

NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

RESEARCH REPORTS

Volume III

Teachers and Curriculum

for

American Indian Youth

Distributed by the Office of Community Programs,
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota

Volume III

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for

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THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

PREFACE TO VOLUME III

The papers in this volume report on the two principal factors in the education of American Indian children and youth--Teachers and Curriculum.

The papers on Teachers describes the teachers in the 37 schools that were observed in the National Study. These teachers were a fairly representative sample of the people who teach Indian children in BIA and local public schools. They responded to questionnaires, and more than 400 of them were interviewed.

The paper on the Curriculum reports what is actually taught in present-day schools that are attended by Indian children. This paper also reports on the attitudes of teachers with respect to a curriculum emphasis on Indian history and culture.

The Study has been supported financially by the U.S. Office of Education, Basic Studies Branch, Division of Elementary and Secondary Education Research. These papers form a part of the Final Report of Project OEC-0-8-080147-2805.

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

Vol. III No. 1

December, 1970

CURRICULUM FOR AMERICAN INDIAN YOUTH

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This paper reports the present status of the curriculum in schools that serve Indian children and youth. It is based on wide reading of reports on Indian education, and also on reports from the field workers of the National Study, who asked Indian parents, students, and community leaders what they thought about the school curriculum.

Experimental procedures for the teaching of reading and of English are given substantial attention.

CURRICULUM FOR AMERICAN INDIAN YOUTH

Estelle Fuchs

In its most traditional sense, curriculum refers to the content of subject matter presented to pupils. The larger, more contemporary usage refers not only to content but also to the services provided children by the school, including the social climate for learning.

With occasional exceptions, curriculum for Indian children in both BIA and public schools parallels the curriculum provided others in the public schools of the various states in the nation. This is due to the influence of accrediting agencies, state guidelines, availability of texts, the influence of teacher education institutions, and to the prevailing educational fashions of the day.

The National Study of American Indian Education has documented a broad consensus among parents, students, teachers, and influential persons that the most important role of the schools is to prepare Indian students for employment in the dominant economy and for successful lives in the socio-cultural mainstream. Thus there is virtually no quarrel with the principle that the curriculum for Indian youth should include the very best curriculum provided the non-Indian youth of the country.

This does not mean, however, that the present curriculum is without criticism or escapes controversy over focus. Several major areas stand out as issues of concern. Among these are whether or not tribal culture and history should be included in school instruction; language instruction; vocational or academic emphasis; attention to the dignity of Indian identity.

These are not issues which have arisen only in the present. They have been concerns over a considerable period of time and current discussions and

proposals are better understood with some attention to an historical view of the issues involved.

History

Western education and formal schooling was introduced to the Indians by the earliest missionaries to America. The Jesuits, mainly French, were active in the St. Lawrence River, Great Lakes region and the Mississippi between 1611-1700. Their goals were to teach Christianity and French culture, following the order of Louis XIV to "educate the children of the Indians in the French manner." To accomplish this, the Jesuits removed children from their families and tribes. They taught French language and customs, and emphasized the traditional academic subjects. Singing, agriculture, carpentry, and handicrafts were also included.¹

The Franciscans, mainly of Spanish origin, entered the south with Coronado, influencing the peoples of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and California. The policy of the Franciscans was to gather the native peoples into villages around missions. Families were kept intact. The schools, while teaching Spanish, did not emphasize the academic subjects, placing greater stress upon agriculture, carpentry, blacksmith work, masonry, spinning, and weaving.

The Protestants also established schools, primarily in the east. King James on March 24, 1617 issued a call for the education of the Indians and clergymen such as John Eliot took up the call. Dartmouth was founded for the education of "youth of Indian tribes. . .and also of English youth and others."

¹Good discussions of Indian education history are to be found in Evelyn C. Adams, American Indian Education. New York: Kings Crown Press, 1946; Brewton Berry, The Education of American Indians, a Survey of the Literature. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1949; Orata, Pedro T., Democracy and Indian Education. Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, 1938.

Although recognizing the necessity for English competency, there are strong positive attitudes toward the tribal language as well held by those interviewed. Three-fourths of the students indicated an interest in learning their tribal language, and 68 percent of the parents thought it would be nice or important for the schools to offer instruction in the native language.

Despite the shift in official policy toward permitting children to use their home language without fear of punishment, stress continues to be placed on the teaching of English in BIA and in public schools, and instruction is almost universally given in English.

There are no clear data on the numbers of Indian children entering school with competency in English. The BIA estimates that two-thirds of its children speak another language. Many Alaskan native children and many Navajo enter school with no or little command of the English language. How best to teach English has been of considerable interest in recent years, and has resulted in growing interest in linguistic approaches. Currently approaches to language instruction include:

1. Using linguistic techniques to teach English as a second language, moving the children from their use of the native language to the use of English as the language of instruction.
2. Bilingual education, which employs two languages as the medium of instruction for a child in a given school in any or all of the school curriculum except the actual study of the languages themselves.
3. The teaching of the native language as a separate subject.

The BIA has encouraged the use of ESL (English as a Second Language) in all its schools. Teachers have been encouraged to attend linguistic institutes sponsored by USOE, NDEA, and EPDA programs. The BIA also conducts workshops in ESL methodology. In addition, the BIA sponsors a newsletter, English for American Indians, initiated in 1968-1969.⁷

⁷English for American Indians, a Newsletter of the Division of Education Bureau of Indian Affairs. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

The past year has seen considerable emphasis upon testing and evaluation of the ESL program. An English language proficiency test is being devised for the BIA. Preliminary data from the test indicate that 63 percent of the children enrolled in BIA schools speak English as a second language. Currently, a study by the TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) professional organization has been commissioned by BIA. The English language program of the Navajo Area Office is being developed along this line.

Proponents of bilingual education argue that it is a more humane approach to instruction, avoiding the frightening, frustrating experiences of the non-English speaking child in an all-English environment. They argue further that there is evidence that bilingual instruction makes for improved intellectual functioning; that it indicates respect for the native culture and helps retain pride. Proponents also argue that bilingual programs provide employment for native speakers as teachers, consultants, and in curriculum development, and that community and parental involvement with the school is more likely to occur given a bilingual program. Bilingual education is proposed not simply as a bridge to the past, but for its positive value in providing familiarity and skill in the handling of different cognitive systems. In a multi-national, multi-ethnic world, language is seen as a key to identity and protection against alienation and disorientation.⁸

The last four years have seen the development of several bilingual programs in BIA schools. Some examples of these are the beginners classes at Rock Point, the Rough Rock Demonstration School, and the Toyai Boarding School, all on the Navajo Reservation. Six BIA kindergarten classrooms had bilingual programs in 1968-1969, and the program was extended to the first grade for 1970-71. In addition, the BIA is conducting a bilingual program in isolated day schools in the Bethel region of Alaska. The Department of Health, Education

⁸Hearings on Bilingual Education: 90th Congress, First Session, Hearings on S 428, May 18, 19, 26, 29, 31, June 24, and July 21, 1967. Hearings on HR 9840 and HR10224, June 28 and 29, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

and Welfare has sponsored bilingual education programs in several Head Start classes. There are no large scale bilingual programs in state schools.

Many difficulties stand in the way of the development of bilingual programs. Perhaps the most important is that many Indian languages have no standard orthography. In addition, although the theoretical problems involved in bilingual education have been explored, the practical experience with the day to day problems of teaching remain to be examined and reviewed.

The dearth of relevant teaching materials also remains a problem, much of the material available having been developed in other countries and therefore not suitable for Indian children. Among those working on the development of curriculum materials for bilingual, bicultural programs are the Southwest Cooperative Regional Laboratory in New Mexico, the University of Texas, the TTT program of the University of Washington which is developing Navajo curriculum, and the Rough Rock Demonstration School.

Other critical problems include the shortage of teachers trained to work in bilingual situations and the lack of adequate funding.

Although Indian languages are no longer being stamped out as a matter of official policy, there remains a resistance to bilingualism on the part of many educators committed to English-only policies, and acting out an implicit melting pot philosophy which assumes the assimilation of Indian pupils in a one-way direction. Members of the non-English speaking communities themselves, having been taught that it is English that is utilitarian in the school setting, are not always convinced of the need for bilingual programs. Evidence from our study, however, points out that a majority of parents interviewed wanted some recognition of tribal language and culture by the school. The value of bilingual education may be increasingly accepted given the success of model programs. Certainly, despite all the problems inherent in bilingual education, it would seem practical in the near future to have such programs in communities where the native language is the home language and to concentrate efforts in this direction in the early grades. Careful planning with local communities

is an essential ingredient in the success of bilingual programs and such programs should not be imposed without community approval and support.

The NSAIE found considerable support among Indian youths and their parents for instruction in the native languages themselves, as subjects of study, within the schools. Even in the most acculturated situations, e.g., Chicago, children interviewed expressed an interest in the Indian languages.⁹ In areas where there is a large concentration of Native speakers, and where there is this interest, schools could make provision for the teaching of a course in an Indian language. This is valuable not only for its general cultural and cognitive aspects, and the recognition it accords the Indian community, but also in providing interested students with the necessary skills to function more effectively as potential teachers, administrators, scholars, in reservation development, etc. Teachers of these courses can be recruited from the community or from among the graduates of the growing number of university Native American Studies Programs.

Indian Culture

Again, despite the absence of official policy deliberately seeking to stamp out Indian cultures, curriculum materials and programs incorporating tribal history, culture, contemporary issues including tribal government and politics were generally absent in the schools studied by the NSAIE. Exceptions do, of course, appear. Among these are the St. Francis Mission School in South Dakota, which includes curriculum materials on Indian culture; the Taholah public school in Washington which has developed curriculum including instruction in Quinault language, culture, and history; the BIA has sponsored a controversial course in Indian psychology developed by Dr. John Bryde; the BIA initiated Project Necessities (no longer BIA sponsored), an effort to develop

⁹ Estelle Fuchs, et.al. Indians and Their Education in Chicago. USOE Project No. OEC-0-8-08147-2805, Series II, No. 2.

curriculum materials based on the local experiences of Indian children and including the training of teachers to develop their own materials relevant to local conditions; the Alaska Reading Series is used in many Alaska schools, incorporating illustration and experiences of Alaska and Alaskans as text in pre-primers and primers. In addition, many teachers have made individual efforts to introduce Indian oriented materials in their teaching.

Teachers interviewed by the NSAIE often expressed a desire to teach more accurately about Indian culture, history, and current affairs, but felt severely handicapped by a lack of information and a lack of materials.

A recent evaluation of textbooks used in BIA schools and in public schools was made by the American Indian Historical Society, an organization of Indian scholars. Examined were forty-two American history and geography books, thirty-one state and regional history books, thirty-eight government and citizenship books, eight books about American Indians, and twenty-eight world history and geography books. Most of the texts were found to contain derogatory statements and misinformation about the American Indians. In addition to the inaccuracies and patronizing tone, the study found stereotyping and an absence of material on the Indians' contribution to the development of the continent.¹⁰

The findings of the Indian Historical Society are supported by a recent study concerning the knowledge about Indians and the attitudes toward them held by schoolchildren and teachers in a Minneapolis suburb. The views held tended to be uncomplimentary and inaccurate. White students showed a depressing lack of facts, and teachers were poorly informed. Thus the texts not only indicate a neglect of Indian pupils, but they perpetuate misinformation for non-Indians.¹¹

¹⁰American Indian Historical Society, Textbooks and the American Indian, The Indian Historical Press, 1970.

¹¹Lorie Hanson, et.al. Suburban School Children and American Indians: A Survey of Impressions, Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1970; see also Chris Cavender, An Unbalanced Perspective: Two Minnesota Textbooks Examined by an American Indian. TCCP, Minneapolis, 1970.

In its study, the Indian Historical Society accused the BIA of having the most outdated textbooks. It is difficult to compile comparable statistics for public schools, but the BIA itself had studied the textbook situation and reported that 37 percent of its texts are 0-5 years old, 40 percent are 6-10 years old, and 18 percent are 11-15 years old; 4.75 percent are 16-20 years old, and .25 percent are 20 years or more old.¹²

As scholarship and writing in this area improves and as more accurate portrayal of the role of American Indians in the history and development of this country becomes available, more effort will have to be made to feed these materials into the schools. The age of texts are important in matters pertaining to American Indian materials. Equally important is the need to make available in schools attended by Indian youths the most current educational resources in all subject areas.

The concern of Indian scholars for the development of greater accuracy in the content of the curriculum is growing. Their influence upon publishing companies, state boards, etc., will be increasingly felt in this decade. The dearth of accurate textbook treatment of native Americans requires the encouragement and support of Indian scholarship to reevaluate content and to write.

Concerning Indian cultural traditions in the curriculum, it is important to note that historically and at present the school is an agent of transmission of non-Indian culture to Indians. In only a very few exceptional cases, e.g., Rough Rock, is the transmission of traditional Indian culture viewed as a goal of the school to be worked out through the curriculum. There is little quarrel, even among the staunchest supporters of bicultural programs with the view that the schools should prepare Indian youngsters to deal with the larger society. However, the absence of Indian cultural and historical materials are viewed as a denigrating version of the real world. The absence of instruction

¹²Unpublished report, U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1968-1969.

in current affairs and tribal government is not realistic preparation for dealing with the larger society. Recognition of the Indian presence is valued and is to be encouraged.

Academic and Vocational Training

Throughout most of the history of Indian education, there was a strong vocational emphasis. In recent decades, most high schools attended by Indian youngsters have paralleled the educational trends throughout the nation with its growing emphasis upon a comprehensive education, including academic courses that would qualify successful graduates for college entrance while providing commercial and vocational course offerings as well. Special programs such as the crash literacy program for Navajo have been phased out and replaced by curriculum that generally meets state and regional certification. Vocational emphasis continues to be high, however.

Proponents of academic training see in vocational education a limitation on career choice; others see vocational training as realistic preparation for jobs. Increasingly, however, vocational training has been postponed to post high school programs.

Work-study programs, career development programs, job training programs can be of great value to Indian youngsters before high school graduation. The despised outing system and the institutional labor required of pupils in the old boarding schools should not be allowed to stand in the way of modern programs that can provide the opportunity to earn money, acquire skills, as well as provide useful roles for youth while attending school, whether they are preparing for advanced academic work or not. One of the criticisms directed against some schools for Indian children is that their isolation, both physical and cultural, inhibits the goals and aspirations of Indian youth. Conscious attention to career opportunities in both the Indian and non-Indian communities should be included in the curriculum offered.

It is difficult to school counselors, especially in the public schools, to have access to vocational and educational scholarship information for Indian youngsters. In states with large Indian populations in the public school, it would be useful for there to be a central office which can act to disseminate information to school counselors.

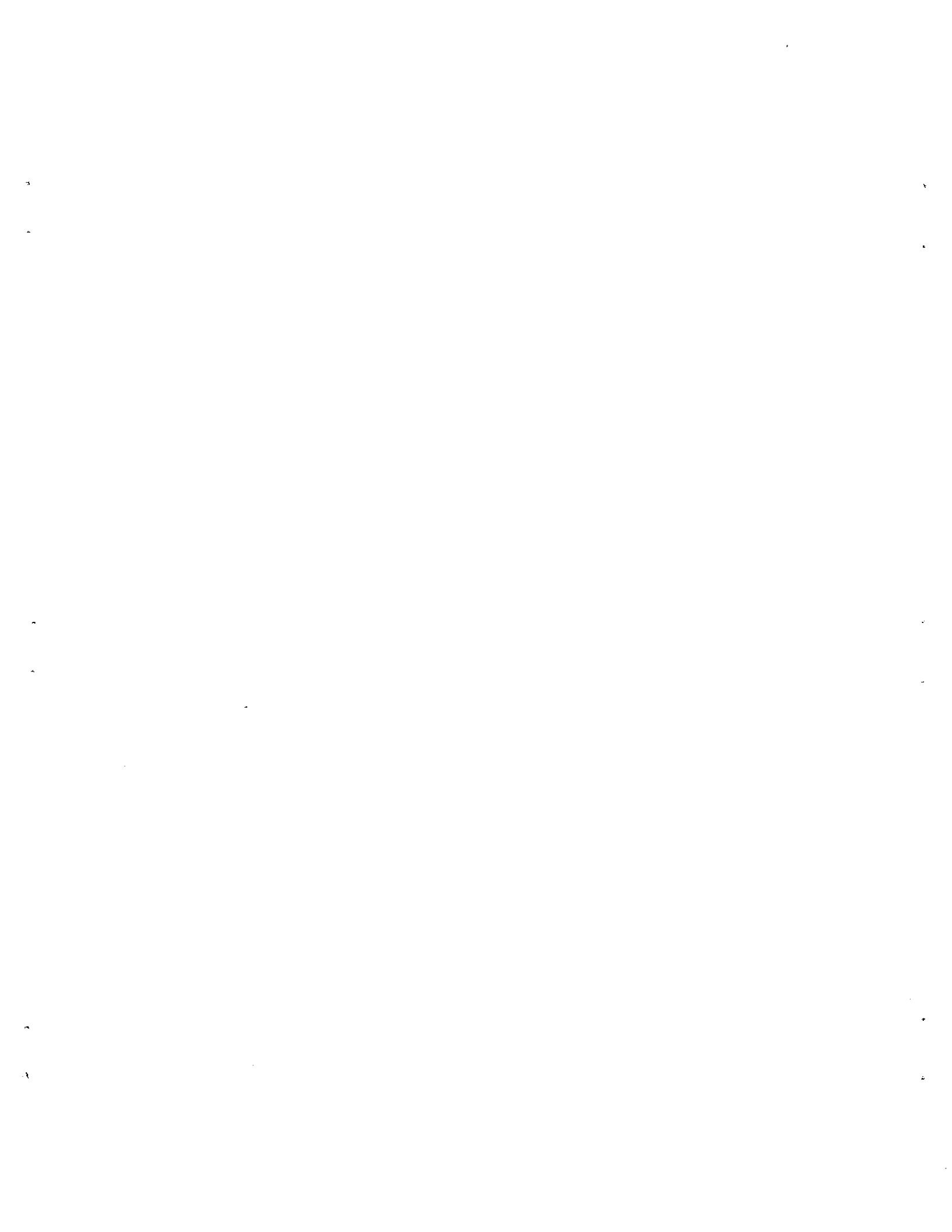
The Context of Learning

Curriculum in the broader sense includes more than the content of course offerings. It may be thought of as including all the services provided children as well as the total social atmosphere of the school. Many factors influence the learning environment. Some of these come from outside the school itself--job opportunities, accrediting agencies, curriculum trends in the universities, etc. Within the school, decor, relations between staff and children, teachers and administrators, etc. are significant. Attention to the Indian presence is valuable in creating a positive learning environment. Too often, educators, believing themselves democratic, prefer to view all children as like. Children differ not only as individuals, but as members of different social groups. Respectful recognition of their identity as Indians will help open the way to a search for better communication between teachers and pupils. Similarly, attention to differences between communities will open the way to more flexible programs.

In his thorough analysis of the literature on Indian education, Brewton Berry found that discussion of the curriculum for Indian students does not loom large.¹³ The field studies of the NSAIE confirm this. In general, curriculum in BIA schools has followed that of the larger society, and the curriculum in public schools is the same for Indians as for non-Indians. Curiously, curriculum is taken as a given and is rarely analyzed. Whatever curriculum developments take place in American education, it is unlikely

¹³Brewton Berry, op.cit., p. 64.

that Indian parents will want anything less for their children than the same curriculum offered to other Americans. The most outstanding difference, however, is that they would like the schools to give recognition to their identity.



THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

Vol III No. 2

December, 1970

TEACHERS FOR AMERICAN INDIAN YOUTH

Georg Krause
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This paper reports a substantial study of the teachers in 39 schools or school systems that serve Indian youth. Some of the schools have only Indian pupils. Some have only a few percent of Indian students.

Over 600 teachers filled out a questionnaire, and 345 of them were interviewed. Their attitudes about Indians and about teaching Indian children were explored, as well as their perceptions of the schools and the communities in which they worked. Also, the attitudes of parents and students were studied with respect to the teachers.

TEACHERS OF AMERICAN INDIAN YOUTH

Georg W. Krause
Carol Ziegler
Robert J. Havighurst

There must be about 10,000 elementary and secondary school teachers who work with more than two or three Indian pupils each day. Probably 6,500 of them are in classes with a preponderance of Indian boys and girls. They are in the following types of schools.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding and Day Schools	1,800
Public schools located on or near Indian reservations	4,500
Mission and other private schools	300

Another 2,000 are teaching in public schools with 5 to 15 pupils in their classes, mainly in towns and rural areas. Another 5,000 are teaching in cities over 50,000 in population, with 2 to 5 pupils, enough to make them aware that they work with Indian pupils.

The National Study has observed and studied teachers in all of these categories.

The purpose of this paper is to report on the characteristics and the attitudes of a substantial sample of teachers who teach Indian students in various kinds of schools. The teachers were studied by means of interviews, observation, and questionnaires.

Since the National Study involved a wide variety of schools and school situations, it would be expected that a wide variety of teacher-Indian experience would be encountered. A few Indian teachers were seen, and they often had all-Indian classes. The majority of teachers were non-Indian. Some of them taught in all-Indian schools. Many teachers had only a few Indian

pupils in their classes, and had no contact at all with an Indian community. A minority of teachers taught in schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The majority of them taught in public school systems.

Description of the Sample of Teachers

There were 634 teachers who filled out questionnaires, and 345 of them were interviewed. This sample was distributed among various types of schools as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1
Teachers in the Sample

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Rural or small town public schools	193	241	434
Urban (large city) public schools	14	56	70
BIA Day Schools	13	14	27
BIA boarding schools	37	48	85
Other	10	8	18
Total	267	367	634

The mean age of the teachers who filled in the questionnaire was 33 years, and 58 percent of the teachers were women. The percentage of female teachers is high in the 21-25 year age group, drops to a low point in the 26-30 age range and increases again after age 30 to reach a peak in the 51+ age group.

Teachers were studied in every one of the schools in the National Study. In the smaller schools all or nearly all of the teachers filled out

questionnaires. In some large urban schools with few Indian students, only a small sample of teachers was asked to fill out the questionnaire, and they were the ones with the most Indian pupils. Interviews were conducted by the field research staff with teachers. In schools with ten or fewer teachers, all of them were interviewed. The target number for teacher interviews was at least ten, and no more than 20 per school. If there were more than 20 teachers on the staff, the teachers were chosen who taught the grades from which the student sample came; i.e., grades 1, 5, 8, 11 and 12. The record of numbers of teachers interviewed and numbers responding to the questionnaire is reported in Appendix I.

Group discussions were organized in most of the schools, with 10 to 15 teachers meeting a researcher for a discussion which was generally tape recorded. These group discussions were analyzed and written up, and they have been used in the preparation of this paper.

Teachers were requested to keep diaries for a two-week period, but most of them did not follow through on this. However, a small number of diaries were handed in, and they also have been used in the preparation of this paper.

Instruments Used in the Study

It was desirable to get the usual kinds of information about this sample of teachers--their age, sex, grades which they taught, types of schools--and to study their attitudes and knowledge which might have a bearing on their effectiveness as teachers. For this purpose, an anonymous questionnaire was drawn up, with questions in the following areas:

- Demographic data
- Attitudes toward teaching Indian pupils
- Attitudes toward Indian people
- Attitudes toward school climate - authoritarian vs. permissive
- Attitudes toward Indian culture

In order to get outside the limits of a pre-coded questionnaire, a series of interviews was held with a fairly large subsample of teachers.

The interviews were read and rated by judges on scales which had been devised to measure the following:

Experience and knowledge of the local Indian community.
Understanding and sympathy for Indian adults and students involved in the school.
Attitude toward assimilation versus maintaining a separate Indian culture.
Perception of the school's relation to the tribal culture.
Perception of Indian students.
Attitude toward teaching Indian students.
Recommendations for training teachers to work with Indian pupils.
Perception of the nature and degree of parental involvement in the school.
Perception of Indian students' interest in the academic aspect of the school.

A study of the reliability and the validity of the ratings on these interviews has been made and reported fully in another paper.¹ The ratings reported in this paper are adequately reliable, and the interview protocols have a fair degree of face validity.

Administration and Analysis of Instruments. The teachers in the school under study were informed of the presence of the research team and the general purpose of the study, either individually through a form letter or in a meeting by the principal and/or a field worker. The different field teams did not administer the questionnaires at the same point in time during their visits. In some schools it took place very early, before or during the first stage of

¹Final Report: Series IV. No. 7. The Use of Interviews and Rating Scales by Robert J. Havighurst. No. 8, The Validity of Rating Scales and Interviews for Evaluating Indian Education, by Bruce Birchard. No. 9, The Reliability of Rating Scales Used in Analyzing Interviews with Parents, Students, Teachers, and community Leaders, by Robert J. Havighurst.

the interviewing of teachers. Teachers in other schools got the questionnaires during the final days of a team's presence. In a great number of schools the principal recommended to the teachers, or even urged them, to complete the forms, in a number of cases setting aside special time periods for this purpose. In other schools the completion and return of the forms were left entirely to the individual teacher, a difference in procedure reflected strongly in different rates of return.

The individual teacher interviews were taken during the entire time span the research team was present, with the individual interview ranging from 45 minutes to several hours, according to the amount of information the teacher was ready to give. The answers were taken down on the interview schedule and sometimes tape recorded. The group discussions were held during the last days of field work in a school, usually after the daily class period was over, a fact not always contributing to the eagerness and enthusiasm of the teachers to get much involved in basic issues. They took between 30 and 60 minutes and were tape recorded.

Classroom observations were made during the entire stay, taking from a few minutes to an entire classroom period. The respective teachers were always informed in advance about planned observations, and their permission was asked.

The answers to the demographic and attitudinal statements in the questionnaire were coded, wherever possible on an ordinal scale, implying a "more" or "less" of a certain dimension. For certain areas (Authoritarianism, Attitudes about Indians, Perception of Rigidity vs. Flexibility of the Local School Administration) cumulative scores were constructed. If more than a third of the items constituting a cumulative score was missing, no such score was computed. If fewer statements were unanswered, the average of the given scores was substituted for the missing ones in order to arrive at a cumulative score.

Reliability of Data. It is necessary to establish with some confidence the degree of reliability of the data from the questionnaire, and of the ratings from the interview. It appears reasonable to assume that the demographic data (age, grade teaching, sex, ethnic group) are fairly reliable. The responses to the attitudinal complexes, however, need some evidence of their reliability. This was tested for two groups of attitude statements--those pertaining to authoritarian versus permissive attitudes about teaching, and those pertaining to work with Indian children and their families.

The statements making up these two complexes were ordered into two equal subgroups each and subjected to a split-half reliability test which yielded reliability coefficients of .64 for each complex.

With a reliability coefficient of this magnitude, we cannot expect to find correlation coefficients between these attitudinal variables and other variables greater than .6. Furthermore, we can correct observed correlation coefficients for "attenuation" by a factor of 1.56. This means, for example, that an observed correlation coefficient of .42 between one of our attitudinal variables and some other variable would be corrected to .66.

RESULTS

The results of the study will be reported first for the total sample of 634 teachers. This sample is roughly representative of teachers who work with Indian students. The proportion of the sample who teach in BIA schools (18 percent) is somewhat less than the 25 percent of Indian school pupils who are currently in BIA schools. The proportion who teach in large city schools (11 percent) is probably a little greater than the proportion of Indian pupils in such schools. The proportion who teach in rural or small town public schools (68 percent) is probably very close to the proportion of Indian students in such schools.

The general results for the entire sample will give us an overview of the characteristics of teachers of Indian youth. We will later separate the sample into subgroups and look for differences among these subgroups. The general results are presented quantitatively in Appendix II which presents the average scores of the entire sample on all the items in the questionnaire and interview schedule.

Attitude Toward the Job and the Job Situation. The Anonymous Questionnaire contained the following item: How do you feel about your present job?

Very favorable _____; Favorable _____; Neutral _____;
Unfavorable _____; Very Unfavorable _____.

This was identical with one used with Chicago public school teachers in 1964; also anonymous. The present group rate their jobs more than favorable (average of 1.73 on the five-point scale, which lies between "very favorable" and "favorable.") This compares with an average score of 2.17 for the Chicago teachers.

It is worth noting that 24 percent of the present group who filled out the questionnaire omitted a response to this question, whereas omissions were negligible in the Chicago study. Although both questionnaires were intended to be filled out anonymously, or at least without any chance of the local school principal seeing them, it seems likely that some of the questionnaires from teachers in the Indian study were handed, unsealed, to the principal for return to the researchers, and this fact may have inhibited some respondents from answering this question, especially if their attitudes were not favorable. Still, the conditions of anonymity were maintained in the great majority of the cases.

The questionnaire also contained a section of 6 items on the administrative "climate and structure" of the local school which was designed to get the teachers' perception of the relative rigidity-flexibility of the school

situation. This was quite generally filled out by the respondents, who provided a general mean evaluation score just above the midpoint on the flexible side, 16.6 on a scale from 6 to 24.

Authoritarianism. Teachers responded to a set of eight attitude statements about students and student-teacher and student-administration relations. These were scored on scale from 8 to 40, with the higher scores favoring greater freedom and permissiveness for students. The over-all mean score was 28.2, definitely on the "permissive" side, and the mean score on each item was on the non-authoritarian side. The statement drawing the strongest non-authoritarian response was: "A few pupils are just hoodlums and should be treated accordingly."

Teachers' Contact and Knowledge of the Indian Community and Their Students. Information on this subject was obtained from data provided by the teachers about their residence, and from interviews with teachers which asked about the extent of their involvement in the lives of students outside the classroom and about the extent and nature of their communication with parents.

This variable would presumably be related to the student composition of the school and community. The teachers were almost evenly distributed among schools with:

- a. An Indian minority (3-25 percent Indian students)
- b. A middle proportion of Indian students (25-75 percent)
- c. A great majority of Indian students (75-100 percent)

Slightly more than half of the teachers live in teacher compounds more or less separated from the surrounding community. The urban teachers seldom lived in the same neighborhoods as their students. Eleven percent of the teacher sample are Indians, and they generally live also in compounds. From the interviews, the majority of the teachers were rated as having "some" or "rather limited" knowledge of the local Indian community and its lifeways. Many of them have

participated in out-of-school activities with their students but mainly as observers (of athletic contests, exhibits of Indian art, etc.) rather than as active group members. The average teacher has met between 20 and 30 percent of the parents of his students, generally when the visit was requested by the teacher or on the occasion of a "parents' night" at the school. In general, then, their experience and contact with the local Indian community can best be described as limited.

Teachers' Understanding and Sympathy for the Problems of Indian Children and Adults. Based on the interviews, a rating was given for a teacher's degree of understanding of and sympathy with the students and parents. In general, the teachers were rated at the mid-point of a 5-point rating scale, which indicates that they have sympathy and understanding for specific problems and aspects of their students' lives, but their comprehension of the total situation of the Indian community is restricted. Their perception of the Indian student in general is open-minded, with an effort made to understand. Most of them like their Indian students, and many of them say they prefer to teach Indian children over other teaching situations. When asked about their students' preferences between academic subjects (English, mathematics, science, etc.) and non-academic subjects (art, music, industrial arts, home economics) they indicate that most of their students prefer the non-academic.

Attitudes About Indian Students. The questionnaire contained ten attitude statements about Indian children and Indian family life and culture. None of these is completely true and all of them are false if one interprets the statement strictly. For example:

In the classroom, Indian children are shy and lack confidence.
Indian children are well-behaved and obey the rules.
Indians are very anxious for their children to learn at school.

The respondent was asked to mark these statements as "true," "false,"

or "neither." Presumably, the well-informed teacher with a scientific attitude would mark all of the statements "neither" true nor false. However, the general attitude of the teacher toward Indians would probably lead him to mark favorable statements as "true" or "false" and unfavorable statements in the reverse. This section was scored three ways: for positive or favorable answers, for negative or unfavorable answers, and for "undecided" or "refuse to generalize" answers.

In general, the teachers averaged about twice as high on favorable attitudes as on negative or unfavorable answers. Most teachers had a small "uncertain" score, though this varied from one group of teachers to another.

Attitude Toward Cultural Assimilation. There were four measures of attitudes and perceptions on the issue of "Assimilation into the Dominant White Culture" versus "Maintenance of a Separate Indian Culture." In the interviews the majority of teachers tend to take the "man of two cultures" position. They believe that Indians should acquire skills and attitudes that make for success in modern society, but they should also maintain some of their tribal or "Indian" culture. On the questionnaire they were asked to indicate their own schools' policy in this respect, and they tend to see their school as more "anglo-oriented" than their own preference would suggest. On the questionnaire item: "There is conflict between what most Indian parents teach their children and what this school tries to teach," they average right at the mid-point or "undecided" point on the scale. On the item: "The Indian people should become completely assimilated with the larger American society," the average of the teachers' marks is at the "disagree" point.

Summing up, the teachers' position on assimilation is moderate and cautious, not anglo-oriented, but also not inclined to see the teaching of tribal or Indian culture as a major objective for them in school.

Characteristics of Sub-groups of Teachers

In order to understand and evaluate the teachers better, we have sorted them into a number of sub-groups and have compared these sub-groups. The sub-groups may be based on age, sex, or grade level of teaching, or on types of schools. Appendix III presents in graphic form a comparison of several sub-groups. The average scores of the total group are shown with a heavy vertical line on the scale of measurement. Then, by marking the average scores of women, it is possible to see approximately where the average score for men must lie; by marking the average scores of teachers in schools with a high percentage (76+) of Indian pupils, it is possible to see where the average score for teachers in schools with small percentages of pupils must lie. We shall now summarize characteristics of some of the sub-groups.

Age Differences. The sample was stratified in six age groups: 4 groups of 5 years each, between 20 and 40, a group 41-50, and a group aged 51 and above. The proportion of female teachers, 58 percent of the whole group, reaches a maximum in the oldest group. The older teachers give a more favorable rating to their job than the younger ones.

The level of authoritarianism is not related in any simple manner to age, though the 41-50 year olds have the lowest average score, while the 51 plus group have the highest score for authoritarianism.

Though the teachers' knowledge about the local Indian community augments with age, contact with students outside the classroom does not change with age. Younger teachers tend to be slightly more Indian-oriented than the older ones. The older teachers see the schools' policy with respect to assimilation of Indian students into white culture as very close to their own preferences.

Positive attitudes toward Indians increase with age while negative attitudes remain fairly constant. The older teachers tend to accept the positive statements uncritically, while the younger ones are more cautious and

"scientific" in their judgment about broad stereotyped statements.

Sex Differences. Dividing the teachers along sex lines fails to bring about any striking differences. Women express somewhat more authoritarian attitudes, but fewer negative attitudes, and their views on assimilation are somewhat more Indian-oriented.

Grade Level of Teaching. As would be expected, 80 percent of the elementary school teachers are women, compared with 42 percent in the junior and senior high school. All grade levels rate their job satisfaction about the same. Elementary school teachers see the administrative structure of their schools as being less rigid. Teachers in the high school grades have significantly less contact with parents. Teachers in the elementary grades have more positive attitudes. High school teachers perceive their own schools' policy with respect to assimilation to be more Anglo-oriented than the elementary class teachers do.

Satisfaction with the Job. The 76 percent of teachers who rated their jobs were separated into those who rated the job as "favorable" or "very favorable," (66 percent) and the 10 percent who said they were "neutral" or "unfavorable" toward the job. Here some striking differences appeared.

As a group the non-satisfied teachers are younger than their "satisfied" colleagues. The satisfied teachers have more positive and less negative attitudes about Indians than the "not satisfied" group.

The "not-satisfied" teachers see more than any other group of teachers a conflict between the influence of the parents and the teachings of the school. They also see a large gap between their own attitudes toward assimilation and their school's policy, the school being more Anglo-oriented. There is an interesting paradox in the negative attitude toward Indian students as evidenced

in the high negative score of the "not-satisfied" group and their professed desire that the school curriculum should pay more attention to Indian culture and history.

The "not-satisfied" group differs from the "satisfied" group in the fact that an unusually large proportion of its members teach in public urban schools. These teachers have very few Indian pupils in their classes, and their low satisfaction level probably reflects a generally low satisfaction on the part of teachers in big-city schools. It is not their experience with Indian pupils that makes them dissatisfied.

Indian Teachers. The 11 percent Indian teachers differ in many not unexpected ways from their non-Indian colleagues. Their knowledge about and contact with the Indian community is considerably higher. They tend to teach in schools with a high percentage of Indian students, and have more contact with parents and students outside of school. Their positive attitudes are considerably higher, the negative ones lower than for the non-Indians. With regard to their position on assimilation, the only difference if any to the non-Indian group is a slight inclination toward an Anglo orientation.

The Indian teachers, then, seem to be characterized as a group with close contacts to the Indian communities and a firm Anglo orientation for themselves and in their view on the role of the school.

Teachers with High vs. Low Percentages of Indian Students. Though teachers in schools with a high percentage of Indian students (75-100 percent) are somewhat less satisfied with their jobs, they see their school's administration as significantly more flexible than their colleagues in schools with a low percentage of Indian students (0-25 percent). The former group is also less authoritarian.

That there are major differences in the degree of contact with and

These latter teachers perceive the administrative procedures in their schools as considerably more rigid than the total sample of teachers taken together. The highly authoritarian ones tend to teach in schools with a lower percentage of Indian students. Their knowledge about their community and the contact with students outside of school is somewhat higher. Two statements on authoritarianism are most distinctive between the two groups of teachers: the one on the importance of students learning to obey rules, and the one stating "A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly."

Though the more permissive ones show significantly more positive and less negative attitudes toward Indians, their interviews are rated barely above average on sympathy and understanding, and on perception of and attitudes toward teaching Indian students. The highly authoritarian teachers feel much more strongly than their opposite colleagues that the teacher has to counteract the home influence on the pupil. And despite their high general empathy for their Indian students and their community, they are, in the attitudes with regard to assimilation, considerably more Anglo-oriented than their non-authoritarian colleagues.

With respect to attitudes toward Indian children and their families, we find that the teachers in general show favorable attitudes. Out of ten attitude statements, they agree with about 5 favorable statements, and split the other five almost equally between negative and neutral responses.

The urban teachers, who have few Indian pupils in their classes, give the highest number of neutral responses, indicating unwillingness to generalize about Indians. But when they do commit themselves, they support favorable over unfavorable statements at a ratio of about three to one, whereas the total group ratio is about two to one. These urban teachers are predominantly young, female, and teachers of elementary grades. All three traits are associated with favorable attitudes to Indian children.

The BIA day and boarding school teachers are more favorable in their attitudes than the public school teachers (BIA mean positive score, 5.3,

compared with public rural school teachers mean score of 4.5.)

However, there is one item which draws its most negative responses from BIA teachers, namely, "Indian students are shy and lack confidence in the classroom." On the other hand, BIA teachers agree more than any other group with the statement, "Indians are very anxious for their children to learn at school."

Results of Interviews. When "understanding and sympathy for the Indian pupils and parents," is rated from teacher interviews, the BIA teachers rank highest, and the urban teachers lowest. Similarly, the BIA teachers were rated above the public school teachers on a global attitude toward Indian students. The BIA teachers had a modal rating at a level described as "The teacher evidences above average insight into his Indian students as individuals or as members of a meaningfully understood group." The public school teachers were rated just a step lower on this scale, indicating that they are somewhat uninformed but open-minded and desirous of closer understanding.

When teachers are rated from interviews on their attitude toward assimilation of Indians into the white culture, the rural teachers tend to favor assimilation more than the urban teachers do. They believe that Indians have some desirable values but these should not be developed to the point where they might adversely affect the learning of skills and knowledge that make for success in white society.

Teachers in all groups agreed that tribal or Indian culture and history should be taught in the school.

Two Diaries

Since not many teachers handed in diaries, we cannot assume that we have a good sample of them. However, it may be useful to read excerpts from two diaries of junior high school teachers--one from a man and one from a

woman--so as to get a kind of living picture of what the life of a school teacher is like in the Indian areas. The male teacher taught in the Blackfeet area. The woman taught in a mission school. The excerpts hang together pretty well, though parts of the diary have been omitted in each case.

I. School Teaching at Browning, Junior High Level.

Monday, October 28, 1968

I reside 13 miles from Browning. Usually I drive by myself, but today my wife wanted the car so I rode with 3 teachers from this building.

After arrival at school (approx. 8:10 a.m.) the general discussion was opening day of hunting season the previous Sunday.

At 8:32 class started then was interrupted by TB inoculations in the gym for about 30 minutes. Since this is review week for our 9-week test I don't like this occurrence. School day as usual with no unusual happenings.

School out at 3:27. We are required to be in the teacher's room or in the building until 4--which I think is foolishness.

Tonight there is an in-service meeting in the high school which is mandatory. I'm not too happy about this meeting, starting at 7 and ending at 9:30.

October 29, 1968

This day was pretty much routine as far as events go.

Hunting season has started and since I live close to the mountains I went for a drive with my family close to Glacier Park in search of game. On arriving home at 6:30 we had company in the form of the cook for the hotel in which we reside. My wife bore the brunt of the conversation for about 1 hour, while I watched TV. The talk ended about 8:30 p.m., then we retired.

October 30, 1968

Class time in all sections normal. Discipline exceptional in all classes. At 1 p.m. today all Jr. Hi. students were assembled to a talk about "behavior" on Halloween night. A dance is planned for students Thursday night from 7:30 to 9:30. At 3:30 the head

II. Sister _____, Junior High teacher at _____ Mission School.

January 7, 1969, Tuesday

4:45-6:00

Two students, who are boarders, had left some of their clothes at home and needed a driver to take them home to get them. I volunteered to help out. While at their house the family of the girls showed me their new home. Since we were in town the girls wanted to do a little shopping. Personal feeling toward this activity was a desire for recurrence because it is certainly an opening to get to know the parents and home situations.

January 8, 1969, Wednesday

8:15-12:45 p.m.

A few lay volunteers invited me to their house to help welcome the four student teachers from Antioch College in Ohio. The main aim of the group was to try and get a group together, plus the new teachers, and form a sensitivity training group among the ones interested in joining. The evening proved to be rather forced, but hope has it that it will loosen up as we get to know one another.

7:00-8:15 p.m.

Three girls from my 7th and 8th grade class had no desire to go to study hall tonight with the other teacher and just wanted to visit with me. I asked the teacher if I could keep them with me. The reaction of the students during the social hour was enlightening as well as rewarding. I found that these students have a complete other side than what they show in the classroom. On a non-academic level, they are free to review their whole self to you instead of a constant cover-up.

January 9, 1969, Thursday

A freak-out dance was sponsored tonight by the 7th and 8th graders. We, the faculty, prefected the dance and also joined in their dances. Several other interested faculty members from the grade school and high school came and enjoyed the evening. My reaction to the dance was that of satisfaction because the students need to feel success in their endeavors. They organized and did most of the work in order for it to be a success.

January 13, 1969, Monday

7:30-9:30 p.m.

A faculty meeting was called by the principal for all teachers from K to 12 plus aides. The meeting touched on the regular problems of any school but later developed into a discussion on religion. Since the world is now experiencing a generation gap in the line of thinking and opinion, the meeting was rather heated, but at the same time real revelations of other beliefs came out. My evaluation

in terms of my personal reaction was one of "I'm glad it came out," but also hope it doesn't continue. I'm in the young generation and believe that everyone has his own right to believe what he wants. It's ridiculous to discuss such opinions!

January 17, 1969, Friday

6:00 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.

A meeting was held in Hot Springs, South Dakota on a new method of teaching the individualized way. Several teachers went from the grade and high school. The speakers were from Cherry Hills in Denver which is an upper middle class school. I thought the program was excellent, but couldn't be adapted to our situation on the reservation. Although many ideas were good and could be used. I really didn't want to go to this meeting, but obligation put me there.

January 23, 1969, Thursday

5:00 p.m. to 10:45 p.m.

The Junior High had a basketball game away at White River, South Dakota. Again _____ and I took the boarding girls as well as the day students. We all went with the team on one big bus. My reaction was pleasure to see our kids get out and really play, but since this other school is a white school, I found much prejudice. This prejudice is not found so much between the students themselves, but the parents and referees really show it. The referees would not let our boys play the game. For example, our team fouled 24 times whereas the white team fouled 6 times. In spite of this we lost by one point.

Perceptions of Teachers by Parents and Students

The interviews with parents and with students asked for evaluation of teachers. Thus it is possible to compare the perceptions of these two groups as they look at and evaluate the teachers. The student interviews are supplemented with a semantic differential instrument in which students were asked to rate "teachers."

For this comparison, the average ratings of teachers by parents and by students were used to pick out schools with high approval of teachers and schools with low approval. The teachers of these two groups of schools were then compared on the data from the teacher questionnaire and the teacher interview.

In schools where teachers are highly approved by students, the teachers are well above average in their enthusiasm for teaching Indians, know more about the Indian community, have more contact with Indian students outside of school, rate higher on understanding and sympathy and show more favorable attitudes toward Indians than the average teacher or the teacher in the schools with lower teacher approval scores.

The parents differ somewhat from the students in their evaluation of teachers. They favor teachers who are more authoritarian, and more Anglo-oriented with respect to assimilation policy. Also, these teachers have slightly lower ratings for perception and sympathy for pupils.

It is also possible to compare teachers in schools which are high and low in their approval value by students. The schools the Indian students like best are the ones with the highest percentage of Indian students. This factor may be more important to students than the actual qualities of the teachers in these schools. The teachers in these schools had generally positive attitudes toward Indian students. On the other hand, teachers in the less favored schools are more authoritarian than teachers in the other group, and are more critical of the school administration.

CONCLUSIONS

In general, the research evidence supports very strongly the proposition that teachers in schools with a preponderance of Indian pupils are fairly competent people, well-disposed toward Indians in general, middle-of-the-road on policy about assimilation of Indians into White culture and on the authoritarian-permissive dimension of classroom management.

Teachers in BIA schools are somewhat older and more experienced than teachers in rural public schools that serve Indian communities. The problem

of teacher turnover which plagues the rural public schools is not so serious in BIA schools.

The following statement about teachers in Alaska by John Collier, Jr., who has been critical of the schools for Indians and for Alaskan natives is an illustration of our findings.²

We found few 'inferior' teachers. The vast majority of school personnel in Alaska appear to be dedicated teachers, often with excellent educational training. The material quality of the schools and the general excellence of staff--as evaluated within White educational standards--leave us with no villains, no clear-cut default, no run-down school plants. Yet, by some reverse process it appears that the better the school is by White standards, the more erosive becomes the educational experience.

Teachers and schools are up against the problem of teaching boys and girls who are caught between two conflicting cultures. The conflict is perhaps most serious with the Eskimos of Alaska, where the White culture has almost destroyed the pre-1940 economy of the natives of northwest Alaska. But the conflict is present in all Indian communities, whether they be relatively isolated, or immersed in a big city.

This conflict is being worked out by the Indian people, in situations where the government and other agencies of White culture both help and hinder. Schools and teachers cannot "solve" this problem, but they can be helpful in its solution. For this, they need a better knowledge and understanding of the Indian communities and the cultures in which they work. They need to apply themselves systematically and patiently to the specific tasks of teaching a given age level in a given type of community with goals that are approved and supported by the Indian community.

²"The Challenge of Eskimo Education," unpublished paper by John Collier, Jr. presented at the 1970 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association.

Field Center and School	Type*	Grades	Percent Indian Students	Total Number Teachers	Indian Teachers	No. Contacted Qustr.	Intrvd.
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North Carolina

Lumbee

Robeson County, N.C.

Magnolia Elementary	RP	1-4	100	30 est	40	9	9
Magnolia High School	RP	9-12	100	12 est		4	4
Pembroke Elementary	RP	1-6	95	18 est	45	7	8
Pembroke Jr. High	RP	7-9	95	12 est		7	8
Pembroke High School	RP	10-12	95	18 est	4	5	

Baltimore

Elementary	UP	K-6	13	25	0	4	5
Jr. and Sr. High	UP	7-12	1-5	109			

Oklahoma

Pawnee Elementary	RP	1-8	19	20	5	4	14
Pawnee High School	RP	9-12	19	30			
White Eagle Elem.	RP	1-6	100	5		2	3
Ponca City Jr./Sr. Hi.	RP	7-12	10	40 est		5	7

Chicago

Brenneman Elementary	UP	1-8	5	35	0	5	5
Goudy	UP	1-8	5	26	0	5	5
McCutcheon	UP	1-6	5	25	0	4	4
Stockton	UP	1-8	5	65	0	0	0
Stewart	UP	1-6	5	40	0	3	6
Senn High School	UP	9-12	1	111	0	0	0

* RP-Rural Public BB-BIA Boarding
 UP-Urban Public BD-BIA Day
 PB-Private Boarding

Attitudes: Authoritarian vs. Permissive

Mean Score

It is undesirable to require pupils to sit in assigned seats during assemblies. 1=strongly disagree(SD) 5=strongly agree(SA)	3.03
Pupils should be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class. 1=SD 5=SA	3.75
Being friendly with pupils often leads them to become too familiar. 1=SA 5=SD	3.67
It is more important for pupils to learn to obey rules than that they make their own decisions. 1=SA 5=SD	3.75
Student governments are a good "safety valve" but should not influence school policy. 1=SA 5=SD	3.62
If a pupil uses obscene or profane language in school, it must be considered a moral offense. 1=SA 5=SD	3.37
A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly. 1=SA 5=SD	3.80
Pupils often misbehave in order to make the teacher look bad. 1=SA 5=SD	3.70
CUMULATIVE AUTHORITARIANISM SCORE: 8-40 (High-permissive Low=authoritarian)	28.17

Attitude InventoryMean Score

Indian parents treat their children with love and respect equal to that given to white children by their parents. 1=true 2=neither 3=false	1.56
No matter what we do in school, the culture of Indian children impedes their learning. 1=false 3=true	1.56
Indians are very anxious for their children to learn at school. 1=true 3=false	1.69
Indian pupils would rather spend their time having a good time than working hard to get ahead. 1=false 3=true	1.98
Indian people are not competent concerning practical things. 1=false 3=true	1.61
Indian children are eager students with a highly developed desire to learn. 1=true 3=false	2.20
In the classroom, Indian children are shy and lack confidence. 1=false 3=true	2.25
Indian children are well-behaved and obey the rules. 1=true 3=false	1.84
Tribal religious beliefs impede the learning ability of Indian children. 1=false 3=true	1.46
Indian parents want to help their children in school. 1=true 3=false	1.65

CUMULATIVE ATTITUDE SCORE: Average number of times the teacher responds with:

POSITIVE ATTITUDE	4.65
NEGATIVE ATTITUDE	2.46
UNCERTAIN OR REFUSE TO GENERALIZE	2.57

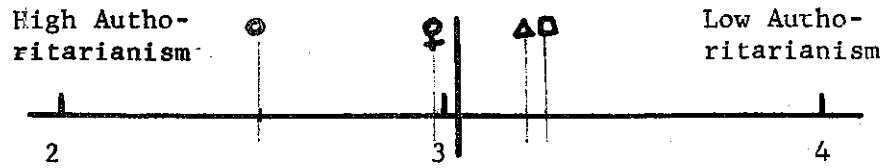
APPENDIX III

DISTRIBUTION OF MEANS OF SELECTED GROUPS

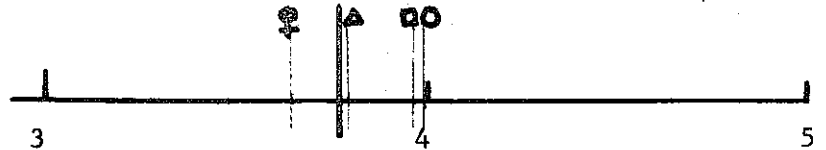
AUTHORITARIANISM

♀ Females ● Public Urban
 ▲ Hi % Ind □ Boarding | Total

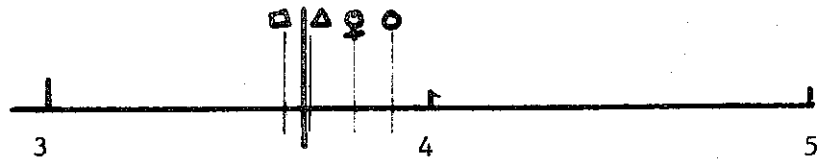
It is undesirable to require pupils to sit in assigned seats during assemblies.



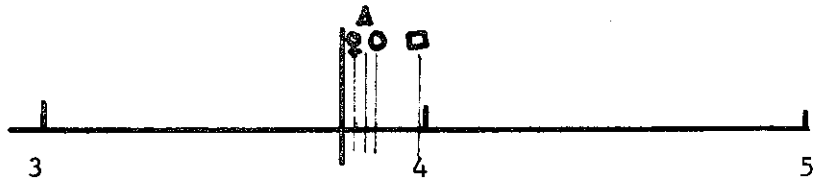
Pupils should be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class.



Being friendly with pupils often leads them to become too familiar.



It is more important for pupils to learn to obey rules than that they make their own decisions.



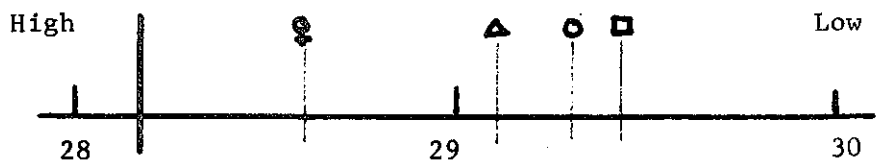
If a pupil uses obscene or profane language in school, it must be considered a moral offense.



A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly.



Cumulative Score on Authoritarianism



DISTRIBUTION OF MEANS OF SELECTED GROUPS

