actor—a social-psychological analysis. 95

Powerlessness is the type of alienation in which the worker is separated from the means of production. He has no part in the decision-making process and feels helpless in the control of his own destiny. He feels like an unimportant person in a society that has control over him. 96

In meaninglessness the individual's understanding of the situation is not complete enough that he can predict the outcome of his actions. He can act on the basis of his beliefs, but he has no assurance that his assumptions are correct. 97

In normlessness there is low expectancy that following the norms of the society will actually help one to achieve the desired goals. There is more expectancy that following deviant modes of behavior will achieve the same goals. One

96 Ibid., pp. 511-12. 97 Ibid., p. 514.
believes that socially unapproved behavior has become necessary because the society seems to be in a state of disorganization and confusion, as measured by his standards. This corresponds to Merton's concept of innovation in which goals are still highly valued, but other means not in keeping with societal norms are employed in order to reach them.

Isolation refers to the kind of alienation in which individuals do not place high value on goals or beliefs that are accepted by society as the standard. They reject both goals and means, and replace them with new ones. This could refer to ivory tower intellectuals, hermits, and the like. It approximates Merton's rebellion category.

In self-estrangement the individual feels separated from himself as a social being and from other people as meaningful others. He no longer feels himself to be an integral part of his society and lacks self-respect. He can no longer find intrinsic satisfaction in his own creative activities. He looks to others for acceptance and, not finding it, feels himself to be worthless. Other people become objects to him and he lacks a sense of himself as a personal self. As in Merton's category of retreatism he still perceives the worth of both goals and means and feels guilty and worthless for not attaining them. But he rejects them because he feels rejected and no longer believes

98 Ibid., p. 517. 99 Ibid., p. 518.
100 Ibid., pp. 519-20.
in his ability to use the means or to acquire the goals.

Many factors have combined to create conditions of poverty and despair for many Indians. They have often experienced powerlessness because decisions governing distribution of land, the education of their children, and the economic development of their tribes were handed down to them from bureaucratic agencies of another culture. Many times their efforts to determine their own destiny were frustrated by the dominant society. Boarding schools followed this same policy. The Indian did not share in policy-making or in the execution of policy. Those whose goal was Anglo-conformity educated the Indian children. Expression of Indian cultural traits was even forbidden for many years in boarding schools because acculturation of Anglo traits was considered to be the ideal. Until 1929 Indian languages, dress, and hair styles were forbidden in these schools and the curriculum excluded studies in Indian culture. 101

Meaninglessness is a form of alienation felt by many students. Education often seems irrelevant to their needs. They see the school as an institution where others may pursue life goals, but as a place of confinement for themselves, something to be endured. Their successes come in the degree of acceptance by members of the peer culture and in the learning of social skills which will enable them to function in Anglo society when necessary. Students generally

101LaFarge, Changing Indian, p. 117.
are not hostile to the school or to the teachers; they generally like school. But the curriculum just does not offer them subjects to really get excited about or that will enable them to pursue life goals. Many of them wish to return to the reservation to live and work, and the skills learned in school often cannot be used there.\textsuperscript{102}\footnote{Fuchs and Havighurst, \textit{Live on Earth}, p. 158.}

Alienation and lack of self-confidence have an adverse effect on Indian educational achievement. It is not only the school environment which undermines self-confidence. A home environment of poverty where parents have not acquired a high level of education and are not able to provide an intellectual environment for their children often adds to feelings of inadequacy in school. Socially conservative Indian tribes have managed to withstand the pressures of Anglo-conformists. They have adopted some material traits of the Anglo society but have not changed their social structure. The close family solidarity, the cooperation among kinship groups, the strong sense of tradition, and the continuing belief in the tribal religion combine to form a security within which the Indian child does not feel threatened. Poverty may be a problem for him, but he does not suffer from social and emotional crises brought on by culture conflict. If he can complete his education within this environment, education remains relevant and he does not experience the loss of self-esteem or the sense of meaninglessness and powerlessness that is
When Indian children must acquire their education within the Anglo culture, culture contact and culture conflict often leave them with feelings of alienation from self and with low self-esteem based on their use of the Anglo culture as a means of reference. They become alienated from their own culture as a result of loss of contact and also as a result of their changing attitudes. This alienation causes alienation from self because it was their cultural and social institutions which helped them to identify themselves as significant persons. They also are alienated from the Anglo culture because they feel that they do not measure up, and their rejection by some Anglos reinforces that feeling of alienation. Many researchers feel that low self-esteem and alienation due to culture conflict are two of the main factors in academic failure. Indians who are able to accept both Indian and Anglo cultures have scores which indicate that they accept themselves as significant persons and have high self-esteem.

Self-concept does influence achievement. Self-concept evolves from interaction with significant others.

In the study by Anderson and Safaar questions concerning the probability of successful completion of school by Anglos, Spanish-Americans, or Indians were asked of a predominantly Anglo community and a predominantly Spanish-American community. There were not enough Indian families to get a valid sampling of their opinion, though some Indian families were polled.\(^{107}\)

Members of all the groups asked believed that Anglo children were the most likely to achieve academic success, that Spanish-American children were less likely, and that Indian children were least likely of all groups to complete school. Both Anglos and Spanish-Americans felt that lack of parental encouragement by Spanish-Americans was a deterrent to success. Many Anglos felt that Indians were lazy and lacked motivation, and a few believed that difficulties in language was a factor in their non-achievement. Most Spanish-Americans believed that Indians were inferior, and lacked incentive because of too much dependence on federal aid. When the larger society has low expectations of the members of a cultural minority, believes them to be inferior, and uses discriminatory actions against them, the minority tends to internalize these feelings of inferiority and to react in ways that intensify failures and encourage discrimination, thus creating the self-fulfilling prophecy of failure.\(^{108}\)

People then tend to think in stereotypes about the

\(^{107}\)Ibid., pp. 222-23. \(^{108}\)Ibid., p. 223.
cultural minority as their expectations are fulfilled. Educators are often more aware of the potential ability of members of the minority group than are those of the surrounding community. So they are perhaps less susceptible to stereotyped beliefs. But school programs and personnel are Anglo-oriented and minority groups are usually evaluated negatively by tests based on Anglo culture and expectations. Failure is generally attributed to differences in culture, and a lack of motivation and experience on the part of the minority group, while little thought is given to the need to reevaluate and revise school policy. Whatever is not in agreement with Anglo-conformist standards is considered to fall short of the ideal. 109

Some studies indicate that Indian children undergo personality crises during adolescence but the results are not at all conclusive. Self-concept scores of Indian children are not necessarily low because they are in a low socioeconomic class. If they are grouped homogeneously they do not always have low self-esteem. If they are grouped with children of other races and cultures who may look down on them, their self-esteem scores are often low. They tend to use their peers in the dominant society as a reference group and they often consider themselves inferior. 110


Boarding school children did show low self-esteem scores. Many boarding school students already had emotional, social, or economic problems before they entered school. Then in boarding schools they were removed from the culture in which they understood values and norms and in which they had an important place. Their only point of reference became the Anglo school system with its traditions and values. They had only Anglo models of success. Boarding school conditions often have led to feelings of inferiority by Indians, low morale, feelings of isolation, depression, and hopelessness. Of course, it is the Anglos who have created the instruments to measure self-esteem. This may mean that the instruments may contain biases that cause Indians to appear inferior.¹¹¹

Severe social and emotional problems often occur in Navajos who attended boarding school. Many become apathetic and alienated from both societies. Excessive drunkenness, child neglect, reckless driving, delinquency, and other forms of irresponsibility exist among many of them.¹¹²

Levy and Kunitz caution against a too easy acceptance of rapid acculturation as a causative factor in social pathologies such as homicide, suicide, and alcoholism. It is possible that the unpleasantness that is a part of poverty is in itself enough to cause feelings of despair and

¹¹¹Ibid., pp. 8-10.

¹¹²Birchard, *Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth*, p. 36.
hopelessness, retreat into alcoholism, aggressive acts, or various other forms of deviant behavior. It is also possible that certain traditions or expectations in the culture can lead to personality disorders in certain individuals. Every society has the tendency to generate a certain amount of anomie and alienation. Some individuals are able to conform to societal norms and some are not. For some life becomes meaningless and they lose their sense of importance and worth, and they react in various socially unacceptable ways. The means-goals disjunction can occur in any society. There is a certain amount of stress placed on individuals in traditional society as well as in industrial society. There are pressures to conform. In a matrilineal society the young man feels a certain amount of insecurity. Sociologists and anthropologists have possible overemphasized value conflict in the consideration of personality problems such as anomia and deviant behavior. Perhaps in an industrial society certain problems for the individual can be solved, even though they were insoluble in the traditional home environment.\footnote{Jerrold E. Levy and Stephen J. Kunitz, "Indian Reservations, Anomie, and Social Pathologies," \textit{Southwest Journal of Anthropology} 27 (Summer 1971):97-99.}

Some Indian tribes (such as Apaches, Cheyennes, and Eskimos) do have high rates of suicide and homicide, but this situation existed before a great degree of acculturation took place. Suicide rates for Zunis and for some of the other Pueblos are low. For the Navajos suicide and homicide
rates are about the same as those for the general population. These rates have remained stable over long periods of time and appear to be relatively unchanged by residence in bordertowns, contact with Anglo culture, use of alcohol, or degree of acculturation. Hopi suicide and homicide rates are similar to those of the Navajos and the general population. Alcoholism and related illnesses do seem to be problems among the Hopi. Levy and Kunitz believe that the social problems exist as a result of maladjustment to cultural teachings, but the availability of alcohol led to that particular kind of escapism.  

These two researchers and others believe that social pathologies are results of lack of adjustment to the natural circumstances of living in a culture and that all cultures have the potential for causing or intensifying personality problems of one kind or another. Individual differences must also come under consideration. What creates in one person deep traumatic shock may in another strengthen his character and determination.

It must be recognized, however, that transplanting oneself from reservation to city does require quite a bit of adjustment and acculturation. The entire process of urbanization is essentially an acculturation process.  

For many different reasons vast numbers are leaving their

\[114\] Ibid., pp. 101-2, 104, 112-14.

reservations to establish residence in cities. Often there is a lack of job opportunities on or near reservations, education in public schools has altered the values and goals of many young people to the extent that they find themselves at odds with the conservative members of their tribes, and mass media agencies speak of great chances for success and happiness in cities.\textsuperscript{116} The processes of change and adjustment required of reservation Indians who move to cities are quite similar to those required of many rural young people who move to cities. There is often value conflict and there is great change in one's life style.

In order to assist Indians in their adjustment to this new way of life, BIA established a "relocation" program in 1951 which is now called "employment assistance."\textsuperscript{117} There are varying opinions among the Indians as to the success of this endeavor. Some believe that their problems are intensified in the cities or that they merely swap old problems for new ones. Some believe that the relocation idea is good but that BIA does not give them enough assistance, leaving them stranded in a strange environment which they are not yet ready to cope with and causing them to end up unemployed and living in urban ghettos. The Indians who share this belief state that the Bureau does not do

\textsuperscript{116}Waddell and Watson, \textit{Indian in Urban Society}, p. 319.

enough to provide for individual needs.  

For some urban Indians there is an identity crisis. Some of them feel as if they truly belong in no culture and have lost sight of a lasting set of goals and values. Exposure to a new set of values sometimes creates conflict in the understanding of social and family roles. Marital problems sometimes develop because reservation-bred males believe that a wife should remain at home and care for the house and children while the husband goes where and with whom he pleases, makes contact with people, and exhibits machismo and manly authority. A city-bred wife requires more of his time and attention than he thinks he should give. More city-bred Indians of the younger generation, however, are coming to accept the concept of equalitarianism in marriage. Those men who have migrated to the cities lack their former ceremonial status that gave them importance on the reservation. For some, life seems difficult in the city because they are sensitive to criticism and discrimination and perceive it in the attitudes of some of their -o-workers and social contacts.  

There appears to be a great deal of drinking of alcoholic beverages among both city and reservation Indians. This does not necessarily mean that all Indians drink, but that those who do, drink a lot. Drinking also occurs among

118 Waddell and Watson, Indian in Urban Society, pp. 169-82 passim.

119 Ibid., pp. 188-93, 201-2.
young Indians who are legally underage. But it is not necessarily a manifestation of unhappiness or maladjustment and it is not necessarily attributed to race or cultural conflict. Rather it is a result of the social environment which uses drinking as a part of social activities. Some individuals do have a problem with alcoholism. This appears to be true among many cultures. 120

Many city Indians maintain that there are no real inherent problems connected with moving from reservation to city. They believe that too many Indians are excessively dependent on government assistance and should become more independent. They believe that successful adjustment to urban life requires a great deal of effort and dedication, but brings great rewards and satisfaction. Success depends partially on the stability and flexibility of the individual. Many Indian migrate without the assistance of BIA and are happy and successful in urban living. One person stated that being Indian is a part of being oneself. It should not be merely a means of separation from other cultures. One's personality is developed through many relationships and experiences and the person one becomes is a result of his own efforts. These Indians state that they did not realize they had so many problems until they read accounts of them in newspapers and periodicals. 121

120 Ibid., pp. 186, 194-96.

121 Ibid., pp. 169-82 passim, 204.
The Bureau has often used a lot of advertising and publicity to encourage high school students to move to cities to work after completing their education. The hope was that they would acquire skills and experiences that would enable them to improve social and economic conditions on the reservations and in urban Indian communities. Many BIA employees now doubt the validity of this assumption. Answers from BIA agencies on a questionnaire indicated that they felt that the relocation program was having little or no effect on reservation conditions. This is partly because economic conditions on reservations were and still are bad, and employment opportunities are lacking. The reason for the migration of most Indians to cities was the seemingly hopeless economic condition of the reservations. Some did not wish to leave the reservation permanently, but intended to return when they had acquired education, wealth, or experience. Some, of course, just wanted to have a good time in the city and then return home. Some Indians go back to the reservation for a period of time and then return to the cities. Some just prefer living in small villages to urban life. The reasons for migration are varied. It is now being realized by many that relocation should not be used to encourage migration for those who are not ready, and that Indians should not be expected to conform to BIA goals. Life in cities is not suitable for all individuals. Those who wish to go to cities for whatever reason will have a strong enough desire that they can manage it on their own.
Many prefer reservation life.\textsuperscript{122}

A majority of Indians are now living in towns and cities. By the end of 1957, about 100,000 Indians had left the reservations and 75 percent of these did it without government assistance. A majority of Indians now find city life productive and worthwhile.\textsuperscript{123} Urban Indians still maintain the bonds with their tribal community. They maintain a sense of belonging in the Indian community that helps strengthen their sense of identity in the impersonal urban social structure. Urban Indians are now trying to build Urban Indian Centers through which they can maintain cultural identity and give assistance and encouragement to other Indians. They can use the cities in this way as economic resources to support the social structure of tribal homelands. They are not asking individuals to give up one culture and cleave to the other; they are bringing both together and realizing the importance of both. Thus it would seem that an Indian program works best if it is managed by Indians.\textsuperscript{124}

The three main perspective views discussed in this chapter which have been the basis for policies concerning Indians have been primarily Anglo-directed. The policies were extermination, paternalism, and assimilation. Under

\textsuperscript{122}Neils, Reservation to City, pp. 108, 110-11, 114-16, 127.
\textsuperscript{123}Ibid., p. 109.
\textsuperscript{124}Ibid., pp. 122, 138.
paternalism and assimilation some progress was made in economic and educational development, but many Indians today resent the loss of self-direction.
CHAPTER V

CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL VALUES OF
THE ZUNIS: CONSIDERATION OF A
WESTERN PUEBLO CULTURE

In the United States those Indian tribes which are located in the Southwest have been most successful in resisting the acculturative influence of the Anglo industrial society. They have maintained their traditional beliefs and social institutions over a long period of time. They have accepted much of the Anglo technology and have adopted certain procedures necessary for economic success and educational achievement. But their belief in and practice of traditional religious ceremonies and their special way of structuring the social functions and social activities family members and civil officials continue to make them identifiably different. Of course this has made many students of social science eager to observe and study them as exotic cultures. Some of the people who visited these tribes admired and respected their way of life and wished to adopt it as their own. They believed it to be a simpler life, but found it was actually very complex. They also found these Indians to be very secretive about the meaning
behind their rituals and social activities, and encountered resistance to their attempts at social analysis.¹

The Pueblo Indians are well known for their independence and for their traditional life style. Throughout history they have met conflict with passive resistance. When faced with domination by Spaniards, Mexicans, and Anglos during different periods of their history, their tactic has been one of retreat and seclusion. They did fight when it became absolutely necessary to protect their homes and to preserve their way of life.²

The first contact between the Europeans and the American Indians in this country occurred when Coronado arrived at Zuni in 1540.³ There were six Zuni pueblos of which Hawikuh was the largest and the capital. Halona, where the main village, Zuni, is located today, was in the center. In 1539 after the Spaniards had conquered Mexico, Fray Marcos de Niza saw these villages from a distant hilltop glinting in the sunlight. To him they looked like seven cities of gold. The Zunis called their land Shiwona or Shiwinakwin or Itiwana, all of which mean "middle place." Today there is a sacred spot in Zuni located on the edge of their village which they consider to be the middle of the world. They call this place hepatina. The word Shiwona

¹Eggan, The American Indian, p. 176.
through Spanish attempts at its pronunciation became known as Cibola and the legend of the "Seven Cities of Cibola" developed. ⁴

Then in 1540 Coronado and his men set out on an expedition to find the "Seven Cities of Cibola." He called the village of Hawikuh, which was known as Cibola, by the name of Granada to emphasize its supposed glory. The Indians were friendly at first. Then there were disagreements and fighting broke out. The Zunis retreated. ⁵

In 1629 a Spanish mission was built at Hawikuh. Relationships between the missionaries and Indians were fairly good then. In October of 1672 the Apaches raided Hawikuh, killed the padre and burned the mission. The mission was never rebuilt. ⁶

The Pueblo Revolt occurred as a result of Coronado's actions at Pecos, a group of twelve villages which no longer exist. At Pecos he had heard rumors of a city of gold called Eldorado and he hired an Indian called "The Turk" to guide him there. When they arrived at the supposed place, there was no city of gold and Coronado had "The Turk"


⁵The Zunis, BIA pamphlet. ⁶Ibid.
garroted. Back at Pecos where the Indians had shown him hospitality and friendship Coronado kidnapped two of the head priests. Then he and his men raided the villages and took clothing, food supplies, and other articles, even though the Indians would have given them what they needed. One of Coronado’s men attempted to rape a Pueblo woman and her husband complained to Coronado, but Coronado’s soldier was not punished. The the villages went defensively on the warpath by shutting the Spaniards out. Coronado then attacked the village where the attempted rape had occurred. After some bloody but indecisive battles the village surrendered, after being promised that the Spaniards would take no more action against them. Coronado’s captain, however, was still acting under orders to take no man alive. He had captured two hundred men and was in the process of burning them at the stake when the fighting began again. Some Indians escaped, but many who tried were chased down by the Spanish horsemen. As far as is known, no action was ever taken against the captain by the Spanish officials. About 140 years later in 1680 the Taos led the Pueblos in revolt against the Spaniards in revenge for this incident and in order to rid themselves of exploitation by their harsh Spanish taskmasters. The Zunis then were living in only three of their original villages: Halona, Matsaki, Matsaki, Matsaki, Matsaki.

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and Kiakima. They participated in the revolt, killed their missionary and then retreated to their stronghold on the mesa of Taaiyalone where they remained for eight years. The Pueblos killed or drove out every Spaniard. In 1692 New Mexico was reconquered by Don Diego de Vargas and Spanish rule began again.  

The Pueblos were able to resist assimilation for several reasons. They have a strong sense of tradition which has been maintained over several hundreds of years. Nomadic tribes which were in the Southwest in 1200 A.D. called the Pueblos the Anasazi or "the ancient ones." Their traditional life style has been strengthened over many years. The people of Acoma and the Hopi village of Oraibi inhabit villages which have been in existence for 900 to 1,000 years. They seek to maintain their social and cultural values, and by careful methods of socialization to instill in their children this sense of tradition. They do want their children to learn English and to acquire the techniques for successful living in today's modern world. But they also want them to remember and respect their heritage and to know and understand their native language and native culture. This has sometimes caused conflict in school when teachers and administrators seek to obliterate the native culture and

8 Collier, Gleaming Way, pp. 85, 88-89 and The Zunis, BIA pamphlet.

to replace it with Anglo values.\textsuperscript{10}

The religious system has been a source of strength which enabled Pueblo Indians to maintain their way of life. Every other social institution is interrelated and interdependent with religion. When missionaries sought to convert them, they accepted Christianity in name only. Deeper religious sentiments and ritual activities remained Pueblo. Religion is perhaps the greatest common factor of unity among the Pueblos. A strong belief in the efficacy of secrecy made it possible for these Indians to safeguard and maintain the really important aspects of their religion.\textsuperscript{11}

Although conquerors had come and gone, the influence of Spanish culture was first felt in 1598 when Don Juan de Oñate came to the Southwest. The Pueblos accepted some things from this culture. Most of the changes were in economy and government. Under Spanish rule each pueblo had to choose a governor, a lieutenant governor, and various other officials to conduct civic affairs. One function of these officials was to act as liason between the villagers and the Spaniards. They often were mere figureheads, while the real authority remained with religious leaders and family heads.\textsuperscript{12}

Some facets of the economy were changed by contact with Spanish missionaries. New crops and improved methods


\textsuperscript{11}Indians of New Mexico, BIA pamphlet, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 2.
of agriculture were introduced and accepted. They learned to use sheep and horses for farm work. Spanish foods and certain terms in the Spanish language were integrated into Pueblo culture. Outwardly, many Indian communities began to resemble Spanish communities, but their social structure was not drastically changed.  

The Anglo frontiersmen who were continually warring with Indians, and missionaries and concerned citizens who were continually trying to "civilize" them, generally left the Pueblos in peace to live as they wished. One reason for this was that the Pueblos were sedentary and agricultural, not nomadic hunters as were some other tribes. Many Anglos then believed that "civilized" meant being peaceful, productive farmers, so their first inclination was to consider the Pueblos civilized already and to leave them along. They gave more attention to the subduing of the Plains Indians. This served to reinforce the seclusion of the Pueblos and their realization of themselves as distinct cultural groups. Group identity stemmed from boundary-maintaining mechanisms practiced by both the in-group and the out-group. The social boundaries between Pueblos and Anglos were fairly firm.  

The Pueblos were more geographically isolated than most Indian tribes. For the most part their villages were located in semiarid areas of the United States. These areas

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13 Spicer, Cycles of Conquest, pp. 290-91.
14 Ibid., pp. 343-44. 15 Ibid., p. 579.
were less desirable to the frontiersmen and transportation to them was often difficult. There was better land and climate elsewhere for farmers to settle, and the gold rush pulled many others farther west.

There are today nineteen reservations which are inhabited by the Pueblo Indians and all but one are located in New Mexico. Also located in this state are the reservations of the Jicarilla and Mescalero Apaches and a small section of the large Navajo reservation. Estimates of the total number of Indians in New Mexico vary. Murray Wax stated that by 1968 there were 74,500 Indians living on or near reservations in New Mexico and that 45,900 of them were located in the area around Albuquerque. These were mostly Pueblo Indians and were served by the administrative office at Albuquerque. These figures are based on BIA reports. 16 Indians in New Mexico live and work on 5,886,887 acres of tribally owned land, 649,138 acres of allotted land, and 77,837 acres of government-owned land. 17

The Indians of New Mexico have at different periods in history had a different civil status from the other Indian tribes. In 1823 the territory which was to become New Mexico was owned by Mexico. 18 In 1848 this land became a territory of the United States. According to the terms

16 Murray Wax, Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity, p. 216.
17 Steiner, The New Indians, p. 326.
18 Underhill, First Penthouse Dwellers, p. 96.
of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the large land holdings which had been given by the Spanish and Mexican governments to individual persons were to remain in the possession of those individuals. So the Pueblos at that time owned their own lands, while most other Indian tribes lived on government owned land and were wards of the government. 19

Many people in the United States wanted these large tracts of land that belonged to the Indians. In 1850 this territory passed laws which maintained that the Indians were not citizens. Many United States government officials at that time were accustomed to dealing with the Plains Indians and they did not perceive the differences among Indian tribes. They did not believe in the ability of the Indians to conduct and participate in civil affairs. They feared Indian power. They felt that the right of Indians to vote and to hold office was "out of the question." The Supreme Court ruled that the Pueblos were "domestic dependent nations, in a state of pupilage." 20 Some years later in 1917 the Federal government stated that they were wards of the government, not subject to taxation, and under governmental protection. This again served to set them apart and strengthen their sense of Indian identity. 21

There were other inroads into the freedom and independence of the Pueblos. They lost much of their land and with it some of their self-sufficiency. In the 1850s donations of tracts of land in the state of Florida and in

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19 Ibid., p. 19. 20 Ibid. 21 Ibid., pp. 120-21.
the territories of Oregon, Washington, and New Mexico were made to white settlers. The intention was to increase the power of defense of the Anglo population and to lessen the likelihood of attacks by Indians. The Donation Act of 1854 made provisions for a white male over twenty-one years old who was a United States citizen or who had declared his intention of becoming a United States citizen to receive 160 acres of land in New Mexico. A person who received such a tract of land under this law was required to be living in the territory at the time the law was passed on July 22, 1854 and to have been living there before January 1, 1853. This law was to apply to persons who moved into the territory between January 1, 1853 and January 1, 1858. A person who obtained land under these conditions was supposed to maintain continuous residence and to cultivate the land for at least four years. The claim had to be on surveyed land, but surveying could be completed within three months before and three months after settlement. If those persons who claimed the land under this law were living in New Mexican territory prior to January 1, 1853, the four years of continuous settlement were counted from the date of settlement. So the continuous settlement and subsequent claim could have taken place before the law was even passed. 22

Those who claimed land under the Donation Act could not also claim land under the Homestead Act or by

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pre-emptions. Since all these laws required settlement and cultivation, it was reasonable to assume that one person could not do this on two separate claims. But there was a lot of fraud in these dealings. Many people did not live on their land, stating that they feared being attacked by Indians.23 The last donation certificate based on the Donation Act of 1854 was made in 1884.24

The Homestead Act of 1862 gave 160 acres of land to a man and his family who would live on it, cultivate it, and make it home for at least five years. Supposedly, this was enough land for the head of a family to make a successful living by farming. But the arid land of New Mexico was not conducive to the kind of farming to which white settlers were accustomed, so the Homestead Law was more often used to acquire large amounts of grazing land. Once a Homestead Claim or a Donation had been acquired, a person could move to a pre-emption claim and live six months on it and pay $1.25 an acre on it, thus owning both claims within a short period of time. Pre-emption was quicker since it only required six months of residence and this land did not have to be surveyed. A claimant often could get a false owner to stay on this land for six months and then transfer it. Land could also be acquired by fulfilling requirements for a Timber Culture Claim of 160 acres and Desert Land Claims of 640 acres, and residence was not necessary for these.25

In New Mexico, the land was arid and unsuitable for cultivation unless irrigated, and water was often unavailable for irrigation. Yet it was reported that 60,000,000 acres were available for pre-emption lands. This was more public domain than was available in the territory and a great part of it would not grow crops.\textsuperscript{26}

The former Mexican citizens (including Indians) could regain the land that had been lost to them through these laws by submitting proof of their title to it to the surveyor general. Some newcomers who themselves had interest in the land pretended to be impartial advisors. They stated that the legal battles surrounding proof of claim were very lengthy and complex, and advised the claimants to let them handle the case for them. They often acted as lawyers for the claimants and for a high fee worked out conditions beneficial to themselves. If the claimant did not have enough money these advisors would accept land for their services. The final decision on ownership of the land was made by Congress, but claims were too often misrepresented for justice to be served. Over 80 percent of the Spanish and Mexican grants were lost to their original owners in this way.\textsuperscript{27}

During this period the boundaries of Indian reservations were constantly being changed. If minerals were found on the land or if the land was needed by Anglos for some other special reason, the compromise which was worked

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., p. 70. \textsuperscript{27}Ibid., p. 49.
out usually favored the Anglos. The usual result of land negotiations was that the Indians were left with less land than they had previously had. Some years later some of this land was restored to public domain. In 1885 there were 215,040 acres of land set aside for the Zunis. The pueblos of San Felipe and Nambe also acquired additional land. 28

New Mexico became a state in 1912. 29 Indians in the United States were granted citizenship in 1924 in recognition for their services in World War I. But, based on the case of Trujillo vs. Garley in the District Court of New Mexico, Indians in New Mexico were disenfranchised until 1948. In 1968, of 200,000 Indians located in the Southwest, about 70,000 were living in New Mexico. 30

It can be seen that the actions of federal and state government agencies throughout history created a somewhat different situation for the Indians of New Mexico. They did suffer from exploitation in many ways, but their possession of the land was not endangered by westward expansion as early in this country's history as it was for many other Indians. Eastern Indians had already been removed from their homeland; the Indians in New Mexico were secure for a longer period of time. Geographical conditions for a time caused their land to be less desirable and less accessible.

28 Ibid., pp. 90-91.
29 Underhill, First Penthouse Dwellers, p. 96.
For the Pueblos, isolation and the struggle for existence in a dry, barren land had strengthened their sense of community and reinforced their independence of other people. Their religious beliefs and family structure required loyalty and cooperation within the group. Indeed, a successful agricultural existence in a land which was very difficult to cultivate did require the combined effort of all the members of the community. The Pueblos believed that their religious secrets and traditional way of life must remain untouched by outsiders. They usually met attempts to control them and attempts to acculturate them with passive resistance or with retreat. Maintaining secrecy about the deeper sentiments and using scorn and ridicule against those who tried to be different served to strengthen their homogeneity and power of resistance to other cultures. Endogamy (marriage within the group) and a rather thorough socialization of the children also strengthened group solidarity. The Pueblos have perhaps been more successful than any other Indians in the United States in maintaining their traditional way of life.  

The Pueblos inhabit nineteen main villages in the United States. Eighteen of these are located in New Mexico. The other inhabited pueblo is Hopi, completely surrounded by the Navajo reservation and located in Arizona.

Grouping the Pueblos linguistically is the usual accepted method of classification. The Hopis who speak

31 Embree, Indians of the Americas, pp. 219, 222.
Tusayan are considered to be one pueblo, but are separated into eleven smaller social units which are located on three mesas in Arizona. The Keres-speaking pueblos include the Rio Grande Keresans and the Western Keresans. Located about five miles southwest of Santa Fe, New Mexico are the five Rio Grande Keresans: Santa Ana, Zía (Síá), Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and Cochiti. The Keres pueblos located in the western part of New Mexico are Acoma and Laguna. The Zunis speak a language distinct from that of the other Pueblos and so are classified separately. Some people believe that their language is distantly related to the Tanoan language. There are three divisions of those who presently speak the Tanoan language: Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa. The Tewa pueblos are San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, and Nambe. The people in the village of Hano speak Tewa, but they are now located among the Hopis and their culture is primarily Hopi. Therefore they are classified with the Hopis. The Tiwa villages are Taos, Picurís, Isleta, and Sandía. The only remaining Towa village is Jémez.32

The cultures of the different Pueblo villages are similar, but there are variations in culture traits and culture complexes. There has been selective culture borrowing among the Pueblos. Each pueblo has generally maintained a certain self-sufficiency and the people have generally remained loyal to the beliefs and sentiments of

their community. Friendly relationships were maintained between pueblos and other pueblos were visited on ceremonial days. This contact has often inspired sharing of techniques, tools, and ideas. Endogamy has become less restrictive so that now there are many interpueblo and intertribal marriages.\(^{33}\) The proximity of the Zunis and the Hopis led to some culture borrowings between Zuni and Hopi. Several Hopi families lived at Zuni for a while. The Zunis learned the art of silversmithing from the Navajos and the Hopis in turn acquired a knowledge of the art from them. The Zunis also adopted some culture traits from the Hopis.\(^{34}\)

Some of the similarities among the Pueblos are possibly due to early Spanish influence. Different Pueblo villages adopted in varying degree political offices, vocabulary, foods, and styles of dress from the Spanish culture. They accepted some aspects of Catholicism. It is believed by some that the differences among the Pueblos are a result of differential acculturation of Spanish and Anglo culture traits and culture complexes. As a rule, all Pueblos have the same basic social structure and culture patterns. But the different Pueblos differ in the degree of emphasis placed on certain cults and social organizations and in the degree to which these are integrated into the sociocultural fabric.\(^{35}\)

\(^{34}\) Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 201, 204.
The western Pueblos are Hopi, Zuni, and the Keresan villages of Acoma and Laguna. The western Pueblos are more culturally conservative than the eastern Pueblos in the Rio Grande area. Their geographical isolation and larger size perhaps made them more impervious to acculturation.\footnote{Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., The Indian Heritage of America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), p. 149.}

The eastern Pueblos have adopted many culture traits of other societies with which they came into contact. It was often necessary for them to change their life style in order to survive. They did not entirely replace their value system with that of another culture, but they adopted many new ideas and values and adapted them to fit in with their traditions. This created a new cultural system which exhibited both old and new patterns. Many traditional rituals were still practiced, but became less important to the majority of the community members. Some of the previously important cults no longer occupied a central place in the society. Family organization and functions of family members changed.

Many individual Indians who did accept much of the Anglo life style and values found it necessary to leave their homes and move into other areas. The school environment often created unrest among young Indian students. They acquired new tastes and values. School administrators talked much about the "backwardness" of life on Indian reservations. When idealistic students went back to their
homes and tried to introduce new ideas and changes, they met with great resistance from traditional community members. The older generation would scorn them and shame them for being individualistic and innovative. They usually would decide to live in Anglo communities rather than to try to change the style of living in the pueblo. So individual Indians often acculturated at a rapid rate, but changes were not effected in the pueblos without a tremendous effort. Unfortunately those Indians who wished to embrace the Anglo way often found that they were not accepted in Anglo communities.\(^{37}\)

The primary form of acculturation in most of the pueblos was the acceptance of the material culture of the modern industrial society. The cultural, social and religious organizations did not change appreciably. For hundreds of years their social organization has remained relatively unchanged.\(^{38}\)

John Collier describes the change that has occurred and still continues as a kind of organic change. New practices and new ideas are adopted, but are altered in such a way that they will fit into the set of values which is the core of the society. Creative changes and innovations are woven into the social fabric. The new and the old exist


simultaneously and are part of the integrated whole. The past remains alive because it is now the present. The present is a continuation of the past. The spirit and personality of the community remains constant while goals, sentiments, and strong beliefs continue into the future which will absorb both past and present. The process is one of continual organic change. 39

At times this slow, orderly process of change has been disrupted by outsiders who attempted to destroy the traditional social patterns and introduce a whole new set of values. This caused dissension among progressive and conservative community members and often resulted in total disorientation. The boarding schools often have caused the destruction of the value systems of young Indians by attempting to entirely convert them to a new value system rapidly. Indian students then have often become insecure and confused and have felt that they truly belonged in no society.

The cultural and social framework is similar in all pueblos. There is a system of beliefs and a network of social relationships that is a basic part of being Pueblo.

The Pueblo communities are primarily based on agriculture. Their relationship to the land is one of reciprocity and cooperation. They do not wish to exploit nature, but to live in harmony with it. Whatever they must take from their natural surroundings they attempt to replace

39Collier, Gleaming Way, p. 77.
by means of physical labor or ritual activities. The Pueblos believe that man is an integral part of the cosmos and that he has a responsibility to do his part to maintain the harmony and equilibrium of the universe. If any individual does something which is destructive to the natural order, it threatens the entire community. Man and nature are interdependent and all the people of society are interdependent. Any innovation can be accepted only if it does not disturb the ecological balance.  

The feeling of unity with the natural environment and the spirit of cooperation with it is exemplified in the religious organizations of the Pueblos. Religious ceremonies were developed around the needs of agriculture. Rain-making societies have an important role in the ceremonial life of the community. In order to insure success, the entire community must be involved in the rain-making rituals. All must believe fully in the efficacy of the rituals and each must do his part efficiently and untiringly. If any person does not have strong faith or has committed wrong acts—if he does not have a "good heart"--the ritual may fail and the survival of the pueblo may be endangered.

The social activities of the pueblos revolve around five major concerns: weather, illness, warfare and hunting, control of the natural environment, and village harmony. Those cults which were involved with warfare and hunting

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find no need for their services today, and most of them have become extinct. In some pueblos they exist, but have assumed other functions. In all rituals that deal with these needs all the people must cooperate. Every activity becomes a matter of vital concern to all the members of the community.41

Those who are in positions of leadership did not seek after them. They have been appointed to them because they have the right personal qualities or the necessary skills and knowledge. Some who are leaders in the curing societies acquired the position because of an early experience with illness or as a result of being saved from injury by an animal which is thought to have powers of healing. The person who has such an experience must acquire knowledge of the powers of healing from an older person who is experienced in that art. True and complete knowledge of the ritual is a must. Few people want a position of leadership. Being a leader brings more responsibility than prestige. To be aggressive and seek power is one of the worst things an individual can do in the eyes of the Pueblo community. He must execute with sober dignity the duties of his office. These people show a kind of sophistication that meets the dictionary definition of the word, sophistication: "made wise through experience." Collier describes the Pueblos as "sophistic," possessed not only of knowledge, but "possessed of understanding." The annual Shalako ceremony held by the Kachina Society at Zuni is very

41 Dozier, Pueblo Indians of North America, p. 133.
stately and impressive and is an example of the seriousness and exactitude of ritual. 42 Their lives are rich in ritual and symbolism, and most everyday activities are intertwined in the religious structure. 43

The Pueblos have maintained their way of life through the complexity and interdependence of social institutions. The complexity of the interrelationships of social and cultural groups has given strength to the control of the group over the individual. The social control which was maintained provided an integrated, homogeneous community which was able to withstand the effects of war, famine, and migration. It also enabled them to acculturate selectively some of the traits of other cultures without total assimilation. 44

The desires of the individual are subordinated to the needs of the group. Personality is carefully molded by all the social agencies, and socialization continues from birth throughout adulthood. Conformity to the Pueblo way of life is required and the rules of living are rigidly enforced. Deviance is not allowed; the solidarity of the pueblo must be maintained. Individual qualities such as competitiveness and aggression are considered offensive to the gods. Those who try to be different and follow another style of life or those who are aggressive or ambitious are

43 Ibid., p. 29.
44 Ibid., p. 155.
suspected of witchcraft and are ostracized. No Pueblos have ever practiced witchcraft, but suspicion of witchcraft has served as a scapegoat on which to blame failures and catastrophes. Controls exerted on the individual often take the form of gossip, scorn, teasing, and shaming.  

A person is not supposed to exhibit any kind of hostility or to express violent emotion. The Pueblos do not encourage excesses of any kind. When there is a death of a close relative, sorrow is not denied, but the people concerned are encouraged to free themselves from the power of death and go on to live a normal life. They should not feel that their lives are ruined because of this loss. Expressions of authority, violence, and indulgence are also discouraged. Some rituals exhibit sexual overtones, but sex is understood primarily in terms of symbolism. Decorum and sobriety is maintained even in fertility rites. Drunkenness is abhorred. Although strong emotions are not expressed overtly, the emotions are often existent, but repressed. Hostility sometimes manifests itself in constant bickering and gossip.  

In all Pueblo societies there is a clown society which fulfills a function of social control. Members often bring out in ritual the things that have been happening in the pueblo. They are freer than other individuals to express

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45 Josephy, *Indian Heritage*, pp. 162, 164.

certain feelings directly during the ritual. They may allude to sex in blunt terms. They often single out individuals and berate them for past actions of aggression or vindictiveness. The people vicariously express aggression and hostility through the actions of the clowns. The medicinal power of this society is great and its powers of social control are strong.⁴⁷

In most of the pueblos, secrecy concerning these religious rituals is steadfastly maintained. Very few religious rituals are seen by outsiders. Children are taught to be secretive very early. They are also taught not to be curious about things they are not old enough to understand and to respect the privacy of others.⁴⁸ In most pueblos, even with acculturation, the Indians continue to observe religious rituals and to maintain the social relationships and political offices that are integral to their way of life.⁴⁹

Much social behavior is based on kinship patterns which are similar in all pueblos. The kinship system is an integrating factor in the pueblo and is closely related to the religious organizations. The values of the pueblo are corroborated by both the family and the religious organizations. Some clan names are found in several different tribes.

Marriage is monogamous. In some pueblos marriage is somewhat brittle and divorce is common. Since these Indians wish to avoid dissension and arguments which rise out of an unhappy marital relationship, divorce is easy and does not result in a complete emotional upheaval in the lives of those concerned. One's primary loyalties are to his consanguinal family rather than to his conjugal family. The line of descent is matrilineal and residence is often matrilocal. The woman usually owns the house and takes care of all household functions. The matrilineal household is the central focus for economic, ritual, and social activities. It serves as a source of continuity and strength in the society. But in no way can women be considered the rulers of society. The important political and ceremonial duties are performed by the men. Women can be members of certain important ceremonial societies, but they do not often hold office. They do not usually voice their opinions in public meetings. They do not hold great power in political and social life, but they do exert influence on community life by using their husbands as spokesmen. Women look to their husbands for economic support and for other needs, but they look to their brothers for ritual support. Men on quite a few special occasions return to their natal household to take part in ceremonial activities. In some pueblos a man must also look after the economic needs of his mother and sisters even though he has a wife and children of his own.
His wife's brothers, in the meantime, are lending economic assistance to her. There is a kind of reciprocal aid between a man and the members of his mother's lineage. He gives economic and ritual support and gains from the security and constancy of his mother's household. If there is a divorce, the children will be taken care of by his wife's mother's family, and he will return to his mother's household. In all pueblos mother-daughter and sister-sister ties are important. The relationships between these are the axes around which most social groupings revolve.\textsuperscript{50}

The Eastern Pueblos have become more acculturated than the Western Pueblos and subsequently give less emphasis to certain ceremonial functions and to traditional family structure. Generally the behavior patterns which are based on kinship are similar in all pueblos. But in the Rio Grande pueblos, the small conjugal family has become more important. The extended family now has less voice in the rearing of children and in other decisions concerning family living. Individual families are more selective of the social institutions and ceremonial organizations with which they will maintain contact. The strictness of the Catholic religion has in many cases discouraged easy divorce. The simple family unit has become the center of social relationships. The father of the family has acquired more authority in the rearing of his children and in the caring

for his own conjugal family.

This served to provide more individual freedom, but some of the security and protection of individual rights were lost. In the traditional Pueblo society the rights of individuals were assured because issues were decided by unanimous agreement, not by majority rule. Many times a man could do what his conscience commanded if it did not disturb the equilibrium of the community. 51 His whole community was isolated from other societies; within this protective environment life was predictable and all social agencies were cooperative and interdependent. The community was self-sufficient and secure. As an individual became more acculturated and more urbanized he became more individually isolated and no longer had the constancy of the extended family and the community to sustain him. In the face of the influence of Anglo society, splits in the community often developed along traditional-progressive lines. Life was less predictable. 52

The Western Pueblos have maintained group identity and cultural continuity in spite of pressure by Spanish and Anglo colonizers. They rejected early attempts to convert them to a new religion and a new social system and steadfastly maintained their religious rites and beliefs and

51 Josephy, Indian Heritage, p. 360.

sociocultural institutions. Anything which would threaten their way of life was exorcised from the society. This was done by methods which included shaming and ridiculing community members who wished to initiate changes toward the Anglo life style.53

The Hopis and the Zunis are perhaps the most culturally conservative of all the Pueblos. Their location has helped them to resist assimilation, but perhaps their greater strength lies in the social organization. The Hopis do not have centralized control, but they possess a unity based on a highly integrated clan system. The clans control lands, provide members for religious and civil offices, control ritual objects, and direct ritual activities.54 The clans in Zuni perform fewer social and religious functions and are not considered as important as at Hopi, but the Zunis have a strong central hierarchy which unites individuals, families, and social groups in the large village. In all the western Pueblos the social structures are intricately interwoven. Unity exists because of the very complexity of the system. As Alfred Kroeber stated of Zuni, "the clans, the fraternities, the priesthoods, the kivas, in a measure the gaming parties, are all dividing agencies. If they coincided, the rifts in the social structure would be deep; by countering each other they cause

54Fred Eggan, American Indian, p. 123.
segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart.\textsuperscript{55}

The Hopis exemplify the feeling of peace and well-being and good that is the Pueblo ideal. The word \textit{hopi} means "peaceful, good, happy." A person who is truly \textit{hopi} is (1) strong, both physically and psychically. This means that he must undergo physical hardships in order to gain in strength, rather than accept an easy life dependent on modern inventions. He must possess self-control, intelligence, and wisdom. He must (2) be poised and maintain balance in his life and in his emotions. He should keep himself free of anxiety and "quiet of heart" and concentrate often on good thoughts. (3) He must be a responsible, law-abiding citizen, who does what is required of him in public office, and who is kind and unselfish to all. (4) He should be a peaceful person. This means that he must be modest and unassuming, and not attract attention by an aggressive or quarrelsome manner. (5) He is protective of his people and his environment. He believes in insuring fertility as a continuation of life. His motive is to promote and preserve life, never to destroy it. (6) He must be free of illness and not subject to any evil forces or bad thoughts that may cause or encourage illness or weakness.\textsuperscript{56}

The children are taught to accept and absorb these

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Idem}, \textit{Social Organization}, p. 304.

\textsuperscript{56} Laura Thompson, "Logico-Aesthetic Integration," p. 544.
high ideals as the very center of their beings. The process of socialization is more than transmission of cultural values; it directs the complete conceptual unfolding of the Hopi personality. The entire pueblo works toward goals and values that are mutually consistent. The socialization process includes constant and strong emotional conditioning and the process continues throughout life. Actions and sentiments are based on the mutual needs of all pueblo members. An individual often relies on significant others to fulfill his moral and social needs and they rely on him. The person does not need to search within himself for meaning. Every action and every person fits into the total pattern of life. There are disagreements and arguments at times, but there is also a deep sense of belonging. The cultural consistency and continuity of this life style has encouraged resistance to the attempts of outsiders to bring about changes in the village. Parents and other adults attempt to instill the Hopi way within their children so strongly that when they leave the pueblo they will still have this sense of security and belonging and maintain Hopi values in their lives. When children were sent to boarding school, they usually guarded their "Hopiness" as a precious secret.57

The attendance by Hopi children of off-reservation

boarding schools and the participation by Hopi adults in World War II served to advance acculturation and also to upset the equilibrium of many Hopi lives. Values were changed in some cases; in others Hopi values were lost or deemphasized and no new values were substituted. Excessive drinking of alcoholic beverages became a problem for some young people. They became disoriented and morals and values previously learned seemed to no longer fit neatly into the sociocultural pattern.\textsuperscript{58}

In one study eight different psychological tests were given to members of two different Hopi villages to discover the effect of pressures on personality and culture by Anglos. At First Mesa the contacts with Anglos had been frequent and attitudes had generally been friendly. The Indians who were living on First Mesa seemed to be well-adjusted. They had adopted some new cultural traits, but had retained their traditional values, their religious system, their social system, and most of their technology.\textsuperscript{59}

The village of Oraibi on Third Mesa had historically been hostile to Anglo culture and influences. Here the processes of change initiated by schools and missions had caused dissension, resentment, and unrest, and had generally been disruptive. Ceremonial activities had lost some of

\textsuperscript{58}Dorothy Eggan, "Instruction and Affect," p. 350.

their efficacy and meaning. The cultural and social equilibrium had been disturbed. 60

The Zunis are of the Zunian linguistic stock. They are one of the western Pueblos, located 200 miles away from Santa Fe, New Mexico where the center of Spanish administration was located. They had little contact with outsiders before the decade of the 1890s. They tokenly accepted the Spanish missionaries, but not on a permanent basis. If the missionaries displeased them, they were forced to leave. Zunis did not have very much contact with other pueblos except the Hopis. They remained with their own people most of the time. They fought only when absolutely necessary, and they generally avoided fights at their own village. 61

The Zunis call themselves "Ashiwi," meaning "the flesh." The term "Zuni" was first used by Antonio de Espejo in 1583. The Keresans called the Ashiwi "Sunyitsi" and Espejo's pronunciation developed "Zuñi" from that word. It has since then become Anglicized into "Zuni." 62

The United States government had confirmed most of the Pueblo grants in 1864, but the land of the Zunis was not officially recognized until March 16, 1877 when a reservation was set apart for them. 63 In 1883 and again in 1885 the government redefined the boundaries of their reservation.

60 Ibid., pp. 19, 22.
63 Underhill, First Penthouse Dwellers, p. 67.
"to except lands already upon and occupied in good faith by white settlers." The reservation now has an area of about 350,000 acres and they have rights to additional land to use for grazing. The total amount of land is substantially over 400,000 acres. Most of this area is located in the southwest corner of McKinley County with part of it extending into Valencia County in New Mexico. Zuni, the largest pueblo in the state of New Mexico, is located forty miles south of Gallup on the banks of the Zuni River. Pescado, Nutria, and Ojo Caliente, nearby farm villages, are occupied by many Zunis during the summer months.

The climate of this area is arid but varies from season to season. Crops are grown during the summer months when there is the greatest amount of precipitation. Zuni land is better irrigated than that of the Hopis. In addition to Black Rock Dam, the Zunis have five dams at Nutria and one at Pescado. There are also springs near the ruins of the ancient pueblo of Hawikuh at Ojo Caliente. The soil contains sand and loam and is not very rich in organic content, but it suffices for the kind of crops grown. Zunis still have a primarily agricultural existence, but industries and crafts also are becoming an important source of income.

64Dutton, Friendly People, p. 6.
65Dutton, Friendly People, p. 6; Indians of New Mexico, BIA pamphlet, p. 20; and The Zunis, BIA pamphlet.
66Leighton and Adair, People of Middle Place, p. 5.
According to a 1968 census taken by the All Pueblo Council of Albuquerque the number of Zunis living on the reservation was 4,962. Other estimates place the number at 5,040 or around 5,000 at this same time. This, of course, does not include the Zunis who live in other rural areas or in cities. 67

One of the earliest writers of Caucasian-European background to record facts and impressions of the Zuni sociocultural system was Frank Hamilton Cushing. He visited the Zuni pueblo in 1379 when he was twenty-two years of age. He lived there five years and adopted their way of life. He learned to speak the Zuni language and became an efficient craftsman. He worked with them and for them, performing the same kind of labor that they did. He was even adopted into the ancient Macaw Clan. He became Head Priest of the Bow, the second highest priestship in the Zuni tribe. He had great admiration for the Zunis. 68

Cushing was totally involved with the people and their society. He even helped them to move against the Navajos who allowed herds of their horses to wander onto Zuni land. Then he helped the Zunis to resist exploitation by Anglos. Major W. F. Tucker proposed an idea that would have resulted in the settlement of Zuni lands by Anglos. Cushing revealed this plot and opposed it. The major's

67 Indians of New Mexico, BIA pamphlet, p. 5.
68 Collier, Gleaming Way, p. 151.
father-in-law was a senator and he used his influence to force Cushing to return from Zuni. Cushing then continued working on his books and reports on the Indians until 1900 when he died at age 43. His two most well-known books are Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths and Zuni Breadstuff. He always regretted that he had not been able to remain with the Zunis and help them more.69

At first the Zunis were highly suspicious of Frank Cushing. He was constantly sketching the people and their ceremonies and taking notes about their activities. They tried many times to make him stop. The Zunis, like other Pueblos, believed that to violate the secrecy of their religious ceremonies was taboo. They eventually came to believe in his sincerity and friendliness and accepted him as one of them. He antagonized them again, however, when after leaving their pueblo he violated their trust by publishing many of their secret legends and ceremonial practices. This also aroused the anger of other Pueblos. This action by Cushing and the activities of certain other social scientists who followed him caused the Zunis to guard their religious secrets and daily lives even more closely and to restrict outsiders from involvement in their society.70

The cultural values and social relationships of the Zunis are similar to those of other western pueblos, but it

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70 Cushing, Adventures in Zuni, pp. vi, viii, 9.
is considered by some to be the most typical western Pueblo. The Zunis are perhaps more flexible than the Hopis, and have adopted some cultural traits without disruption in their social system. 71

The social organization of Zuni is probably the most complex of all the western Pueblos. It is this complexity that has encouraged a high degree of integration and conformity. 72 Each person is a member of several different social groups which are overlapping and interwoven into the society. As a member of these different groups he has social roles and social allegiances which overlap. These interlocking roles are culturally defined and arranged in linear, rather than hierarchical, fashion. There is no place in this system for a competitive individual who wishes to ignore certain of his social responsibilities and elevate himself to a prestigious position. The social and economic welfare of each member of society is dependent on the good will and cooperation of all others. These complex interrelationships provide unity and strength, but sometimes there is role conflict. Also, when this kind of closed society is threatened by outside pressures, such as attempts at assimilation, it is possible that factions will develop within the community and that the dissension in one area will cause repercussive splitting throughout the society. When external forces try to break into such a system,

71 Fred Eggan, Social Organization, p. 176.
however, the bonds of conformity are usually tightened. 73

Zuni is divided into about thirteen matrilineal, totemically named, exogamous clans. The clan system is not the primary factor in determining social roles and responsibilities as it is among the Hopi. The primary functions of Zuni clans are the maintenance and direction of ceremonial activities. Zunis do not have a central clan house, a clan head, a clan council, or central clan organization as the Hopis have. 74

Social relationships are primarily developed through common residence and through sentiments based on membership in the matrilineal extended family. The matrilineal family is the most strongly institutionalized bond in Zuni. Residence is usually matrilocal and the closest ties usually are among the members of the matrilineal family. The matrilineal household is the main focus of Zuni life. The household is the primary economic unit and a major unifying factor in society. It includes all female members of their lineage, their husbands and children, and all unmarried males of that lineage. The authority in the household unit is the oldest woman or all the mature women. 75


75 Benedict, Patterns of Culture, p. 75 and Fred Eggan, Social Organization, pp. 177, 187.
As a child is born into a household he receives there his primary orientation and develops his first loyalties and sentiments. All members who are born into the household belong to that matrilineal family, and family values and needs will influence them in all other aspects of life. The conjugal family unit is enveloped into the household. When a man marries, he will move out of this household, but he will return frequently to be involved in social and ceremonial activities. A man will eventually have relationships based on other orientations such as his father's lineage and his wife's lineage. A woman, however, will always be closely related to the members of her mother's household, for she will live in or near the house even after she is married. Both boys and girls form closer relationships with their mothers than with their fathers. Other women of one's lineage and mother's brothers and mother's mother's brothers also form close attachments to and have influence in the lives of the children. Mothers have more influence in shaping the personalities of and instilling values in the children. This perhaps holds true in Anglo society as well, but in the latter girls and boys have a closer relationship with their fathers.\textsuperscript{76}

The religious structure begins to have an influence on the child very early in life. Religious values are

\textsuperscript{76}Fred Eggan, \textit{Social Organization}, pp. 188-90 and Elsie Worthington (Clews) Parsons, \textit{American Indian Life} (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1922), pp. 171-72.
inculcated as a natural part of the process of growing up. There is not very much ritual involved with the process of birth, but a few practices are carried out to insure the protection and comfort of the child. The mother and newborn child must lie on a warm bed of sand for eight days. Beside the child is placed a perfect ear of corn in order that he may be whole and healthy. Beside his mother is placed a divided ear of corn as a symbol of fertility. At the end of eight days he is presented to the sun and is given a ceremonial name, usually by an older woman of his father's clan. He will acquire another name at some time during his early life and this is the name by which he will be known. His Zuni name is seldom used. The baby's ears are pierced very soon and a bit of turquoise placed in them. These practices are traditional among all pueblos, but there are variations in the degree to which they are emphasized.77

When a baby is very young he is kept on a cradle-board. Pieces of turquoise, flint, or charcoal are placed near him to guard him from the evil influence of witches. He is closely watched and protected from outsiders. He is not taken away from home very often and is hardly ever left alone for fear that witches might steal him. It is considered bad luck for strangers to see him or to be associated with him. He is kept within the protective

77 Underhill, First Penthouse Dwellers, pp. 73-75.
environment of kinship. The amount of time a baby keeps his cradleboard varies. Most conservative mothers use it for as long as a year and a half, some use for about four months, and more progressive mothers use it only for one of two months. As customs change, many babies are born in hospitals and the cradleboard is not used at all. Young children are usually indulged. Parents are permissive and protective with them.78

A person belongs to his mother's clan, but he is also "a child of" his father's clan. Certain members of the father's clan act as sponsors when he becomes old enough and experienced enough to participate in certain ceremonial activities. He is not allowed to marry with members of either his mother's or his father's clan. The Zunis have institutionalized this concept "child of the father's clan" much more than the Hopis have. In Zuni there are many instances in which a person is appointed to an office or has ceremonial responsibilities because he is a "child of" a particular clan. The rights and responsibilities ascribed to this status are almost as many as those ascribed through his mother's clan.79

A child acquires a new and important ceremonial status through his initiation into the Kachina Society. More emphasis is placed on this initiation in the western

78Leighton and Adair, People of Middle Place, pp. 62-63.

Pueblos than in the eastern Pueblos. Eastern Pueblos are less concerned with detail in this ceremony, and it is practically non-existent among the Tiwa. It is, however, an important ceremony for the Hopis and the Zunis. The mechanics of the ceremony are basically similar in all pueblos which observe it.  

All the men of the Zuni pueblo and some of the women belong to the Kachina Society. Women are usually initiated only to save them from some kind of impending danger, but it is a requirement for men.

There are two Kachina cults. There are the masked gods proper who are the chiefs of the supernatural world and there are the Kachina priests who are their emissaries. The Kachina priests are a select group who do not dance, but perform other functions such as the very dignified, very impressive march of the Shalako. The Kachina gods proper are happy, supernatural beings who live at the bottom of a sacred lake somewhere in the desert south of Zuni. All the men of the pueblo impersonate them and dance, for to dance is to give them pleasure. When an individual puts on the mask of the Kachina, he not only impersonates the god, but himself becomes supernatural and does not use human speech while he is wearing it. He represents that god. These are the beings which are involved with the

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81 Mead, Cooperation and Competition, pp. 335-36.
initiation of young boys into the Kachina Society. The society is organized according to the six directions: North, South, East, West, Up, and Down. Many other societies in Zuni are organized in groups of six on this basis. They are associated with six different kivas. Every man must dance and take part in the ceremonies for the welfare of the tribe. Only group ritual is effective; following one's own inclination is not.82

The first initiation into the Kachina Cult occurs when boys are six to eight years old. Their ceremonial fathers take them to the plaza and stand by to sustain them while eleven masked dancers strike each child several times with blades from the yucca plant.83 These masked men are of the Society of Kachina Priests. The children wear a great deal of padding and some researchers say that it is not intended for the blows to hurt them, but the ritual is considered more valuable if they cry out. This ceremony is meant to purify the child and to give him group status. It is considered to be both a blessing and a cure. It makes the children valuable as persons. The second initiation comes for some children when they are nine or ten years old, but for many it does not occur until they are twelve to fourteen years old or older because they have been

82 Benedict, Patterns of Culture, pp. 67-68; Fred Eggan, Social Organization, pp. 218-19; and Underhill, First Penthouse Dwellers, p. 76.

83 Underhill, First Penthouse Dwellers, p. 76.
away from the pueblo attending school. At this time the youths discover that the masked figures are not the real gods but that they represent the Kachina gods. The boys are required to put on the masks and strike the Kachinas several times. They are strictly forbidden to reveal the secret of the identity of the gods. For some this revelation is a tremendously emotional experience. 84

The Kachina Priest Society is concerned with rain, with fertility, and with the growth of crops, especially corn which is considered a most important crop for ritual purposes. The religious structure and the economic structure are completely interlocking in function. Indeed, all activities are sanctioned through religion. Rain and fertility are two main reasons for all rituals. To "bless with water" is the synonym of all blessing. Zuni is a theocracy and religion is the axis around which all else moves. Toward the end of November at the time of winter solstice the child god of fire comes from the west. With him comes Pautiwa, the leader of the Kachina gods and the Shalako, the tall bird-like creatures who are the messengers of the Kachinas. They come to purify the pueblo and to bless the ceremonial houses which have been built for them. This ceremony will speed the departure of the sun and will help people organize their lives for the coming season. 85

84 Benedict, Patterns of Culture, p. 103 and Leighton and Adair, People of Middle Place, pp. 68-71.

85 Underhill, First Penthouse Dwellers, p. 81.
Much of Zuni religious life is centered around a calendar of ritual events which is directed by this society.  

All the people of Zuni participate in some way in the activities of the two Kachina societies. Clans have important functions in these ceremonies. Thus all the people have membership both in the society of men and of gods. This is part of the interdependence of all members of the pueblo. All are involved in every aspect of life. No one must deviate from the rules of living. The sanction for all acts comes from the formal structure, not from the individual.

In addition to these, many individuals have membership in one of the Medicine societies. A person may become a member of these through appointment as a member of a particular clan, or to "save his life" after he has accidentally stumbled upon the secret meeting house, or after he has been cured of an illness. These three great divisions of the ceremonial structure—the Kachina Cult with its six kiva groups, the Priesthoods, and the Medicine societies—cut across clan and household groupings. The kinship system ties it all together.

The whole of Zuni tribal organization is based on

86 Benedict, Patterns of Culture, pp. 63, 67.
87 Benedict, Patterns of Culture, p. 104; Hawley, "Pueblo Social Organization," p. 515; and Underhill, First Penthouse Dwellers, p. 78.
88 Fred Eggan, Social Organization, p. 177.
the six directions. There are six major religious cults: (1) the Sun Cult which is in charge of the Pekwin and with all of the people of the tribe in their status as members, (2) the Uwanami who are in charge of twelve rain priesthoods, (3) the Kachina Cult and its six kiva groups, (4) the Kachina Priest Cult, which is made up of men who have acted as impersonators of the chief Kachinas in the ceremonies, (5) the War God Cult which now functions as the secular body of social control in the pueblo, and (6) the Beast God Cult which contains the members of the twelve curing societies. The functions, activities and personnel of these groups are overlapping and interwoven. There are also six phratries which are named for the six directions. These were once exogamous, but no longer adhere to this rule. They have ceremonial functions.

Those who are on the highest level of respect and reverence are the priests. There are four major and eight minor priesthoods. All public religious ceremonies are directed by one of these groups. The highest level of governing authority is the Council of Priests. This council includes the heads of the major priesthoods, the Pekwin and two other Sun Priests, and the two chief priests of the War Cult (the Bow Priests) who execute the laws.

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89 Ibid., pp. 203, 216.
91 Benedict, Patterns of Culture, pp. 65, 67.
The heads of each kiva division of the Kachina Society act as advisors. This group makes changes in the ceremonial calendar, decides questions concerning tribal policy, supervises initiations, appoints those who will impersonate the gods, and selects secular officers. 92

Secular government is under the jurisdiction of a tribal council appointed by the Council of Priests. It consists of a governor, lieutenant governor, and about eight assistants. The eight assistants are chosen for an indefinite period and can be removed from office at any time. They settle controversies within the pueblo concerning personal relationships and quarrels over property, organize cooperative work projects, and deal with outsiders. They represent the interests of the tribe in communication with the United Pueblos Agency at Albuquerque, the central administrative agency for all Pueblos. This agency deals with the Zunis through a sub-agency at Black Rock located on the reservation. The Indian Service also maintains a school in Zuni and a hospital at Black Rock. 93

In all these social roles and relationships as members of kinship and ceremonial and government organizations, Zuni individuals have overlapping functions and responsibilities. These groups all become agents of social control and bring about conformity to the pueblo ideal.

93 Ibid.
Another type of social relationship that is separate from the kinship structure, but becomes sanctioned in the same way is that of kihe. Kihe is a special type of "ceremonial friendship" which can be entered into by two people who have no kinship ties. For all social dealings they are considered to be siblings and the same rules that govern the relationships between siblings govern them.  

So a variety of complex interrelationships, social roles and responsibilities govern the life of the Zuni individual. Within the pueblo the rules are mutually consistent and everything fits such as the pieces of a three-dimensional puzzle would fit. When outside agencies attempt to initiate changes the individual must consider the effect of the change on all of his social groups. He cannot think only of himself. There is not much room for individual innovation. Any changes which occur must be worked into the socioreligious structure and must be compatible with Zuni ideals.

An example of this was shown when Zuni war veterans returned to the reservation and attempted to live a different life style. In the beginning many had resisted Zuni involvement in this war. The Zunis had attempted, and generally succeeded, in getting a deferrment based on a 4-D classification. This was based on religious duties required as a result of being members of the priesthood and being involved in the Shalako ceremony. At this time religious

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94 Fred Eggan, Social Organization, p. 187.
activity increased and many more young men were appointed as priests.  

When those Zunis who did join in the war returned home, all of their significant social groups exerted pressure on them in the form of ridicule, gossip, and suspicion of witchcraft to get them to conform to the old way. The Navajo veterans did not face this kind of pressure in the same degree. The Navajo social structure was neither as complexly interwoven nor as rigid as that of the Zunis. Individuality is more prevalent among Navajos.

The Zunis who returned from World War II had to undergo a rite of purification, Hanasema Isu Washa, to overcome the influence of the war and of contact with Anglos. One mother would not even touch her son until he had been purified. In spite of this resistance, however, World War II brought about many changes in the pueblo.  

After the Zuni veterans returned home, they exhibited a great deal of anxiety and restlessness and were frequently on the move, taking many trips to town for no particular reason. Some would no longer work on the farms, or in the sheep camp, or at silversmithing. Drunkenness among them increased. Some suffered from combat fatigue. Curers from the medicine societies were often called in to

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96 Ibid., pp. 549, 550, 558-60.
heal the minds and the emotions of the war veterans and to free them from the memories of war and from the influence of living in the white society. By 1948 many had readjusted to pueblo life. Drinking had decreased, and many were now married and had returned to their work in the fields and at their homes.  

Gossip and ridicule was turned against those who wore a new style of clothing or who had adopted new mannerisms in speech and carriage, or who attempted to introduce new values. They were suspected of being witches, and accused of "trying to be a big shot, trying to act like a white man." For some the process of readjustment was too difficult. At least twenty-three young men decided to live outside the pueblo. This has often been the case with innovators or those who wish to live a more modern life style: they move off the Zuni reservation.

As the Zuni village increased its acceptance of modern technology, it also increased its resistance to Anglo cultural values, especially those which tended to threaten Zuni religious values. Techniques of social control were made stronger.

The children at an early age exemplify the Zuni personality. They learn to internalize the values of their society. Matrilocal residence has provided them with many adult behavior patterns to emulate. They grow gradually

97 Ibid., p. 550.  
98 Ibid., pp. 550-51.  
99 Ibid., p. 556.
into the expected behavior patterns. Parental teachings are reinforced by other members of the extended family. So they acquire a generalized concept of family. The mother is the most constant figure in the rearing of the children and she has authority and respect and the power to discipline if necessary. The father also has disciplinary functions and an authority and prestige based on ceremonial status. Parents show love for their children but are not overly demonstrative in a show of affection. The child, however, feels loved and protected by his entire extended family. He has a sound security in the knowledge that home will always be intact. 100

Mother and mother's sister are called by the same term, and both of them are looked up to for guidance. All people in the household care for and protect the children. Corrective functions are shared by many members of the family and of the society and are often reinforced by threats or actual appearance of supernatural beings. So the child does not usually direct his rebellion at one member of the family. To rebel would mean to go against a formidable integrated system of control. Children are usually obedient. They are not antagonistic or hostile toward adult authority. In infancy and early child they are indulged. Coercion is not usually necessary for they have been carefully molded and taught with a system of praise

100 Leighton and Adair, People of Middle Place, p. 118.
and emotional rewards. So the children grow up in a kind of free world of their own, but the boundaries of this world have already been defined. They are relatively independent within its limits, and do not need constant adult direction in their activities.  

In more recent years, more young couples have established their own households in stead of following traditional matrilocal residence patterns. The control of children is not as complete now as it was when members of the extended family were there to reinforce the dictates of the parents. 

At about age eight or nine children are expected to take on household and farm responsibilities. They learn and do the jobs that they are expected to do as mature adults and begin to grow into their particular sex roles as productive members of society. At about age twelve boys and girls have separate play groups and different responsibilities. Boys are initiated into the Kachina Society. There is no restriction against girls joining this society, but it is not considered important for them to do so, and they are very busy learning the skills necessary to run a household. 

The sanctions of fear, shame and ridicule are used

\[102\] Leighton and Adair, *People of Middle Place*, pp. 77, 129.
to insure conformity. Fear of retribution from certain supernatural beings usually keeps children from getting involved with forbidden places or strange new ideas. They are often threatened with Atoshle, a scare Kachina who will do terrible things to them if they are bad. The individual who impersonates this Kachina sometimes will actually appear and reprimand and threaten the child. The child is extremely frightened when his family resorts to this measure.\textsuperscript{104} A conditioned fear of owls, ghosts, coyotes, bears, witches, and other creatures inspires most children to obey their parents, not to wander too far away from home, and not to be too curious about many things. One of the strongest punishments is being forced to sleep by oneself or being isolated from other people.\textsuperscript{105}

Zunis believe that witches exist and that they can disguise themselves as animals and cause evils to come to the community. Witches are used as scapegoats on which to blame natural catastrophes and on which to express hostility and aggression. There are, however, no practicing sorcerers in Zuni, in spite of the fact that some are suspected or accused of witchcraft. Those people who exhibit jealousy or aggression are often suspect. Thus it is not only fear

\textsuperscript{104}Esther S. Goldfrank, "Socialization, Personality, and the Structure of Pueblo Society (with Particular Reference to Hopi and Zuni)," \textit{American Anthropologist} 47 (October-December 1945): 533 and Leighton and Adair, \textit{People of Middle Place}, p. 68.

\textsuperscript{105}Fred Eggan, \textit{Social Organization}, p. 192 and Leighton and Adair, \textit{People of Middle Place}, pp. 64, 67, 72.
of witches that keep individuals in line, it is also fear of being suspected as a witch. Sometimes a person is persecuted and ostracized until he confesses to being a witch and promises to lead a better life from then on. This suspicious nature sometimes causes a lack of trust even among friends and neighbors, and much gossiping. Gossiping also acts as an agent of social control. 106

The Zunis do not have a strong external authority to control morals and values. They internalize the values of society and feel a strong sense of shame if they do not measure up. They do not have a dualistic concept of good and evil forces which try to sway their lives. Rather what is good is that which insures a good life for all the people, their cooperation and concern for each other, and their peace of mind. The only evil is the absence of good--not doing one's part, not having a good heart, being jealous or aggressive, or not caring for one's fellow man. Thus Zuni children seldom feel guilt for bad behavior, but feel shame for not being good or for letting someone else down. They also feel shame for other people. 107 In a study by Leighton and Adair, Zunis gave many more examples of feelings of shame than did white children. White children were much more sensitive to guilt. These were the instances in which Zuni children remembered feeling shame ranked in order from

106 Cushing, Adventures in Zuni, p. 45 and Leighton and Adair, People of Middle Place, p. 73.

107 Mead, Cooperation and Competition, p. 495.
most often to least often: embarrassment in the presence of others, personal bad behavior and aggressiveness, personal failure and inadequacy, aggression by others, poor appearance in public, and discipline.\footnote{108}

With such strong sensitivity to shame it is not surprising that ridicule and scorn are powerful tools of social control. For the Zuni individual, being laughed at is pain. A person who teases another person must first make sure that their friendship is firmly established. Joking relationships sometimes exist in specific kin relationships. Teasing by strangers is considered ridicule. Teasing is often a form of beratement for misdeeds. This causes children to be easily embarrassed. To make public in class a Zuni student's error or wrong action would be a very drastic measure.\footnote{109}

Some believe that these methods of socialization can lead to later maladjustment. Esther Goldfrank maintains that in societies like the Pueblos where children are indulged in infancy and not kept on rigorous schedules, and then made to conform to strict standards of an adult world at an early age, personality problems such as intense anxiety, fear, and suspicion may develop.\footnote{110} It is possible,\footnote{108}Leighton and Adair, \textit{People of Middle Place}, pp. 96-97, 100-1.\footnote{109}Ibid., p. 72.\footnote{110}Goldfrank, "Socialization, Personality, and Pueblo Society," pp. 517-18.
however, that the Zunis have developed so strong a concept of what it means to be a Zuni, that this knowledge and security will sustain them when they encounter problems which threaten their fulfillment and adjustment.

Zunis do not value highly an aggressive individualist who is competitive and ambitious. Attempts to motivate Zuni school children through competitive games and contests is therefore not very effective in accomplishing educational goals. The belief is that no person should attempt to elevate himself above others and seek praise for great achievements. Rather every person should participate in the basic pattern and fulfill the duties pertinent to his ascribed roles. Negative sanctions are directed toward those who strive to achieve great wealth or high status. A person who would consider other expendable in his rise to success would be totally unacceptable in the Zuni community. Each member of the pueblo must be considerate of the needs of others in order that his own needs may be met. Self-preservation and a feeling of security is more important than self-actualization. One doesn’t search for a meaning for his life and personality. His personality and its meaning have already been established through identification with his social groups.

Land is owned and worked cooperatively by groups

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112 Mead, Cooperation and Competition, pp. 486, 489, 490.
rather than by individuals. The people are expected to work hard at agricultural, household, and ceremonial duties. Generally they are industrious and meticulous in the execution of their tasks. A lazy man cannot hope to provide the necessities of life for himself and his family. This is especially true of the sheep camp, for it does not provide much, so all men must do their part. Costs and profits are shared. The success of the group insures the success of the individuals. Sheep, however, are individually owned and inherited in the male line. This is perhaps due to the influence of European colonists. Sheep were introduced by the Spanish and they generally inherit property through the father's side of the family. One should work hard and not complain because work is good and valuable to all. Cooperation in work is usually successful and friendly, and considerate relationships prevail both in work groups and in households. There is sometimes conflict regarding the ownership of sheep, but there seldom are any arguments over land ownership. Some men are resentful of sheep camp duties and many younger men are seeking other ways of making a living.¹¹³

Acculturation has brought about some changes in the value system surrounding work. Working for wages is not in accordance with Zuni culture, but it is becoming more and

more prevalent. More people are specializing in specific skills. There is a growing market for the turquoise and silver jewelry and handcrafts which are so artistically fashioned by the Zunis. The building of Black Rock Dam provided for irrigation and better methods of farming and they have become expert agriculturalists. With the development of a cash economy, property and possessions are now valued more highly than before. Prestige is now attached to the acquisition of material things such as modern appliances and furnishings, cars, and farm machines. There is more rivalry and competition than there was in the traditional society. Earning wages has become important in acquiring material things. The Zunis are industrious people and are constantly working, either at their jobs or on money-making hobbies. Though Anglo competition is in evidence and prestige is attached to possession, the most positive value is still the intrinsic value of work and industry.114

Religion is of central importance. The efficacy of religious ritual is considered to be dependent on the care and precision with which these rituals are performed. Individual variation in religious rites is strongly discouraged. The rituals are very formal and must be performed with rigorous exactitude. The participants must not show any evidence of fatigue during the activities and their rendition

114 Leighton and Adair, People of Middle Place, pp. 26, 35, 37, 122, 139, 143.
must be perfect. Some of these are very elaborate and last several days. Every detail must be perfect in order to insure the blessings of the gods for the community. Religious leaders must be knowledgeable and experienced. Prayers are not outpourings of the individual spirit; they are formulas which must be faithfully and efficiently executed.\(^{115}\)

The Zunis are a very ceremonious people. Ceremony pervades every aspect of life and ritual activities are most important. In all phases of daily life the Zunis are expected to be serious minded and to live moderately. A person should be inoffensive in his daily activities and live moderately and correctly.\(^{116}\) The ideal person is friendly, cooperative, polite, and dignified. He never acts in ways that would cause gossip and is never involved in conflict. He has "a yielding disposition, and a generous heart."\(^{117}\)

The precision and discipline which is practiced in ceremonial activities is also manifested in other phases of life. Zunis are very meticulous about any job and their crafts are detailed and exact. Every activity must be carefully planned in advance. There is strict control over all activities.\(^{118}\) It is possible that this great concern

\(^{115}\) Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, pp. 60-61.

\(^{116}\) Ibid., p. 59.  

\(^{117}\) Ibid., p. 99.

\(^{118}\) Leighton and Adair, *People of Middle Place*, p. 46.
with details is helpful in draining off hostility.

The children of the Pueblos usually attend day schools while in grades one through six and are transferred to boarding schools for their high school education. Haskell Institute in Kansas provides an education equivalent to two years of college and many Indian students take advantage of that educational opportunity. There is general agreement among members of the Indian community that public schools are preferable to boarding schools. Most parents feel that public schools provide a good educational environment and that their children should learn to interact with all races and cultures. But they wish to see more emphasis placed on a knowledge of Indian history and Indian culture. They believe that schools should match their goals and procedures with the needs of the Indian community. They want to create public schools near to the Indian communities which are under Indian direction and control. BIA is working to transfer more responsibility to local public school systems.

Many Indian students attend public schools under the benefits of the Johnson-O'Malley Act. The enrollment of Johnson-O'Malley students in New Mexico in the school year 1952-1953 was 1,347 with an average daily attendance of 1,186. In the school year 1966-1967 this figure had risen to an enrollment of 10,687 with an average daily attendance of 9,704. Attendance during those years dropped

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from 87 percent in 1952-1953 to 83 percent in 1966-1967 and dropout remained high. More scholarships and counseling are now being provided and a revival of Pueblo crafts is being initiated to combat poor attendance and dropout.

Some special innovations in education are now being put into practice. Following are some of the new educational projects being planned and carried out in New Mexico under the auspices of Title I and Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In Carrizozo, New Mexico a post high school vocational program was set up to teach skills needed by garage mechanics. Interest was high and the demand for the classes far outran facilities and personnel. In Cuba, New Mexico, a series of field trips were financed and carried out to broaden the experiences of Navajo children to include many facets of the modern world which they had not previously experienced. These trips were integrated into the regular curriculum. In Magdalena, New Mexico, a mobile classroom unit made it possible for the Indians spread out on the Alamo Reservation to develop greater skill in English, to become oriented to the education system, and to use books and other educational facilities for short periods of time. At Albuquerque, New Mexico, sixth graders took part in an outdoor classroom project concerned with natural science and conservation. At Los Alamos, New Mexico, audio-visual aids such as closed circuit television and tapes were employed

120 U.S. Senate, Indian Education Hearings, p. 1041.
121 Dozier, Pueblo Indians of North America, pp. 22-23.
to greatly enhance the instructional program. All these projects were first employed during the school year 1966-67. 122

BIA operates twenty boarding schools in New Mexico and these are primarily for grade school children. Under the jurisdiction of the United Pueblos, BIA operates eleven day schools at different pueblos. For the Navajos there are seven day schools and one trailer school. 123

For the Zunis most educational activities take place in the main village. Almost all children between ages six and sixteen attend school. The first school at Zuni was a Presbyterian day school which was begun in 1882. In 1907 the Federal government built a boarding school at Black Rock. In 1928 this was converted into a sanatorium for children who needed special care because of tuberculosis or other diseases while in school. The Christian Reformed Church established a school at Zuni in 1900 and the Roman Catholics established St. Anthony's Mission School in 1923. At the time of the Leighton-Adair study there were four schools in the village: a government day school, a Catholic mission, a Christian Reformed mission, and a county public school. A child could attend any of these schools which met his needs sufficiently. If he did not adjust well to his present situation, he could transfer to another school.


At that time it was stated that the public school was attended primarily by the children of white traders, missionaries, and teachers who lived there. 124

Ruth Underhill noted that there were day schools at two of the villages and a high school at Zuni proper. Reports of that period stated that all children spoke English and that absences did not exceed those of white children in school. 125

The Leighton-Adair study stated that Zuni boys average about eight years of school and girls attend school for seven or eight years. At that time an average of fifteen to eighteen students each year attended high school and grades beyond at boarding schools at Albuquerque and Santa Fe. They generally stayed about two years and few of them graduated. The record at that time stated that there had only been one college graduate from Zuni. 126

In 1956 a new public high school plant was built. This school combined with several other government and mission schools made it possible for Zunis to complete their education without leaving the home village. Pauline Dutton has stated that Zuni has for a long time had a good educational system. According to her sources, 80 percent of the Zuni high school graduates go on to higher education or

124 Leighton and Adair, People of Middle Place, pp. 84-85, 87.
125 Underhill, First Penthouse Dwellers, pp. 67-68.
126 Leighton and Adair, People of Middle Place, p. 87.
acquire commercial training. In 1969 the total number of Zuni children age five through eighteen was 2,203. Of this number 14 were in federal schools, 1,521 were in public schools, 442 were in other schools, and the status of 20 children was unknown.

Intelligence tests indicate that Zuni students have about the same intellectual potential as other cultures. Some have very high I.Q. scores. On the Goodenough test Zuni children on the average ranked slightly higher than white children. There was a higher percentage of Zunis than Anglos on the superior and very superior levels. On the Arthur intelligence test the mean I.Q. of Zuni children was slightly below that of the white group tested. Both at Zuni and at other pueblos, boys tested higher than girls. This is possibly related to differences in the training of boys and girls in these cultures. Boys are expected to be concerned with detail and with manual dexterity. They must discipline their memories and perception in order to efficiently conduct ceremonial activities in later life.

The personalities of Zuni children are varied, of course, but they generally show the influence of socialization into the Zuni culture. They usually are very well-adjusted and self-sufficient. They are fulfilled by the expression

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129 Leighton and Adair, People of Middle Place, pp. 88, 90.
of their own inner creative tendencies and are not excessively dependent on others for recreation. In school they work well independently. They are not very competitive. Their personalities are introverted more than extroverted and they are generally more reserved than emotional. Some children are bossy toward other children, but all are somewhat timid in their relationships with adults. They generally do not form close personal relationships. In school they are well-behaved and obedient. They have much concern with details and analysis, and are less concerned with synthesis and achievement based on competition. Their goal is to do each job well because it is required, and not in order to receive praise and acquire esteem for it. They are sensitive to criticism. They are creative and spend much energy on an elaborate group life. Many children are conscientious and dedicated students and their teachers judged them higher than the intelligence tests did.\textsuperscript{130}

The Zunis are independent and have pride in their culture and group life, but have been acculturated to some extent. For some time Anglos who were involved in reservation life have lived there. A railroad was extended to Gallup in the 1880s. In 1950 a road from the Zuni village to Gallup was surfaced, making it possible for Zunis to reach town within an hour. Almost every family at the time of the Leighton-Adair study in the late 1940s owned a car, and telephones were located at missions, trading posts,

\textsuperscript{130}Ibid., pp. 120, 124-38 passim.
several Indian service houses and in the governor's house. There was a public water system and electric power was available through the Rural Electrification Administration. All of these things were forces which promoted changes in life style.\textsuperscript{131} The forces of acculturation created changes primarily in the economic institution. Native crafts became more commercialized and wages and income based on competitive excellence became a part of the culture. Still the Zunis maintained their social and religious institutions. Life still revolves around religious activities and ritual is considered the formal expression of Zuni culture.\textsuperscript{132}

With assistance from BIA many businesses were established on the Zuni reservation, enabling the Indians to use their skills to full potential and still remain near the reservation where familial and cultural ties were strong. Different tribes attracted seventeen industrial firms to reservations or areas near reservations in New Mexico. The Zunis became involved in electronics industries. They were also the first Indians to be trained as firefighting experts in a nationwide program, and are now known to be very efficient in this field.\textsuperscript{133}

In 1969 there were eleven major employers in the Gallup-McKinley County area: twelve agencies of the

\textsuperscript{131}Ibid., pp. 9, 24.

\textsuperscript{132}Dutton, \textit{Friendly People}, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{133}Indians of New Mexico, BIA pamphlet, p. 13 and \textit{The Zunis}, BIA pamphlet.
Federal government, state and local government agencies which operate the schools, Kerr-McGee Corporation (uranium and petroleum), Navajo Forests Products (lumber products), Homestake Mining Company and United Nuclear Corporation (both uranium processing), AmiZuni Corporation (electronics components), El Paso Natural Gas Co. (gas refraction/compression), Shell Oil Company (Ciniza) which is involved with petroleum refining, Stewart Bros. Drilling Co. (mineral exploration), and A. T. and S. F. Railway (transportation). 134

So there is a variety of occupations for which Zuni students can prepare themselves in their home environment. Zunis have used their own resources to encourage industry and to improve education.

134 Gallup-McKinley County Chamber of Commerce, 1969 report.
CHAPTER VI

CULTURAL PLURALISM AND RESULTING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: INDIAN-DIRECTED POLICIES

We can see that government policy toward the Indians has had various types of orientation and application. It began with the attempted extermination of the minority group. It then progressed to a point where removal was the policy, and this seemed to be another type of extermination. Through the process of removal the Indians were transported to areas where they would be in separate enclaves and supposedly would be permitted to reach a stage of economic and educational development that would enable them to meet Anglo society as equals. It was stated that this would give the Indians more freedom, more protection, and more independence; but it had the effect of intensifying their poverty, decreasing their powers of self-control, and increasing their loss of self-respect and cultural pride.

When Indians were identified as American citizens the government shouldered the responsibility for their development and for the improvement of their economic condition. The Federal government tried to solve Indian problems by launching a policy of assimilation in which it
attempted to envelop them into Anglo society with Anglo-conformist techniques. Thus there have been three stages in the history of Federal government-Indian relationships: extermination (which included removal), paternalism, and assimilation. All of these policies were government-directed.

The Indians now are seeking to establish a fourth and final stage in government-Indian relationships that is both separate and unified, and that is cultural pluralism. Cultural pluralism is manifested in the social movements of tribalism and self-determination.

**Tribalism**

Removal to unwanted areas of the United States tended to create conditions of poverty for Indians and to cause loss of autonomy and dignity. They were relatively powerless in the direction of their lives. The paternalism of the Federal government and the inconsistent enforcement of treaty agreements caused much resentment of government policies and anti-Anglo sentiments. Past broken promises led Indians to be suspicious of government projects and of anything that was Anglo-initiated. The termination policy had forced Indians to admit that they still were dependent on federal assistance and direction. An assimilation policy that was, in effect, Anglo-conformist was undermining Indian cultural pride and self-respect. In reaction to policies which attempted their control and conversion, Indians developed a stronger feeling of tribalism.
Tribalism was a way for Indians to reestablish pride in their culture and communities and to reassert their "Indianness," setting themselves apart from those who had a negative view of them. The reservation provided a haven within which one felt secure in his values and beliefs and was truly accepted for himself. Knowledge and skills in tribal crafts were restored. Native languages were again used. More effort was exerted to establish day schools on or near the reservation. In these schools Indian children could remain close to their homes while acquiring an education and community members could become a part of the education process. In the schools the teaching of Indian culture and Indian history became important. Pride in one's Indian heritage was reaffirmed and acculturation and assimilation were not considered as important as in previous times. Indians often resented the efforts of social scientists to study them and explain in academic fashion their faults and failures of adjustment to Anglo societies. They were determined to solve their own problems. More Indians again began to experience the cultural pride and satisfaction in their cultural life that had been lost to them.

Often the immediate problem faced by a particular tribe is economic need, not social and cultural maladjustment. Each tribe has its own special problems and must solve them in its own special way. Helen Scheirbeck states that the Indians do not need more task forces, studies, and conferences to find out what is wrong with them. Specific tribes
need to organize their resources and to acquire manpower and money to solve specific problems.¹ Vine Deloria, Jr. believes that each tribe must decide how it is to use its land, and specifically what industries and businesses would do well there. The tribe itself must plan its own economic enterprises and provide personnel and finances if at all possible.²

Some of the Indians wish to preserve the reservations as separate cultural entities because they wish to live their lives within the cultural tradition that has endured through centuries. Others wish to be accepted as a part of Anglo society, to adopt Anglo life styles, and to pattern their values and life goals as Anglos. They wish to maintain the reservations and individual tribes as part of their cultural heritage and as a source of strength and tradition. A great deal of the rebirth of tribalism has taken place in the cities.³ Urban Indians who have embraced a new life style often need to maintain cultural identity and to receive sustenance from the knowledge that their reservation and their tribe remains intact.

For cultural pluralism to become a reality the separateness of subsocieties must be maintained. It is possible, however, for the subsocieties to maintain a

¹Josephy, Red Power, p. 181.
³Ibid., p. 277.
separate existence while differences between them lessen or disappear. The goal of cultural pluralists is to provide for the continued separate existence of distinct cultural groups while insuring that there is sufficient social acceptance and toleration and appreciation of differences to allow the functioning of all groups in the civic and social activities of the dominant society. This would mean keeping group relations separate enough so that there is a minimal amount of mixing through intermarriage, but maintaining friendly relationships so that members of the variant groups cooperate across ethnic lines in social, economic, and political activities. Through personal relationships and activities in these arenas, hopefully prejudice and discrimination would either disappear or become negligible while ethnic identity endured.

Cultural pluralism exists to some degree in America, but the situation is more often one of structural pluralism. There is some structural merging, but less cultural exchange, because the young intellectuals tend to form new subcultures instead of returning home to share their newly acquired traits. Most members of the various ethnic groups take part in the activities of the social institutions of the dominant society, but do not change appreciably their beliefs and values. The young people often change their beliefs and values and adopt a new life style, and therefore communicate

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5 Ibid.
less often with those who follow the traditional life style of their culture. In order to have freedom of choice, they leave home. Some Indians do return to the reservation, but are strongly encouraged to conform to the old way and are not permitted to promote great upheavals in the social structure.  

The positive attributes of Indian cultures should be incorporated into Anglo society. The sharing of culture should not be a one-sided affair. This was realized in the early part of this nation's history when settlers offered to educate some of the young Indians. One Indian chief, feeling quite strongly that his tribal teachings were more valuable and necessary, replied: "Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges...they were instructed...but, ...they came back to us...ignorant of every means of living in the woods...totally good for nothing. We, however,...obliged by your kind offer,...and, to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will...instruct them in all we know, and make men of them."  

Robert Kennedy quoted this statement for the Indian Education and concluded that our willingness to teach must go hand in hand with our willingness to learn.  

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6 Ibid., p. 159.

7 Hildegard Thompson, "Education Among American Indians," p. 96.

8 U.S. Senate, Indian Education Hearings, p. 6.
Indians rather than to suppose in our ethnocentrism that ours is the only important message. At that time in history it probably would have been helpful for the colonists to have taken advantage of that offer and to have become more familiar with Indian methods of survival. We could still learn much from the Indians today. In 1916 John Dewey stated that public schools should provide an atmosphere within which individuals of all groups and cultures are respected and accepted and should help them to realize that the richness of America's culture depends in part on the variability of the cultures which have combined to form it.\(^9\)

Walter Mondale, a United States senator from Minnesota, wrote in the foreword to *Toward Equal Educational Opportunity* in 1972 that there was too great a tendency to "free" children of minority groups from their cultural surroundings and to eradicate their past. These children then cease to have self-respect and self-confidence because the dominant culture persistently tries to reform them and they begin to perceive themselves as failures. This overzealousness of Anglo-conformists has resulted in tragic loss of potential and in countless unhappy lives.\(^10\)

In 1973 a writer who calls himself William Yaz wrote of equal educational opportunity in the *Indian Historian*.

\(^{9}\)Gordon, *Assimilation*, p. 139.

He stated that treating all people with absolute equality even though they have individual differences in potential and in needs is not really fair. In education too often the same procedures are applied to everyone, regardless of cultural background. The notion of white supremacy leads educators to practice Anglo-conformity almost religiously. For those who do not originate from the Anglo middle-class environment, the education experience becomes a source of value conflict, feelings of inferiority, and frustration. If the situation were reversed, every person would identify himself in relationship to the minority culture; and it would be Anglos who had negative self-concepts, inferiority complexes, and problems of school dropout and academic failure. If they are to provide for equal educational opportunity the schools must try to meet individual needs and diverse cultural interests. 11

Tribalism has become a source of strength for many Indians. Through reasserting a pride in their cultural heritage and recognizing the value of existent cultural and social institutions of the tribe, they are able to combat the feelings of alienation and futility created by rapid acculturation and adjustment in an industrial society. After an individual has learned to accept himself as a productive and important member of a cultural group which appreciates and accepts him for himself, he can relate to the wider society and make his own choices of acceptance or

11 Ibid.
non-acceptance of specific cultural traits and techniques. Almost all people need the security of acceptance and love by significant others in a group. Few people are actually loners by choice.

Many non-Indians are now beginning to understand that the continuity of individual tribes with their social and cultural institutions is vital to the social and emotional development of individuals. The push toward Anglo-conformity has created in many an insecurity and a dependence that has in some cases led to anti-social behavior, excessive conformity in school peer groups, low self-images, expectations of failure, and low academic achievement among Indian children. This insecurity has often caused individual Indians to be inflexible and immobile, for they need to accept themselves before they can adjust to a rapidly changing society and pursue individual goals.

The tribe provides an environment of security within which individuals can come to terms with their own personalities and determine the direction of their lives. The tribal kinship system is one of the greatest factors in the development of one’s personality as a significant member of a group. It provides sustenance, security, and strength even after one has left the reservation. A person’s various ascribed statuses in this organization give him certain privileges and responsibilities wherever he goes. The kinship system can cover great distances and is a predictable,
stable power. It has been called by some "the Indian Social Security System." Steiner believes that the strong individualism of the Indian is based on his membership in the tribal community. His social identity is an outgrowth of this membership. This author even goes so far as to say that destruction of tribes and tribal religions as separate entities would result in the destruction of Indian identity and individual personality. Perhaps this is an overstatement.

Many researchers now believe that it is important for the Indians to maintain their specific tribal identity and not lose all their unique differences in a Pan-Indianism movement or in assimilation into Anglo society. In cultural pluralism there lies strength and social solidarity based on a feeling of belonging and a sense of loyalty to one's cultural group. This security provides the individual with the freedom to choose whether he will remain culturally and socially distinct, socially distinct but culturally assimilated, or culturally and socially assimilated.

The boundaries between the sociocultural groups in a pluralistic society must remain flexible if culturalism is to be truly democratic for individuals. Cultural pluralism should not become a means of forced segregation. The

12 Steiner, The New Indians, pp. 140, 146.
13 Ibid., p. 139.
14 Murray Wax, Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity, p. 183.
individual had no choice in determining the ethnic group into which he was born and socialized. Cultural pluralism should provide him with freedom and the opportunity to choose assimilation or to remain within his native cultural environment as he wishes. It should be possible for individuals to cross cultural boundaries. The knowledge of his cultural past and his belief in its worth should remain as a strength to aid his progress in whichever direction he chooses. The idea behind cultural pluralism is to create in Americans an awareness of the contributions of all ethnic groups to the cultural whole.  

The goal now is to reassert and redefine Indian cultural values and to revive tribal crafts. There is also an attempt to reestablish Indian tribes as separate entities which can function as social and political units and have equal rights in the management of tribal affairs and in the direction of their own lives. In accordance with this attitude, the government has bought large areas of land and restored them to tribal use. Through the efforts of the Soil Conservation Service Indian lands are being protected from erosion and made more fertile. Indian crafts are being preserved and made more profitable. In the schools there is now an effort to improve skill in native arts and crafts and to create more respect for Indian religions and culture. It is hoped that these changes will help make it possible for individuals to have a good vocation, to be able to live on

the reservation, and to become involved in reservation life without the feeling of having sacrificed their talents, if that is their preference.16

Self-Determination

Most Indians and many non-Indians now believe that the programs and projects for economic development and education should be determined and implemented by the Indians themselves. Self-determination has become the goal of most tribes. It is felt that the paternalism of the Federal government in the past created excessive dependency and feelings of inferiority that are still evident in the present. The Indians believe that achievement of autonomy will enable them to overcome a sense of failure and to build a future that includes Indian cultural and social traditions along with the learning of skills which provide economic success in today's world.

Indians do not desire termination of their special relationship with the Federal government, for there is a great distance yet to cover between their development and that of the Anglos, and they still need financial assistance and additional personnel to bridge this gap. In this same way, many other education systems plan their own policies but seek financial assistance from the Federal government for special programs. Indians also want the power to decide what kind of programs will be initiated and how they will

16 Embree, Indians of the Americas, pp. 246-47.
be implemented. They have for too long been powerless in the planning of policies which affected their destiny. 17

Now in accordance with the goal of self-determination some Indian tribes are endeavoring to reach a stage of economic development that will enable them to finance, in whole or in part, their own programs. They wish to be in control of their own political institutions, but they are also using the wider political structure to achieve innovations in policy concerning themselves. They exert more control over the educational process than in the past. There is a steadily increasing number of Indians in the employment of BIA, and policy making is becoming their responsibility. Twenty-nine tribes, including Navajos, Jicarilla Apaches, Laguna, Blackfoot, Southern Utes, and Ute Mountain Utes, have established fellowships for their people. Some of the grants state as a requirement a period of time spent working on the reservation. 18

Since 1965 there has been an increasing number of Indian school board members in local districts. In the Gallup-McKinley School District in New Mexico Indians have been elected to the school board, and in several other places Indians are taking administrative positions in the education system. 19 These policies indicate that Indians

17Fuchs, "Old Promise," p. 57.
18Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, p. 152.
19Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, pp. 320-21.
are beginning to use their political power in achieving self-determination. Some summer programs are being carried out by BIA, by special interest groups, and by the tribes themselves to provide remedial work for underachievers, vocational training, and pre-school education. Many tribal councils have requested summer programs and pre-school training and have obtained grants from OEO to carry them out. The initiation of the programs comes from the Indians rather than from the suggestions of Anglos.20

The establishment of industry on the reservations is creating opportunities for employment and income that make it possible for Indians to work on the reservation and aid in its further development. The Economic Development Administration under the Commerce Department funded two industrial parks and water and sewer facilities, bringing both opportunities for employment and economic improvement to the Navajo reservation. A transistor assembly plant was established at Shiprock, New Mexico in 1965 by Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation, and this has been quite successful.21

As more Indians obtain higher education, they are able to seek employment either on or off the reservation. Today's youth often go into reservation development.22

20 Brophy and Aberle, America's Unfinished Business, p. 147.


22 Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, p. 272.
Leaders in both the Anglo society and the Indian community are coming to accept self-determination as a goal and as the right of the Indians. The Meriam Report of 1928 and the subsequent Indian Reorganization Act II were the forerunners of self-determination. They proposed that the Indians have a voice in the determination of economic and educational policy. IRA also established programs such as the Johnson O'Malley Act which would enable either BIA or tribal councils to contract for the education of Indian children in state or county schools. The idea was to lessen the social isolation of reservation people, to provide for greater communication and contact between the cultures, and to provide Indian children with the skills that would give them freedom to choose the kind of life they wanted.²³

For a time self-determination was deemphasized in the consideration of other problems. In the 1960s the idea of Indian self-government again received a lot of support. The task force which was appointed in 1961 under the John F. Kennedy administration proposed reforms in the educational program. It suggested that perhaps additional school time such as a summer school program or school all year round was feasible to combat retardation in achievement or difficulties in the English language. It also suggested that more scholarship funds should be provided and that the Federal government should provide financial assistance wherever needed. It was also stated that Indian children

should have schools which they could attend without having to travel far from home and that the Indian community should be involved in the educational process. These researchers felt that Indian involvement was very important.  

During 1966 and afterwards, the task force appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson suggested improvements in Indian education, vocational training, housing, the welfare program, and health. It proposed that Indians be consulted on the initiation and management of these programs. It was stated that a national commission on education was needed and that the majority of its members should be Indians. A committee which was set up to study Indian problems in the late 1960s recommended that a White House Conference on American Indian Affairs be set up to study the needs of Indian tribes and to execute programs in their behalf. A stipulation was that Indian advice and consent be sought. There was in this committee a sense of immediacy in establishing Indian self-determination.  

Through the Office of Education a three-year project called "The national Study of American Indian Education" was commissioned to determine what kind of projects would be most beneficial to Indians. This study surveyed thirty-nine schools and included public, private,  

25 Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, pp. 317, 323.  
and BIA schools in their survey. The report stated that the Indians should have much greater authority and control over the education of their children. It also mentioned that a goal of the schools should be to increase the ability of Indian students to move comfortably between the Anglo society and the Indian society. This would entail proficiency in both languages and an understanding of and respect for both cultures. It suggested revisions of the curriculum that would provide the teaching of Indian arts, history, and culture in all schools. On July 8, 1970 President Richard M. Nixon in a speech stated, "...The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions."  

Peter McDonald, the ninth chairman of the Navajo tribe, in his induction speech outlined three goals which imply self-determination: "First, what is rightfully ours, we must protect; what is rightfully due us, we must claim. Second, what we depend upon from others, we must replace with the labor of our own hands and the skills of our own hands and the skills of our own people. Third, what we do not have, we must bring into being. We must create for ourselves."

Too often there has been a great lag between what

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28 Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, p. 265.
government officials have stated as policy and the actual implementation of that policy. In Wassaja, an Indian newspaper that calls itself the "Indian's signal for self-determination," some have found fault with the stand taken by Marvin L. Franklin, the recently appointed Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner. He has stated that Indians face the same problems as other citizens of the United States but that they "...wear a special hair shirt that afflicts no other segment of our society: It takes the form of a cultural heritage that forces them to swim upstream against all the currents of our modern technological age." He believes that Indians should bring themselves in tune with the rest of America. He perceived that his job is to assist the Indian, but not "cradle him," in achieving self-determination. This sounds as if he believes that Indians should deny their cultural heritage and assimilate; it does not sound like true self-determination.\(^{30}\)

Mr. Franklin does intend to provide for maximum administration at the local level and reduction of personnel and offices at the headquarters in Washington. But he states that policy will still be set in Washington while the administration of that policy will be carried out by tribal representatives or Bureau superintendents. He urges that those in charge of Indian affairs must look to the future and not continue to let the past determine their policies.\(^{31}\)


\(^{31}\) Ibid.
Some of the Indians question whether the stand taken by Mr. Franklin is really for self-determination. One writer grants that he may have good intentions and may be an efficient manager, but maintains that he is basically powerless. Everything he does must first be approved by the Department of the Interior. The writer further states that Indian administration of policies which are established and directed by non-Indians is not self-determination.32

Another Indian group echoes these same sentiments and calls Marvin's policies "fake self-determination." The group believes that Indians have their own professionals and their own ideas about what is good for their people. Thus they are fully capable of determining their own policies and do not need to have the United States government establish policy.33

Many groups are initiating measures to provide real self-determination for Indians. Recently in Santa Fe, New Mexico a committee in charge of the preparation of Native American teachers proposed that a special group be appointed to study needs and formulate goals and policies to provide more Indian teachers for Indian children. At the time of the proposal, there were 22,000 American Indian students enrolled in the public schools of New Mexico, but only 114 of their teachers were Indians. At that time 63 Indian students enrolled in New Mexico's colleges and universities.

were training for the teaching profession; but they were not getting the kind of instruction and experience necessary to meet the needs of Indian children, the report stated. The committee stated that there was great need for inservice programs and college programs that would provide greater knowledge of Indian culture and skills in the teaching of language. It also proposed that the training and hiring of Native American teachers be accelerated.³⁴

In Bremerton, Washington, the educators of the North Kitsap School District are supplementing the curriculum by including in social studies classes the study of local Indian tribal history. They are using information from the Kitsap tribal members and stories and legends remembered by tribal elders of the Port Gamble Clallams and the Squamish to rebuild a history of these tribes. They are not relying on outside experts, but are obtaining material exclusively from local community members. The program will benefit both Indian and non-Indian students. For all of them it is local history and a thing of pride.³⁵

Three schools which show the success that can be achieved when self-determination becomes fact are Rocky Boy, Ramah, and Rough Rock. The programs initiated and carried out by Indians at these schools replace programs carried out by a paternalistic, bureaucratic administration in which

Indians had but a small voice. 36

The Rocky Boy Reservation School serves the Chippewa and Cree Indians in Montana. It once was a BIA school, and its programs were intertwined with those of a public school nearby. It was restructured and became an independent public school district, separately funded and controlled by a five-member, all-Indian board of education. An Indian from the reservation was hired as superintendent and funds were obtained through Impact Aid (Public Law 874). 37

Ramah High School was the first high school to be under the direction and control of Indians since the earlier closing of the Cherokee and Choctaw school systems. Ramah is located in New Mexico near the Zuni reservation and is Navajo. It followed the guidelines set up by the Rough Rock school. The funds for this endeavor were provided by BIA and OEO. It is run by an all-Indian school board. None of them has a high school diploma, and three of them do not speak English, but they all are involved with the Indian community and have gained much knowledge based on experience. They understand Indian needs. Half of the faculty is Navajo. All of the teachers except one have B.A. degrees. One local Navajo teacher never attended school, but knows four languages and teaches Navajo history, language, and culture. Several teachers have degrees past the Bachelor's degree. One has an M.A. in education from Harvard and one

36 Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, p. 259.
37 Ibid., p. 256.
has earned an L.L.D. from Yale. The state of New Mexico
did not support this school because it was unaccredited,
but there was great enthusiasm and support for it among
the Indians. \(^{38}\) Both Ramah and Rocky Boy have achieved
much success. One reason is that they have built pride in
Indian education and Indian culture.

The Rough Rock Demonstration School, an elementary
school in Arizona, has done much to create pride in being
Indian and to create enthusiasm for education. The community
of Rough Rock had at the time of the school's beginning a
population of 1,000 and was located 100 miles from Gallup,
the nearest large town. A school plant had just been
built and BIA allowed it to be used for this project. It
was funded by OEO and BIA and began its program in 1966.
It provided for the education of 250 children from Head
Start through grade six. The school was named DINE
(Demonstration in Navajo Education) which is also the
Navajo name for themselves, meaning "the people." \(^{39}\) An idea
of the attitude of the Navajos toward Rough Rock and toward
other schools can be obtained by observing the names they
use to refer to the schools. BIA schools are called
Washington's schools and are not generally liked, public
schools are called the white man's schools, and Catholic
mission schools are called by a term which is translated as

\(^{38}\) Ibid., pp. 257-59.

\(^{39}\) Estelle Fuchs, "Innovation at Rough Rock: Learning
to be Navajo-Americans," U.S. Senate, Indian Education
Hearings, p. 21.
"those who drag their clothes." The Navajo Community College based on the principles underlying Rough Rock is called dine besolta, the people's school, and the Rough Rock Demonstration School is called dine, the people, signifying that these schools belong to the Navajos themselves.40

The Rough Rock school has a school board composed of all Indians. Only one of them has ever attended school and he has had only three or four years of education. But they have done an excellent job of administration.41 The staff includes ten classroom teachers, a reading specialist, two guidance counselors, two TESL (teaching English as a second language) specialists, and others who teach special subjects. One teacher, a Navajo, had not finished high school, but was doing a very efficient job of teaching. All others were fully certified. Parents were employed as paraprofessionals after completing a period of training. They were allowed to use dormitory and school facilities and to take their children home every weekend if they wished. Runaways from school became non-existent.42

At the time of Birchard's report the ratio of aides and teachers to children at Rough Rock was one to fifteen. Forty-two percent of the teachers in the Navajo area were between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine. Thirteen


42Ibid., pp. 23-24.
percent had Master's degrees. There was twenty percent turnover. Twelve percent of the instructional staff was Indian, but all seemed to have more background in their specific Indian culture than at most schools. 43

The knowledge and skills of both the Navajo and the Anglo culture are taught. The goal is to provide the children with a knowledge of and an appreciation for both cultures. The school officials want a pluralistic atmosphere and wish to maintain a sense of harmony between the cultures. Modern equipment and techniques are used, but at times traditional dress and traditional activities are appropriate. 44 The community is very enthusiastic about the school. The success of the program is particularly notable when one realizes that in the past community members have been very mistrustful and suspicious of schools that are stealing their children away from "The Trail of Beauty," the Navajo way of life. It is also important in view of the facts that Navajos of all other tribes have had the greatest problems in providing schools and teachers for their children and that before attending the Rough Rock school most Navajo children knew no English. 45

The first director of the school, Robert Roessel, whose wife is Navajo, points out that the basic need in

43 Birchard, Boarding Schools for American Indian Youth, pp. 13-14.
44 Fuchs, "Innovation at Rough Rock," Indian Education Hearings, p. 22.
Indian education is local control. Still many school boards for Indian schools are predominantly non-Indian. The Indian should have the right to hire and fire. The people who teach in the Indian school should be in harmony with the Indian community values. The Indian should feel that it is his school, not one imposed on him by outsiders who wish to assimilate him and to swallow up his culture. The Indian must be allowed to make his own mistakes just as others have who were pioneering. As long as we cry that the Indian is not ready to determine his own future and deprive him of that right, he never will be. 46

The new director, Dillon Platero, states that now Rough Rock is a community of 1200 and that the school enrollment is 425 students. He mentions as some positive facts that the parents are involved in the school programs of the Rough Rock Demonstration School and also of the Navajo Community College. Most of the administrators are Navajo. Parents work for eight weeks for six dollars a day teaching basic points of Navajo culture. They also help in the dormitories. The community elects the officials who run their school. Parents are involved in classrooms, dormitories, food services, and plant management. In return the school provides many services to the community.47

In 1971, after five years of existence, Rough Rock was still functioning successfully. The Indians seemed to

47 First National Indian Workshop, pp. 28-30.
be very pleased with it. Many others considered following its example.\textsuperscript{48} A good deal of its success was due to parental and community involvement. The Indians considered it their school. There was less reluctance to attend school for there was no fear that doing so would deprive an Indian of his Indianness or label him as a failure. Adults had an opportunity to further their education and so did not feel estranged from their educated children. The community was excited and enthusiastic about the project.\textsuperscript{49}

One team of researchers has insisted that the Rough Rock Demonstration School does not demonstrate success. Donald A. Erickson, Associate Professor of Education, and Henrietta Schwartz, Executive Director of Ford Training and Placement Program at the University of Chicago, describe the Rough Rock project as an attempt to achieve community control by a disadvantaged, largely illiterate minority, who wish to encourage the development of the community along with the education of the children. Mr. Erickson and Mrs. Schwartz conducted interviews and gave questionnaires to teachers and school board members, gave tests for anxiety to students, and observed and recorded details of school activities. Their study included Rough Rock Demonstration School, an experimental BIA school at Rock Point, and two schools in nearby Chinle, of which one was


\textsuperscript{49}Ibid., pp. 16-20.
a boarding school and one was a public school.\textsuperscript{50}

These researchers found the two schools at Chinle to be very similar in the type of academic and social programs provided. But at the public school in Chinle there was a great deal of anti-Navajo sentiment which was indicated in the refusal to provide free lunches for indigent Navajos who nevertheless had to go to lunch and watch others eat, the refusal to accept suggestions or listen to complaints from Navajo parents, no provision for the inclusion of Navajo culture in the curriculum, and in discriminatory talk which showed a complete lack of understanding of the Navajo people. There were statements like "No damn Navajos are going to tell this administration how to run the school system." The junior high school principal thought that it was ridiculous to adapt the curriculum to include the Navajo way of life. He stated that it was "not American" to help any "faction" perpetuate its culture.\textsuperscript{51}

The superintendent at Chinle steadfastly maintained that the Navajos were not capable of managing their own affairs. He also believed that they were not deserving of special consideration. He did not think that the school should provide free lunch to a child whose father had just bought a new pick-up truck, for example. He considered their requests for financial assistance and for greater


\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., pp. 24-25.
emphasis on Navajo culture unreasonable. He admitted that the school district often changed achievement test scores because the low scores of Navajo children would make the school system look bad. He maintained that people who did not know about the conditions there just would not understand how Navajos could fall so far below the national norms. 52 Navajos in this school district were unsure of themselves and showed quite a bit of anxiety. They felt powerless and frustrated and were unable to make innovations in the school program. 53

The researchers also found fault with much of what was going on at Rough Rock. They felt that there was a great degree of inefficiency there. The school board did not exercise very much authority in the actual functioning of the school or in the budget or relationships with school personnel because it was constantly involved in the employment of community members and in other community matters. Records were not carefully kept and there was neglect of many children’s needs because of that problem. The policy on enrollment and attendance was not very well-defined. These researchers maintained that at Rough Rock there was a complete state of disorder. They believed that a bureaucratic organization such as a school just could not suddenly be given over to local people who were inexperienced in bureaucratic techniques. 54

52 Ibid., p. 26. 53 Ibid., p. 27. 54 Ibid., pp. 28, 30-31.
They admitted that they found little evidence of hostility or alienation between the school and the Rough Rock community. But they felt that the director, Robert Roessel, was so strong a personality that most people hesitated to disagree with him. Navajos did often complain about existent procedure and suggested innovations. This was a good sign, for in the past Navajos have often been too intimidated to speak out. This writer believes that it would be completely natural for unrest and dissension to exist in a newly established innovative program. When things are running smoothly and no voices are ever raised in protest about anything, it is quite often true that nothing of major importance is being accomplished. Those institutions which merely intend to preserve the status quo have few problems.

Erickson and Schwartz believed that too much emphasis was placed on a good public relations image at Rough Rock and that a challenging and worthwhile program of study was not being provided. Many teachers were young and inexperienced in classroom management. Teacher morale, they said, was lower than at the other three schools compared and turnover was very high. Teachers gave as reasons for their discontent: inefficient administration, lack of discipline, too much publicity, a lack of support from the Navajo Curriculum Center, the unwillingness of top administrators to listen to their suggestions and complaints, excessive

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55 Ibid., p. 28.
emphasis on Navajo elements in the curriculum, a lack of pupil guidance and creative art programs, repeated interruptions from visitors, and arbitrary relocation of funds allocated for instruction. The researchers stated that the Rough Rock program was not innovative, but was a non-program.\textsuperscript{56}

When the new Navajo director, Dillon Paterno, took charge in July 1968 teacher morale improved. Erickson and Schwartz believed that this change would possibly mean less emphasis on public relations. The success of the school had seemed to be contingent on Roessel's being able continually to acquire federal funds and to show their use in ways which would impress the public. These researchers felt that this gave him too much power in the management of the school. They cited as an example one staff member who stated that a major reason for monthly reports was to impress funding agencies. It should be noted that if a program is funded by the government or by special interest groups, reports and other methods of evaluation are often required.\textsuperscript{57}

The Rough Rock school was the center of community social activities and parental involvement was great. Forty-one percent of the parents had participated in the adult education program. The researchers Erickson and Schwartz believe that community involvement would have been considerably less had not material rewards (such as a free

\textsuperscript{56}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 29-31.\textsuperscript{57}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 32-34.
meal or being allowed to watch television at the school) or payments been given to those who participated. They say that material inducements were almost always used to insure involvement in the educational programs and projects. They feel that the Indians were taking advantage of the school and of federal money. They maintain that at Rock Point, the experimental BIA school, rewards for participation are not given, yet parents have a deep interest in school activities and curriculum. Rock Point, they say, is much less publicized, but has a better quality of programs in both dormitories and classrooms and spends much less money to provide them. They believe that there is too much romanticism and not enough realism among the leaders of Rough Rock.58

This writer believes that there must be idealism and enthusiasm to spark a program of Indian self-determination. If it is necessary to provide material benefits to Indian parents in order to sustain parental involvement, I believe that this is still a good first-step measure. At least the parents are becoming a part of the school program and are acquiring greater understanding and knowledge. For the Navajos who are economically among the poorest Indians and who are socially and physically isolated, the opportunity to learn from television, to obtain a good meal, or to earn money to aid in home economic problems is very, very beneficial and aids in their progress. It is not just an

58 Ibid., pp. 29-30, 32-33.
inducement. Many people do like to be paid for their time and work, for they feel that it is valuable. This is especially true for those who are very needy.

In a speech made at the annual meetings of the American Educational Research Association in Minneapolis, Minnesota in March of 1970 Murray L. Wax commented on the report given by Erickson and Schwartz. Murray and Rosalie Wax and Robert Dumont believe that the school program definitely should be directed and managed by the local Indian community and the parents because they are the ones most affected by the results. Obviously there are problems involved in the transition of control from a bureaucratic structure to any local community. For school boards, whether Indian or otherwise, are basically conservative and have community needs in mind when planning programs. Educators on the other hand do not appreciate laymen directing their programs and being concerned about their personal lives. There is a tendency for various outside competing factions to try to gain control of the school system. Naturally there are going to be arguments, dissatisfaction with certain policies and constant disagreement as to what should have top priority.59

In a situation like Rough Rock a democratic utopia is not going to spring up overnight. Indians must become accustomed to the idea of exerting control over the educa-

tional system. It takes time for them to learn how a school system is to be managed. Most parents lack the technical skill and competence to judge and alter the curriculum unless they are highly educated suburban parents. But these are skills that can be learned, and learning through experience and actual involvement is one way. Parents must be involved in the school program and whatever stimulation is necessary to inspire interest and provide for interaction between school and community is at least a beginning.60

In areas like the Navajo Reservation the Indians are concerned with the education of their child. Their most vital concern, however, is family and community survival. If they see the possibility of obtaining food, money, or jobs for some of their people now, they use the means at hand. Long-range goals are important, but being able to provide for one's present needs are more important. This is a natural attitude for people who presently have almost nothing. Thus the school board at Rough Rock acted in areas where its members understood the needs and the methods. It left alone areas like the curriculum in which school board members did not feel competent.61

Murray Wax believes that don Erickson's and Henrietta Schwartz's report was probably an accurate and honest appraisal. But it did not take into account the

60 Ibid., pp. 4, 5, 10-11.
61 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
early educational and economic history of the Navajos. We surely should not expect sudden perfection from a people who are just beginning to take the responsibility for an education that others have always directed. Naturally the experienced, high educated administrators at Rock Point were doing a better job. This was to have been expected. It was also to have been expected that the school board at Rough Rock would give little attention to basic educational policy. This was not its main area of competence. In any area where control of the educational system is locally maintained there are both benefits and inadequacies. What Rough Rock (and other locally operated Indian school systems) needed was an honest and critical evaluation by outside researchers. The Erickson-Schwartz report, however, was made publicly rather than to school officials who could have benefitted from it. Therefore it created a national furor and caused the factions to take side, and it brought the researchers more prestige and money. If presented to the right people it could have initiated changes that would have assisted the progress of Rough Rock and furthered self-determination. We must try to see the whole truth of Indian attempts toward the control of the educational system, not just the part that furthers out personal desires or corroborates our preconceptions. As Robert Roessel stated, the Indians must be allowed to make their own mistakes just as others have, and experience their own success.

62 Ibid., pp. 8, 9, 12, 13.
The Navajo Community College (NCC) is another example of the move toward Indian self-determination in education. The former director of Rough Rock Demonstration School, Robert Roessel, Jr., was the first president of NCC. Roessel, his wife Ruth Roessel, and Navajo tribal chairman Raymond Nakai were instrumental in the establishment of NCC. The school has an all-Navajo school board. The students learn Navajo history and culture along with many other subjects and adults have the opportunity to further their education through this college even if they have no previous education. The Rough Rock Demonstration School served as a model for NCC. The NCC program seems to be successful and the Indians are favorably inclined toward it. The Chippewa Indians in Minnesota are now working to establish a community college similar to NCC, and at least eight Pueblo tribes in New Mexico are formulating plans for such an institution of higher learning. NCC was funded by OEO, tribal funds, and the William H. Donner Foundation.63

The Navajo Community College is located at Many Farms, Arizona. It began in January, 1969, sharing the facilities of Many Farms High School until the campus buildings could be completed. It was the first institution of higher education in the United States to be completely organized and controlled by Indians. After three years of existence its programs were still proving successful. Its goal was to overcome the great poverty and illiteracy which

was the lot of the Navajo people. Through the management of the college the Navajos were able to take on part of the responsibility for the education of their people and to share in the beneficial results of that education. The president of the college in 1971, 47-year old Dr. Ned A. Hatathi, a Navajo, was the first of his family ever to attend school. He stated that in BIA schools Indians were constantly being told that the things which were Indian were worthless and outdated. He said that Indians have known for a long time what their educational needs were, but the fulfillment of those needs was impossible before they had control of their own schools. 64

The college is primarily a technical-vocational institution which attempts to develop skills that can be used on the reservation. It does not require a high school diploma for entrance. It will accept any Navajo who is eighteen years of age or older. There is a pre-college program which prepares students to take the GED. As of 1971, forty-five students had enrolled in that program; and their ages ranged from eighteen to sixty. There is also a transfer program for those who wish to eventually attend a four-year college. All Navajo students are required to take nine hours of the twenty-four hours offered in the Navajo Studies Program. The Director of NSP is Ruth Roessel, wife of Robert Roessel, daughter of a traditional Navajo

medicine man, and graduate of Arizona State University at Tempe, Arizona. Both the English and Navajo languages are emphasized in the course of study. Many field trips are provided, and there is much individual attention from faculty members. The grading system has categories of Honors, Pass, Deferred (Incomplete), or No Credit. The word failure is never used. The college is organized democratically. Students are involved in every phase of school government and can be members of the Board of Regents. The Navajo Adult Basic Education program is designed to help those who have no knowledge of English to obtain an education. It provides instruction in any subject which the people request.

There were in 1971 three hundred students who lived and attended school on the Navajo Community College campus and there were four hundred others involved in off-campus service programs which were directed by the college. Twenty percent of the enrollment is non-Navajo. This includes other Indian tribes, Anglos, Chicanos, Orientals, and Blacks. About one-third of the faculty is Navajo. The faculty members have a great variety of cultural and educational experience.

An elementary school program which provides for individual differences and aids children who are educationally and economically deprived (both Indians and non-Indians) is called Follow Through. Its center is at the University

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65 Ibid., pp. 59-61. 66 Ibid. 67 Ibid., p. 60.
of Kansas. It has aided children in the Hopi, Cherokee, Chippewa, Choctaw, Navajo, Northern Cheyenne, Kashia Pomo, Sioux, and Tlingit tribes. It takes children who have had a complete year of Head Start and provides special instruction and services from kindergarten through third grade. It has proved very successful in building confidence and self-expression and in building skills for future academic success. Both the English language and the native language are permitted in the classroom, and one may choose the language in which he can best express his ideas and deepest feelings.

Parental involvement is an important part of this program. On every Follow Through project there is a policy advisory committee and fifty percent of the members must be parents. Parents act as classroom aides and can often give special attention and communicate with the children when the regular teacher does not have time or does not understand the language well enough. Also after the parents are trained, they become home aides and teach other parents. Dillon Platero finds much in this program to be commended.

Lynne and John Waugh have much praise for the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The atmosphere here is one of permissiveness and freedom. Students are allowed to feel and communicate pride in their Indian culture and language through art. They created some

69 Ibid., p. 7.
wonderful and beautiful things using art and language media. This has helped them to achieve a new pride in self and culture and to develop a more positive self-image. Their work deals with the meaning of being Indian and is very sensitive and creative. Their artistic works also say something about social issues of today’s world. The program began with more emphasis on English and other subjects, but creativity in various art media has become its most successful program.70

An attempt to change traditional ideas of educators in the teaching of Indians was made in a "Workshop in Cross Cultural Education" at Carson City, Nevada in June of 1969. Of those who participated in the workshop there was a senior staff which was young and had eastern United States backgrounds. The junior staff was a group of high school Indian students who had shown high verbal ability and seemed adaptable to new ideas. They were given one week of teacher training prior to the workshop. About three hundred participants were older, had a western United States background and were at the time teachers and administrators from BIA and public schools. These older teachers were already skeptical about the project. Courses in the English language and culture and in the culture of other ethnic groups, group dynamics classes, and simulation exercises were required. Many other courses were available in addition

to these. The purpose of this project was to provide an atmosphere in which the participants would be forced into unfamiliar and sometimes uncomfortable situations and would be required to reexamine their values, attitudes, and assumptions about teach Indians.\textsuperscript{71}

This program did not prove very successful for several reasons. Although there was never any open conflict, there was an overall atmosphere of hostility and suspicion among the participants. It is difficult to say whether the problems lay in the attitudes of the personnel or in the construction of the project. Some members did not live in the housing provided for them. They moved to motels and had their meals out in town. The older members did not like for young, casually-dressed, long-haired teachers to assume authority over them. They believed that these young people were being excessively liberal and that they were unprofessional.\textsuperscript{72}

Communication and interaction were not very prevalent. Most people just withdrew and maintained their own formerly held opinions. The participants felt that their statuses were threatened and did not open up to free discussion very well. There was strong reaction to many activities and attitudes, and the atmosphere was one of great emotion and resentment. Many people felt that the problems were not


\textsuperscript{72}Ibid., pp. 30-32.
adequately handled. Many things were talked about, but very few solutions were found to problems. It was felt that the staff was too involved with the mechanics of the program to get to the real problems and needs in the education of Indians. A young staff had succeeded in challenging and unsettling conservative members, but few viable alternatives to original procedures were submitted. It had a negative tone. There was a tendency throughout this project to show all that was wrong, but not to say what would be right. This workshop was basically unsuccessful in the achievement of its goals.\textsuperscript{73}

One boarding school, Chilocco, has undergone many changes to meet newly understood needs of Indian students. Chilocco Indian School was established in 1884. It is located on the Oklahoma side of the Oklahoma-Kansas border. In addition to its 40-acre campus, the school owns 6,000 acres of rangeland. The 190 buildings on campus include classroom buildings, dormitories, houses, and barns. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, there were approximately 1,100 students and about 450 of them were in grades nine through twelve. The school currently offers a regular academic program and a vocational program.\textsuperscript{74}

In 1969 there was a great scandal concerning Chilocco. There were accusations against faculty and staff

\textsuperscript{73}Ibid., pp. 33-34.

\textsuperscript{74}Robert D. Alley and Ronald G. Davison, "Educating the American Indian: A School Joins the Twentieth Century," \textit{Clearing House} 46 (February 1972):347.
of criminal malpractice and of physical and mental acts of perversion committed against the students. There was a great public outcry at this time about the harm caused by boarding schools. Both the superintendent and the principal at Chilocco were suspended, many faculty members left the school, and for a time the school was closed. When it reopened, it suffered from loss of faith in the community it meant to serve.75

The residential life at Chilocco was "barracks" style. There were many behavior problems among the students, such as excessive use of alcoholic beverages, illegal use of drugs, aggressive behavior, and fighting. There was a high rate of absenteeism and a high dropout rate. There was little interaction among the fifty-seven staff members and there was a lack of involvement and understanding between students and faculty. The faculty members had come to think of themselves merely as keepers of the student body, as if their main function was to keep the students in line.76

Boarding schools had originally been used to insure an education to many children who had no schools near their homes to attend. As more public schools became available to Indian children, boarding schools adopted as their main function the education of children who had verbal or educational deficiencies, children whose needs were being neglected in their home environment, and children with social

75Ibid., p. 348. 76Ibid., p. 349.
or emotional problems. This was part of the reason that so many problems were evident at Chilocco. The children who came there already felt alienated from themselves and from others, and had many other personality problems. 77

Chilocco Indian School personnel decided to revise their educational attitudes and techniques. They realized that the orientation of many of their educators was much too traditional. They took steps to provide more training to further their understanding of Indian culture and to adapt their curriculum to meet requirements of a modern, technological society. Deficiencies in reading and in language were identified and plans were made to improve reading and language skills. A reading laboratory was established. Individual differences were given more attention. Communication between those of different cultures was encouraged. There was an organized effort to make the school more flexible in its curriculum and in criteria for success. 78

Workshops were set up for faculty members to attend. In these workshops great effort was exerted to provide for greater communication and better understanding. The curriculum was broadened to include and emphasize Indian culture. There were many in-service sessions in which teachers learned skills necessary to carry out remedial work in reading and in other subjects. They also had the opportunity through these meetings to improve their own

77 Ibid., pp. 348-49. 78 Ibid., p. 350.
reading ability. The school's personnel acquired a new sense of purpose. There was now more enthusiasm, more teamwork, and more real understanding and competence in solving problems in education in their school. Indian self-determination and progress toward greater understanding between educators and students is bringing about improvements in Indian education.

**Pan-Indianism**

The recent Pan-Indianism movement means that Indians are beginning to feel pride in their membership in the Indian community as well as in the tribal community. They are coming to recognize themselves as an ethnic group which encompasses all tribes and are acquiring a sense of peoplehood among themselves. Clyde Warrior states that although in the past Indians have been poor, they have felt rich because they were free. In today's world they seem to have a "poverty of the spirit." They need to reassert pride in being Indian and to experience success in their goals through combined effort as a people. They must not be continually made to feel that the world belongs to someone else and that they must adjust to it.

Pan-Indianism is a type of acculturation among the different tribes. The sense of peoplehood of Indians overcomes dissension and value conflict between tribes. Through Pan-Indianism an individual still respects and

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79 Ibid., p. 351. 80 Josephy, Red Power, p. 84.
reveres his tribal heritage, but functions as a member of that larger group—the community of Indians. Through relaxing the barriers among tribes and cooperating as an ethnic group to bring about changes in society Indians are learning that they have political strength when they act in unity.81

In February 1967, a large group of Indians from different tribes sent a statement to President Lyndon B. Johnson opposing a proposed omnibus bill of economic legislation. They felt that it did not sufficiently maintain a stand against termination and that it did not provide for several measures that they considered vital to Indian welfare. The letter stated that they had not been thoroughly consulted and wished to have a hand in the planning of policies concerning them, instead of just being given a program and asked to place on it a stamp of approval or disapproval. This unified move was an important step forward in asserting control over Indian policies and in experiencing power through unity, for in the past, Indians have resigned themselves to government actions even when they were bitterly opposed to them.82

In April of 1973 a national Indian college students' organization was founded with its temporary headquarters at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. This was


82 Josephy, Red Power, pp. 79-81.
done as a result of a conference in higher education which was held at Washington, D.C. A goal of this conference was to help provide financial aid and assistance to Indian students in higher education. Many Indian students attended the conference. Several resolutions were passed which had the purpose of assisting Indians in financial problems and providing more control and more choice for Indians in education. Here Indians were involved in the planning of policy and planned to act in unity in its implementation.

In the Southwest, Indians are beginning to take more interest in political affairs. In an election held in 1964 two Navajos, one from McKinley County and one from San Juan County in New Mexico, were elected to the State House of Representatives. This was a landmark in the exercise of political power by Indians in this area. The Pueblos have not usually been united; they have acted separately according to each tribe’s values and needs. They have generally cooperated with each other, however, and have unified when there were compelling circumstances. The All-Pueblo Council was formed around 1680 at Santo Domingo in New Mexico to resist the Spanish conquerors. For 242 years this organization was not used. Then in 1922 they again met to decide a course of action when legislative

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84 Steiner, The New Indians, p. 231.
action threatened the loss of their land. It now meets regularly and all Pueblos except Hopi send representatives to it. Each Pueblo still maintains autonomy, but the All-Pueblo Council remains an instrument through which they unify for action on matters which concern them all.86

The attitude which today generally pervades the relationships between the educators and the community is one of cooperation. There are still those who resist the integration of community members into the school system, but more and more attempts are being made to bridge the communication gap between the two. A study of an education program in Detroit, Michigan brings out a policy paradox discussed in the article by Litwak and Meyer.

A "locked-door policy" refers to the notion that the school and the community should remain separate and not interfere with each other's goals and activities. Its name comes from the fact that some principals of schools in France and Germany and also in certain areas of the United States have their doors locked during school hours. This symbolizes an attitude that the community does not need to be involved with the mechanics of school operation and that the efforts of community members to involve themselves in the functioning of the school may damage the welfare of the school and of the students.87

Another attitude which is gathering support among

educators is called the "open-door policy" by Litwak and Meyer. This refers to the idea that education will be more successful and relevant if families and school are brought closer together. Supporters of this policy believe that families and community members should be brought into the school as paraprofessionals and advisors and that the school should use the community as a kind of classroom laboratory in which children can make meaningful the things they learn from books and teachers. These educators believe that the best way to motivate a child to learn is to relate the elements of education to his life experiences. 88 This was the main idea of the school program in Detroit. The educators wished to establish lines of communication between the school system as a bureaucratic organization and families and neighborhoods as external primary groups. 89 Those who follow the "open-door policy" believe that relegating the universally accepted duties of the family (such as the early socialization of the child and the management of social and emotional tensions) to formal organizations such as schools takes away the special power and prestige of the family as a social institution and may cause value conflict and personality disorders in the child. 90

The Policy Paradox is that the two views appear to be antithetical. The "open-door policy" maintains that families and schools must work closely together to achieve

88 Ibid., p. 527. 89 Ibid., pp. 524-25.
90 Ibid., pp. 525-26.
educational goals. The "closed-door policy" maintains that families and schools must be kept separated because the basic organizational principles of each are contrary to the other. Litwak and Meyer believe that a compromise is possible between these two opposite positions. They believe that a middle point could be reached in which the negative effects of both orientations are minimized and the positive contributions are maximized. They call their proposed policy the "balance theory of co-ordination."

Through it many attitudes and goals of the school system and the community would be found to be complementary.\(^\text{91}\)

This writer believes that the "open-door policy" is a must for all communities, but that it is especially vital for the Indian community. They must come to feel involved in the education of their own for it will be their educated people who in large part determine their future mode of existence. In the past, bureaucrats have made policy for them and they have not felt that they controlled their own destiny.

The school can become a mediator between the young person seeking to learn about the world and the community from which he came. The student needs to learn about the actual problems and positive attributes of the community in which he lives. It would be a narrow curriculum which omitted knowledge of the extra-school environment. The curriculum should be sufficiently elastic to provide field

\(^{91}\)Ibid., p. 532.
trips into the community and correspondence between students and community leaders. Students must also learn skills in government and economics through their schools for they will eventually become community leaders. They must not just be given the illusion of participation in school administration and local, state, and national government; they must actually become involved in it. Our country will need concerned, dedicated, and informed young people. The young person can more easily choose either assimilation or cultural pluralism and be successful in his social roles if he has the support of both school and community working together as a cooperative unit.

Community involvement is especially important for young Indians because they were reared in an environment where even as children they were considered important functioning members of the community. They and other members of the society shared a kind of communion in which each person felt important. Children were not set apart and treated in a distinctive manner. It was understood that they were in the process of becoming adults and that their life styles and social roles would be similar to those of the current adult community members. Indian parents today want their children to acquire educational skills that will raise their standard of living and provide for themselves and their families comfort and security, but they


also want them to learn to be good Indians. 94

Indian parents did not plan for their children to use their education to become more sophisticated than themselves and to subsequently renounce their Indian culture. When Anglo-conformist educators attempted to replace the Indian culture and language with that of the Anglo society, parents became increasingly estranged from their children and from the educational process. The children felt rejected by both the Indian community and the Anglo community. The self-concept and self-confidence of many older Indian adults and of young Indian students was damaged.

In the past decade the Indian community has taken steps to become an integral part of the educational process and generally the Anglo community has cooperated. The first moves toward community involvement and Indian self-determination were somewhat timid. Indians still felt insecure in roles of leadership in new areas and they still were using Anglo standards by which to measure successful achievement of goals. The Civil Rights movement of Black Americans gave impetus to the movement of Indian Americans toward self-determination. 95

Day schools provided an education that did not create separation of Indian students from home and community. Parents became more involved in school activities. Indians who had sufficient education took administrative and teaching

94 Fuchs and Havighurst, Live on Earth, p. 306.
95 First National Indian Workshop, p. 130.
positions. Tribal councils provided community leadership and began to use their authority in decisions concerning curriculum. The role of the BIA superintendent became less important. 96

Many of the organizations which have recently studied the problems of Indians in education suggest that schools should be locally controlled by Indian school boards and that the education system should work in conjunction with community goals and needs. The school should focus its attention on the child and his relationship to his family and community. Indians must be allowed to manage their own affairs. In a country which professes that cultural pluralism is an advantage, Indian tribes must survive and be proud. 97

Some writers state that the movement toward self-determination and Indian control of the education system is good, but maintain that both Indians and non-Indians should be involved and concerned enough to provide aid where it is needed. A more positive effort should be made to encourage a positive self-image among Indian students. Indian culture should be a part of the curriculum. Indians should have more positions of authority in the schools. Indianization of schools cannot fully become a reality until more Indians acquire the education necessary for teaching and administration. Meanwhile an atmosphere of mutual trust

96 Spicer, Cycles of Conquest, p. 352.

and cooperation should be developed between the school and the Indian community, so that all may work to achieve their goals. Taylor McKenzie states that Indians should have control of their schools and other institutions on the reservation, but that they must also strive toward competence in order to carry out their duties and truly be successful. They should not tune out the rest of the world, but should broaden their outlook to include the positive points of both the Anglo society and their own. Cultural pluralism would mean sharing on both sides.

The involvement of Indian communities in the educational process is producing many changes. The Boy Scouts and the 4-H Club in one community have undertaken projects to learn more about money and management. Their newly acquired knowledge is put to use in activities that help the community and the children actually spend the money in order to carry out their goals. Other community organizations have implemented similar programs. In Utah the Utes wrote their own history with some financial help from Title I, and this is now being taught in the school system.

At Pine Ridge in South Dakota, community members

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100 First National Indian Workshop, pp. 10, 12-20 passim.
are learning and using improved methods of farming and livestock raising. This improves the economic situation of the community and furthers communication and cooperation between community and school. Schools at Santa Fe and Albuquerque in New Mexico have developed nursery stock and are establishing and maintaining orchards in the pueblos. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board has created new standards for the design and workmanship of silver jewelry that distinguish Pueblo jewelry from Navajo jewelry. As Indians become more involved in politics they are initiating many changes which create better conditions for themselves. They are becoming aware that they can indeed control their own destiny through controlling economic, political, and educational institutions.

Tribalism, self-determination, and Pan-Indianism are making it possible for many Indian tribes to have autonomy and economic independence. This situation is improving for Indian groups through these movements. They are reaffirming cultural pride and acquiring confidence in their powers of leadership.

This writer believes that those Indians who were least affected by government policy in the past are more likely to achieve their goals through self-determination today. The Zunis are independent and have a firmly established sociocultural system. It is probable that this tribe

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101 LaFarge, Changing Indian, pp. 133-35.
102 Ibid., pp. 136-37.
will continue to use initiative and their own resources to provide good education programs and profitable economic enterprises for their people. Many tribes, however, are gaining in self-sufficiency and working to fulfill their own goals through the movement of self-determination. Individual Indians have suffered from personality maladjustments in the past and in the present. Some of this was a result of pressures toward Anglo-conformity and some of it was due to other factors in the society. Further research might show some instances of role conflict, alienation, and anomia in some individuals, but a discovery of these traits would not solve Indian problems. The social institutions of family and education must work on these problems individually. The main concern of Indian tribes today is the achievement of complete self-determination. If this can be realized, Indians will be able to improve their economy and their schools and maintain pride and satisfaction in their heritage. Personality problems can be better solved if self-determination is realized. This society would gain by providing an atmosphere of cultural pluralism through which the richness of Indian cultures are truly appreciated.
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