

M1031

**CURA**

RESOURCE COLLECTION



**TRAINING CENTER for Community Programs**

in coordination with the Office of Community Programs,  
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs

**University of Minnesota**

JUNIOR HIGH INDIAN  
CHILDREN IN MINNEAPOLIS:  
A STUDY OF ONE  
PROBLEM SCHOOL

JUNIOR HIGH INDIAN  
CHILDREN IN MINNEAPOLIS:  
A STUDY OF ONE  
PROBLEM SCHOOL

by

Arthur M. Harkins  
Judith Hammond  
I. Karon Sherarts  
Richard G. Woods

Training Center for  
Community Programs  
in coordination with the  
Office of Community Programs  
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs

University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

July, 1970

THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

JUNIOR HIGH INDIAN  
CHILDREN IN MINNEAPOLIS:  
A STUDY OF ONE  
PROBLEM SCHOOL

USOE

July, 1970

OEC-0-8-080147-2805

This is a section of the Final Report of the National Study of American Indian Education, which has been funded by the United States Office of Education.

The work reported here is part of a large University of Minnesota project, which has been financed from several sources.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....1

The Task Force Report of 1969.....4

A Plan for Bryant.....7

The Task Force Report of 1970.....11

The Bryant Indian Education Survey.....16

Action Areas Indicated in the General Questionnaire Survey.....24

A Profile of Bryant Indian Students.....27

Some Possible Action Areas Concerning Bryant Indian Students.....37

The Education-Related Values and Attitudes of Indian Parents.....40

Action Possibilities Suggested by the Parental Questionnaire.....42

Teachers and Administrators at Bryant: Attitudes Toward  
Indians and Personal Competence.....44

Some Action Possibilities Suggested by the Teacher-Administrator  
Questionnaire.....48

Some Overview Commentary on Indian Education.....49

Do the Bryant Data Support the Senate Subcommittee Findings?.....52

APPENDICES I through X

## Introduction

People constitute the most important resource in the nation. When any part of the national population is not contributing its share, especially to the economy, and is leading a marginal or submarginal existence, a problem exists which calls for study and correction. Whether we speak of economically uncontributive off-spring of aristocracy, of youthful members of the "sliding" middle-class, of the physically handicapped, the socially unskilled, or people marching to "different drummers", we are not yet in a position to excuse them from statistically proportionate shares of contribution to the national well-being.

Metropolitan areas such as the Twin Cities will no doubt continue to attract people from economically poor, rural areas for the foreseeable future. The Twin Cities offer comparative opportunity for employment, and such conveniences as water, heat, lights, amenities, and freedom from harsher environments. Many rural Indians migrating to the Twin Cities are "pushed" from their rural setting by virtue of the hardships there, and are "pulled" to the metropolis by the lure of better conditions and the opportunity for work. Many find their conditions little better upon arrival, and many more find work difficult to obtain and perhaps not always to their taste. Many of these adult Indian migrants have children who will enter the Minneapolis schools and some have children who have actually been in these schools one or more times in the past. Under present conditions these children must obtain the minimum amount of formal school education - the high school diploma - before they will have much statistical chance of success in the job market. It is even possible that many of these children will find, after they have obtained a high school diploma and grown to adulthood, that the relevance of this educational license to success in the world of work may be quite less direct than they had been led to suppose. Nevertheless, it is commonly accepted among Indian populations that some positive correlation does exist between the award of a high school diploma and comparative success in the job market.

General adult Indian commitment appears to exist to the accepted notion that formal education achievement is positively linked to economic success. However, many Indian children - perhaps as high as sixty per cent of them - do not complete their high school experience in both reservation and urban areas. While Indian parents have been observed to faithfully parrot the ideologic elements of the diploma-means-job-success dogma, it can often be shown that these same Indian parents have reared children who did not complete their high school education, and that many are on the road to repeating this experience with younger offspring. A major 1969 report of the Federal government has well documented the failures of Indian education in reservation areas<sup>1</sup> and, even though this report has recently been assailed by a former BIA bureaucrat<sup>2</sup>, the basic findings of the Federal report appear to remain valid. We are only now beginning to gather data on Indian education in urban areas of the United States, but what findings are in tentatively point to at least as severe a range of educational problems in the cities as elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The complicated interchange between Indian educational and other problems in the cities and the reservation areas of Minnesota has also been discussed in recent research,<sup>4</sup> and was stimulated by still earlier work performed by the Waxes among the Pine Ridge Sioux.<sup>5</sup>

Some findings of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education are of direct importance to this study of one junior high school in Minneapolis. We are going to reproduce these findings here and attempt to keep them in mind during the course of this report. Our intent will be that of attempting to discover where these findings apply to one particular junior high school (Bryant), and where the general findings do not appear adequate for this school.

1. Indian Participation and Control

American Indians have little, if any, influence or control in the education of their children in the public schools.

- A. Indian membership on school boards which have jurisdiction in districts educating Indians is rare.
- B. The white power structure often thwarts Indian attempts to gain representation on school boards.

C. Indian attempts to win curriculum reforms which recognize Indian history and culture are often met with resistance from school administrators.

D. A strong feeling of powerlessness pervades Indian communities in regard to their attempts to improve the education provided in public schools.

## 2. Curriculum

Public schools educating Indians rarely include coursework which recognized Indian history, culture or language, and often use materials and approaches which are derogatory toward Indians.

A. Public schools in many States use history and social studies textbooks which ignore the Indian's role in history or grossly distort that role.

B. The primary result of the manner (sic) Indians are treated in the history textbooks in use today is a propagation of inaccurate stereotypes.

C. Most public schools do not take into consideration the language difficulties of many Indian students.

D. There is a definite lack of bilingual and bicultural materials in schools educating Indians.

## 3. Attitudes

Many school administrators and teachers consider Indian pupils inferior to white students, and thus expect them to fail, both in school and in life.

A. An anti-Indian attitude is often prevalent in white communities in which Indians receive public school education.

B. Many school districts relegate Indians to the lowest level in their tracking systems.

C. Some administrators refuse to cooperate with the Indian community in their school district and discourage or do not permit Indian participation in decision making.

D. Indians are often promoted each year regardless of grades just so they can be kept in school, thus assuring the local district of receiving Federal aid because of the presence of Indian students. One public school district goes so far as to falsify Indian achievement test results because the students were so far behind national norms that "it just wouldn't look good."

E. Teachers and administrators are often insensitive to Indian values and ignorant of Indian culture.<sup>6</sup>



As we indicated above, an effort will be made in this report to determine whether these general indictments of public education for American Indian children apply to the Bryant Junior High School in Minneapolis. In some instances, of course, our data and that of preceding studies which we will review are not adequate to answer certain questions about the applicability of specific Federal indictments to Bryant.

#### The Task Force Report of 1969

On January 24, 1969 the Minneapolis Public Schools released a research document entitled A Community Looks At Its Schools. The document was a preliminary report resulting from an "inter-agency task force approach" to the problems of three Minneapolis schools: Lincoln Junior High School, Hay Elementary School, and Bryant Junior High School. While two separate task forces took responsibility for conducting research in each of these Minneapolis schools, both operated from reasonably common methodological perspectives:

Preliminary planning for Task Force operations resulted in selection of three general means of obtaining information on which to base conclusions and recommendations. The first was the preparation of a resource notebook containing background information about the students who most frequently used support services, their school and community. For example, included were student data such as attendance rates, failure percentages, achievement percentiles, contacts with police and number of and reasons for students being excused from school. School information included staff roster information, programs, teachers' experience. Census data, socio-economic levels and related social agencies were listed under community data.

The second means of information gathering was for Task Force members to make observations in the schools (Bryant Junior High and the Hay-Lincoln Concentrated Educational Center). These observations included every aspect of the program and services in each school. Specific plans for the observations were developed by each Task Force with the staff of the respective schools.

Third, additional information was gathered by interviews held with all relevant persons in the schools as well as with parents and representatives of neighborhood and youth-serving agencies.<sup>7</sup>

The Task Force sifted a great deal of data (interviews, classroom observations, and various written statements of teachers) that described a "climate of frustration, discouragement and negativism." The Task Force concluded that staff problems at Bryant were related to the following two "general views":

- 1) That problems come from outside of the faculty i.e., the students, the community, the central administration;
- 2) That problems come from outside and from within the faculty but that the faculty is unable to cope with the situation alone.<sup>8</sup> [emphasis added.]

The Task Force members noted that teachers at Bryant "described themselves in terms of being in 'combat'." The Task Force report added that the provisions of the "combat" conditions were not those of offense, but rather "a rear-guard action for a society that appears not to care or want to be bothered."<sup>9</sup> Concluding a dismally unimpressive section on teacher viewpoints, the Task Force writers stated that "few teachers expected to build a career at Bryant. They 'want to stick it out as long as they can make it.' Then they expect to leave."<sup>10</sup>

After duly noting the equally disenchanting attitudes and behavior patterns of other population groups at Bryant, the Task Force leveled a comparatively clearly worded assertion that the problems of Bryant Junior High School were not unrelated to certain conditions at higher levels:

The Task Force believes that a number of ambiguities exist regarding the goals of education as stated by the central administration office. While administrative responsibility at the local building level appears quite clear, authority to execute responsibilities is less clear. It was the view of the Task Force that there is uncertainty about support for innovating new high risk programs. If the local administration is unclear as to the scope of its authority, it experiences difficulty in responding effectively to faculty concerns and ideas. A direct consequence of not directly and specifically communicating the goals of Bryant to the staff is that they have become reluctant to feed back information about problems. They do not believe that the local administration has the authority to act upon them. Horizontal communications (teacher to teacher, for example) were not used as a problem solving process but rather as opportunity to ventilate frustrations.<sup>11</sup> [emphases added.]

The Task Force writers admitted that "most of what has been stated about the organization and inter-personal climate of the school (Bryant) appears somewhat critical." The Task Force writers defended the necessity of this position, however, by reiterating that the "over-all climate" was negative within Bryant, and that the system was not "presently coping with many problems within the school." The Task Force members did allow that some positive potential existed in Bryant, especially since many teachers and students were "friendly and positive in their outlook."

Recommendations forthcoming from the Task Force team which investigated Bryant Junior High School were many. The Task Force grouped its recommendations into five categories: "behavior management", "human relations", curriculum, student support services, and "implementation." The specific recommendations under these five categories made by the Task Force were very many, and will not be reviewed in this report. Suffice to say that the Task Force team appeared to assign an especially important role to the fifth category of improvement, implementation. In classic brevity and understatement the Task Force noted that:

The Bryant Task Force believes that a specially designed structure must be established to assist the Minneapolis schools in implementing the recommendations of this report. The specific format should be left to the Superintendent for the Minneapolis Public Schools. Many recommendations require administrative authority on the part of both the schools and the agencies. With this in mind, the Superintendent may wish to use the group of agency executives that named the Task Force.<sup>12</sup> [emphasis added]

For all three schools involved in the Task Force surveys of 1969, "emphasis areas" common to all reports were identified later. These were:

1. Selective recruitment, retention, and training of staff.
2. Creation of an effective student management environment.
3. Establishment of a relevant and flexible student-oriented curriculum.
4. Coordination and delivery of private and public community resources.

5. Expansion and improvement of internal student support services.
6. Intensive human relations training.<sup>13</sup> [emphases added]

Implementation of these general "emphasis areas" derived from the separate Task Force reports, and adjusted to meet the specific requirements of each school involved in the survey, would require careful follow-up and, according to the Task Force, would be "difficult" at best. "Money", they stated, "is often in short supply, personnel are difficult to employ, 'bureaucracy' dissipates creative energy, priority setting is often painful."<sup>14</sup> The specifically proposed "house plan organization" suggested by the Task Force for organizational improvement at the school building level is reproduced on the following page.

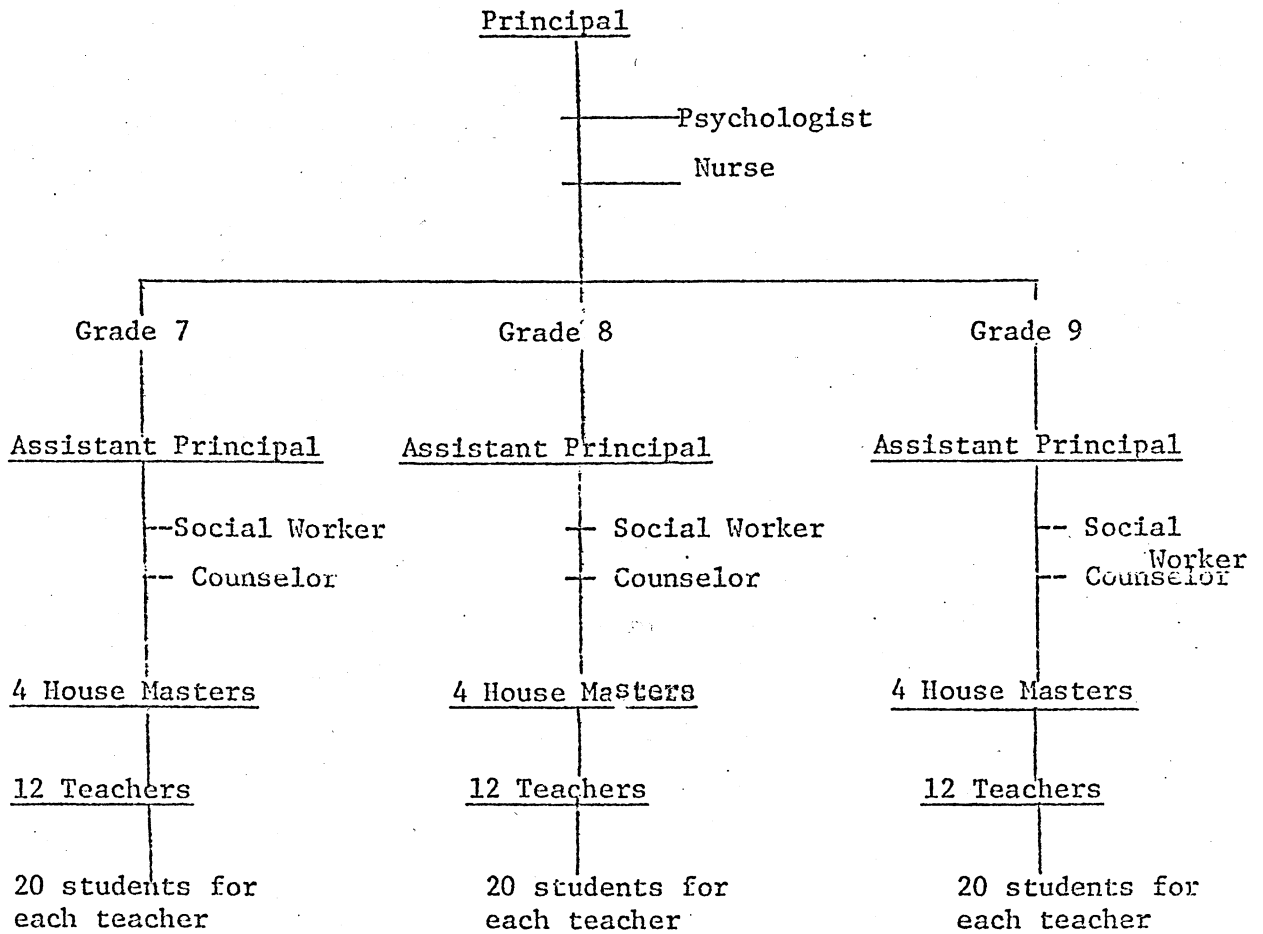
#### A Plan for Bryant

In January, 1970 a group of Bryant Junior High School staff and administrative personnel proposed A Plan for Bryant, a proposal for the reorganization of student, personnel and teaching structures of the school. Following from two earlier surveys completed within eighteen months of the proposal submission date (one of them, Bryant Junior High School Parents Speak Out, is not reviewed in this report) the framers of the Bryant plan outlined the basic needs of their school as follows:

Summarily stated, the results of the surveys point out a generalized communication and involvement gap between all components within the school and its immediately related community; a gap between students and staff, faculty units, administrative levels, and between the participants in the student/parent/teacher triad. The quality and quantity of healthy and productive interpersonal relationships among the people at Bryant was a problem area emphasized in several dimensions.<sup>16</sup>

Carefully avoiding such terms as "student management" and "behavior control", terminology which had provoked criticism in earlier reports, the writers of the Bryant Plan suggested the following reorganized structure for improved teaching and learning in the school:

PROPOSED HOUSE PLAN ORGANIZATION<sup>15</sup>

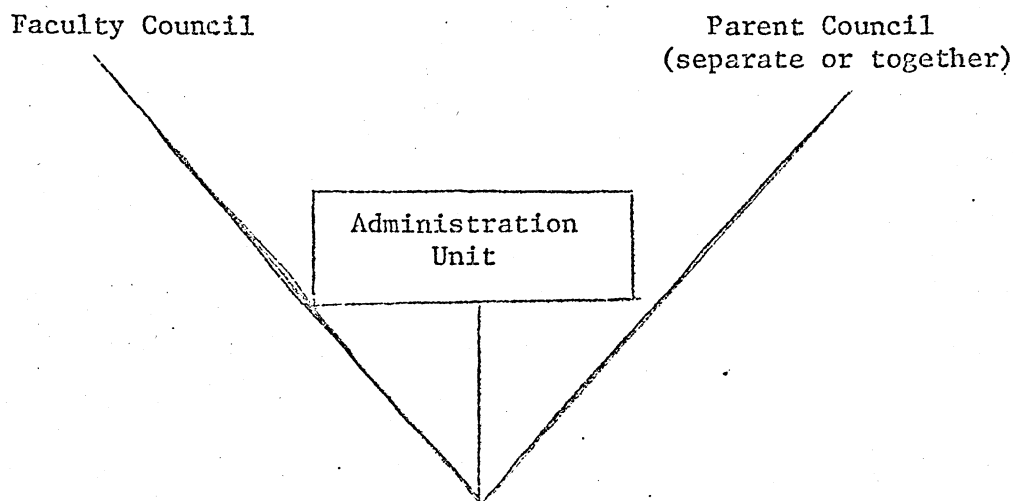


Graphically the structure would look like the following:<sup>17</sup>

<u>Specialized Education Resource Units</u>	<u>Special Pupil Personnel Support Units</u>	<u>Faculty Support Units</u>
Home Ec, Industrial Arts, Phy Ed, SLD, Reading, Bus. Ed, Library, Art, Spec. Ed.	Counseling, Social Work, Community School, Nurse, Police Liason, Aide Prog. WECEP, Girls' Center	Secretaries, clerks, plant engineers, staff & curriculum development, cooks
<u>PRINCIPAL</u>		
<u>Learning Center A</u>	<u>Learning Center B</u>	<u>Learning Center C</u>
Team Teaching Unit 1	Team Teaching Unit 1	Team Teaching Unit 1
Team Teaching Unit 2	Team Teaching Unit 2	Team Teaching Unit 2
Team Teaching Unit 3	Team Teaching Unit 3	Team Teaching Unit 3

Mindful of the major problem of school-community relations, and human relations within the school itself, the Bryant team suggested a reorganized decision-making and communications framework to assist the implementation of the learning center approach:<sup>18</sup>

Summary Chart of decision making and communications system - Decision making elements and communications channels may be diagrammatically represented in the following way:



Learning Center A	Learning Center B	Learning Center C
Teaching Units	Teaching Units	Teaching Units
1	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	3

### Specialized Education Resource Units

### Pupil Personnel Support Units

Calling their "participant education program" a significant innovation for the school, and suggesting that "a massive reorganization" of this kind "inevitably places the critical burden on all parties responsibly involved", the Bryant proposal team outlined four "foundation ideas" upon which the structural, content, and process reorganizations rested:

1. Intensified contact in relevant contexts is necessary for group decision making and implementation.
2. Conventional communication styles are not adequate for decision making in value laden areas; consequently new styles must be investigated and exploited.
3. Individual autonomy - a person's right to choose - must be a primary criteria.[sic]. Acceptable alternatives must be made available in any education program.
4. Resolution of problems requires confrontation (positive connotation). The more responsible input power-of-determination available to affected parties, the greater the viability of solution.<sup>19</sup>

The proposal, an excellent example of quality planning and sustained, imaginative thinking viewed with displeasure the setting of "absolute standards of attainment", suggesting that real human behavior does not adequately respond to such strictures. Instead, the proposal called for "expectations of reasonable growth" in the following goal areas:

1. Develop personal relationships between students and staff members - trust, security, mutual respect.
2. Create options for the individual student.
3. Student self-understanding.
4. Specialized student support services.
5. Professionally and personally productive staff interactions.
6. Differentiated roles in staff (for leadership and replacement).
7. Parent/resident interaction with the educational system.
8. Impact of faculty expertise upon the overall educational program.<sup>20</sup>

The Bryant proposal was dedicated to "educational excellence", an element "missing or not at all clear" in the planning and functions of most contemporary schools, according to the proposal writers. The eight initial goals of the program were all subsumed under "educational excellence" (as opposed to "academic" excellence) and were to result in the structural and process changes noted in the previous diagrams. This proposal, entitled A Plan for Bryant and dated January, 1970 was submitted to the staff of Bryant Junior High School just a few days prior to the arrival of the second Task Force team in early 1970.

#### The Task Force Report of 1970

Early in 1970 a second task force, consisting essentially of those persons and agencies who had made up the 1969 group, revisited Bryant and Lincoln Junior High Schools. As a follow-up to the January 1969 report of the first task force effort, the second evaluation resulted from "a need for more community-school cooperation to assess and design effective educational and support programs for Minneapolis boys and girls."<sup>21</sup> The second task force



effort consisted of a follow-up three-day visit, made in February of 1970 to "assess the then current conditions in the school and the status of action on the recommendations that were made in the 1969 report."<sup>22</sup> The areas of basic consideration for the second task force were:

1. Strengthening internal student support teams;
2. Continuing emphasis on developing relevant curriculum; and
3. Parental involvement.<sup>23</sup>

The Task Force members came to the conclusion that Bryant Junior High School was quite different from their impressions of it during the 1969 visit ("Whereas the first visit had revealed a negative and hopeless climate, the 1970 milieu appeared to be one of cautious optimism").<sup>24</sup> Citing improvements in interpersonal relations among all population categories in the school, the Task Force Report of 1970 stated that, in 1970, "the staff, the students, and the Bryant community revealed a readiness and a willingness to get on with the job."<sup>25</sup> As a further indication of progress, it was also indicated in the report that the Plan for Bryant would be initiated in the fall of 1971.<sup>26</sup> The Bryant Plan, following the information in a previous section of this report, would subdivide the school into several smaller units, each functioning with Bryant under similar general policy guidelines but enjoying more autonomy. Readers interested in a complete review of recommendations made for Bryant by the Task Force may consult Appendix I.

The Task Force Report did not attempt to mince words over the continuation of difficulties at Bryant. Some of these difficulties are cited in detail in a recent informal report from the teacher's human relations chairman at Bryant after the completion of "Brother Week":

1. Running in hall (to lunch);
2. Lunch line behavior (butting in);
3. Classroom behavior;
4. Difficulty of getting people to really talk about how they really feel;
5. What can be done to assure more Black-White-Indian student involvement in school functions (this was the major topic for many groups);
6. Extortion;

7. Why is school dull;
8. Grade solidarity and stealing;
9. Aggressiveness toward White students by Black students;
- 10 Why so many kids drop out;
11. Students at Bryant do not get along well due to fear and a strict dichotomy between races, especially bad in the lunch room;
12. Should Brotherhood last only one week?<sup>27</sup>

The students themselves felt that these areas of concern at Bryant could be improved by a variety of suggested solutions. The informal report on Brotherhood week at Bryant suggested what some of these improvement areas might be:

1. BAD IMPRESSION OF BRYANT

Publicity on good things;  
Students should talk to friends who don't go to Bryant;  
White students shouldn't be so afraid;  
Improve exterior of building;  
Have panel discussions in other schools to tell them about Bryant;  
Bring other students and parents to see Bryant;  
Send in results of games, etc. to radio stations.

2. STEALING

Stay in groups;  
Get new lockers every year;  
Have students buy their own locks;  
More hall aides;  
Make sure locker is closed;  
Less time between classes;  
More effective student council;  
Don't bring money;  
Make friends with thieves - better relations;  
Report threats;  
Stand up for your rights.

3. FIGHTING

Walk away;  
Don't fight back;  
Report fights;  
Set up block patrol for after school;  
Have students in charge of reporting fights;  
Expose those who fight as cowards.

4. LUNCHROOM

Better and bigger meals;  
Have a snack bar;  
More time for lunch;  
More choices;  
Allow students to drink pop;  
Have vending machines;  
Have students in charge of tables (lunchroom captains);  
Have teachers in halls during classes;  
Too much butting into line. Have more aides.

5. RACE RELATIONS

Need to discuss problems openly;  
More Whites and Indians on human relations committee;  
Try to make friends;  
Help quiet student to speak out;  
Don't bug others because they're different;  
Brotherhood should not be just one week;  
Break down stereotypes;  
More informal fun activities with all students involved;  
Give students projects to work together as whole school (money-making);  
Have mixed grade classes;  
More dances.

6. DROP-OUTS

Kids drop out because they have no friends, bad grades, boring classes;  
Suspension encourages dropouts - doesn't solve the problem.

7. SCHOOL IS BORING

More use of computers;  
More active activities;  
Sex education;  
Study periods;  
More choice of classes;  
More strict on grading;  
No grades;  
Choice of places to go after lunch;  
More field trips;  
More school activities after school;  
More assemblies (selected by students);  
Shorten class hours;  
More movies;  
More understanding teachers;  
More freedom for students;  
Better understanding between students and staff;

More human relations discussions;  
Keep book room open and let students use it for quiet reading;  
Need sewing machines that work;  
Girls should be able to take shop;  
Boys want cooking;  
New Band uniforms;  
Have cheerleaders;  
Keep zero hour, girls center, bookroom, dancing, no dress code, hall aides, swimming, after school activities, movies;  
Need paper and pencil machines;  
Bathrooms should be more sanitary.

8. STUDENT-FACULTY RELATIONS

Don't blame the whole class for what one student does;  
Shouldn't call students names;  
Have student lounge and let students smoke;  
Teachers help noisy students and forget quiet ones;  
Students don't have anywhere to go with gripes against students - should have student court;  
Students should get together;  
Students should have same rights as teachers (lounge, free period, etc.);  
Teachers don't respect students but expect respect;  
Get pay phone for students;  
Need loud speaker because teachers don't always read announcements;  
Principals should do more - not just stand in halls;  
Teachers should keep same rules as students;  
Kids shouldn't be afraid of teachers;  
Teachers shouldn't embarrass kids in front of others;  
Classes should be more interesting;  
Teachers should get to know students;  
Students should be able to choose teachers;  
Teachers and students should try to be more friendly - smile;  
Teachers should not be so racist;  
Teachers shouldn't be so mean;  
Fire bad teachers;  
Should have student-faculty council. 28 [emphases added]

These problem areas and some suggested solutions for them made by Bryant students and staff point up some problems which we feel were integral to the findings of the research project upon which we now wish to report. Basic to these findings were those problems and suggested solutions listed by Bryant students and staff during Brotherhood Week which relate to trade-offs in human relations (give and take based upon clear criteria), and the central importance of sex, money, mobility, clothing, and school to students.

#### The Bryant Indian Education Survey

Early in 1970 a joint research project between Bryant Junior High School and the Training Center for Community Programs was worked out under the coordination of Judy Hammond of the Training Center and the Bryant staff and administration. This project was considered part of the University of Minnesota's contract under the National Study of American Indian Education and was centered in Bryant because of Indian education problems known to exist there. In addition, the Training Center had already begun research in another nearby junior high school with large Indian student enrollment and wished to have a comparison between that school (Philips Junior High) and another problem school.

At the beginning of the Bryant-TTCP research project, a "general" questionnaire was administered to teachers, administrators, and Indian parents and students who were part of the "Bryant community." Of the participants in the survey, twenty-six were teachers, twelve were administrators (including special supportive staff), seven were parents, and twenty-eight were students. Of the teachers, twenty-three were white with one black, one Mexican-American, and one non-white but unspecified; of the administrative staff (including supportive personnel) seven were white, four were black, and one was unspecified non-white. All other respondents involved in the survey were either Indian parents or Indian students. Of the parents, all participants were women, and of the students only nine were young men age seventeen or under.

The questionnaire employed in the general aspect of the Bryant-TTCP survey is contained in Appendix II. The procedure in this section of this report will be to deal with each question contained in the Appendix on a comparative basis among the four major population groups surveyed in the "Bryant community."

#### Desire to Learn About Indian Subjects

Of the four population categories, Indian students expressed the most interest in Indian craft classes, while teachers, administrators and parents expressed the least interest in this aspect of Indian studies. The Bryant staff was most interested in learning about Indian values, while only five students and two parents wished to learn about Indian values. Most parents appeared to be interested in learning about Indian life in the contemporary world. This interest ranked third in the interest of Bryant administrators and second in the priority list of Bryant teachers. Among the Indian students, interest in the contemporary ranked second, as did Indian history (twelve responses each). Only two parents were interested in Indian history, while this subject was the second most popular choice of administrators and third most popular among teachers.

#### Should Indian Courses be Taught at Bryant?

All parents, most students, and most administrators (but only half of the Bryant teachers) thought that Indian courses should be taught at Bryant. One student and one teacher definitely did not want Indian courses taught in the school, and ambivalence was indicated in the responses of ten students, three administrators, and nine teachers.

#### Should Classes on Indians be Taught by Indians Whenever Possible?

Most of the students (22), teachers(17), administrators (11) and parents (4) thought that classes dealing with Indian subject matter should be taught by Indians whenever possible. Only two students did not want Indian

classes taught by Indian teachers. Ambivalent attitudes were expressed by four students, one parent, two administrators, and eight teachers.

Do Indian Children Need a Place in School to be Together by Themselves?

Only one Bryant parent and a few administrators and teachers thought that Indian children needed a place in school to be together by themselves. Nearly half of the Indian students also did not desire a separate place for Indian children. Eight students, three parents, five administrators, and nine teachers did not think Indian students needed a separate place to be together, while ambivalent opinions were expressed by another nine students, two parents, and one-half of the administrators.

Learning About American Indian People in Other Places

All Bryant Indian parents along with most teachers (15), students(15) and administrators (11) were interested in learning about American Indian people in other places. Eleven students, two administrators and seven teachers were ambivalent about this possibility.

Learning More About the Ways Other Indians Educate Their Children

All parents and most teachers (18), administrators(12) and students(17) indicated interest in learning more about the ways Indian people in other places educate their children. Another eight students, one administrator, and four teachers indicated possible interest in this curricular area.

Do Indian Kids Like To Do Things Right?

Most students (18), teachers(15), parents(5) and administrators(10) thought that "Indian kids like to do things right." While there were no negative responses, seven teachers and fourteen kids indicated that it was possible that Indian kids liked to do the right things, but they did not indicate

conviction.

#### Should More Learning Take Place About Schools?

All parents and all administrators agreed that everyone should learn more about schools and how they are run. The majority of students and teachers also agreed.

#### Can Indian Parents and Children Work Positively With School Staff?

Most teachers, students, parents and administrators thought that "Indian parents and their children can work with the school staff to make things better for everyone." Ambivalent responses were given by ten students and a few others.

#### Student Interest in Bettering the School

In general most students (18), teachers(14), parents (all) and administrators(all) who responded to the question would like to work with others to make Bryant better as a school if they were treated fairly and could have some "say".

#### Responsibility of School Staff for Indian Education

According to all the Indian parents surveyed and most of the Indian students(19), teachers (17), and administrators(9), school staff can be held responsible for the kind of education Indian students receive.

#### Competence of School Staff to Provide a Good Education to Indian Students

In the opinion of all administrators, all parents, twenty-three students and twenty-two teachers, the school staff "should understand how to give Indian students a good education." Only one teacher disagreed with this statement, while four students and two teachers indicated ambivalence.



Do Children Have a Right to Quit or Ignore School?

All-Bryant parents, half of the Indian students and most of the Bryant staff (eight administrators and thirteen teachers) did not think that children had a right to quit or ignore school. However, eleven students, one administrator, and six teachers were ambivalent about this question.

Should City Indians be Taught Things About White People?

More parents, administrators, and teachers supported than students. A positive position was taken by all parents, most administrators, and most teachers, but by less than half (11) of the twenty-eight students. Twelve students indicated definite ambivalence to this question.

Should City Indians Be Taught About Black People?

Most parents and teachers, but only about half of the Indian students thought that "everyone who is an Indian living in the city should be taught things about black people." Only one administrative person agreed with this statement. Ambivalence was present in the responses of ten Indian students, while ten administrators and six teachers failed to respond to the question.

Do Indian Parents Understand Their Responsibility for the Behavior of Their Children in School?

All Bryant parents and most of their children thought that Indian parents understood how to be responsible for the behavior of their children in school; less than half of the teachers and administrators believed this to be true. Four administrators and seven teachers answered a flat "no" to this statement while ambivalent opinions were held by seven students, three administrators and eight teachers.

Should School Prepare Children for Good Jobs?

A higher percentage of students and parents than either teachers or administrators thought that education should prepare children for good jobs. Twenty-four of twenty-eight students believed that education should help them secure good jobs while all but one parent agreed with this position. Approximately six in ten of all administrators and teachers participating in the survey agreed that education should prepare students for good jobs while about three in ten of both these groups were ambivalent about this question.

Does A High School Diploma (or G.E.D) Really Help in the Job Market?

In the opinion of most students (25), administrators(9), teachers (20) and all parents, a high school diploma or a G.E.D. certificate "really helps in getting and keeping a job."

Do Indian Children Have a Right to All the Education They Want - Even College?

Bryant parents, teachers and administrators unanimously agreed that "Indian children have the right to all the education they want, even college." All but two students fully supported the same idea.

Should Indian Children be Responsible for Their Behavior in School?

Bryant teachers, students, parents and administrators generally agreed that Indian students should be responsible for their behavior in school. Indian parents unanimously supported this idea, while twelve administrators, twenty-three teachers and twenty-three students concurred.

Should Indian Children Be Brought Up as Indians?

About half of the Indian students, half of the Indian parents, one administrator and seven teachers thought that Indian children should be brought up as Indians! When an opportunity was provided for a qualified positive

response to this question (to indicate that Indian children should be brought up as Indians by their choice), the response situation became somewhat more positive. In general, a higher percentage of students (twenty-two of twenty-eight) and parents (all) than teachers and administrators gave qualified or unqualified positive responses to the question. For example, over half (seven of eleven) of the administrators gave some kind of favorable response, while only ten of the twenty-two teachers indicated a qualified or unqualified positive response.

Do Indian Children Have an Obligation to Follow Their Parents' Educational Interests for Them?

More students and parents than teachers and administrators thought that "Indian students have an obligation to get all the education their parents think they need." All parents and most students (22 of 28) thought that Indian students should get as much education as their parents prescribed. Only five administrators (of 13) and half of the teachers were in agreement with this statement. In addition, six teachers failed to answer the question.

Should Indian Children Bring Their Children Up as Indians?

Over half of the Bryant Indian students (16 of 28) and two-thirds of their parents thought that "when Indian children grow up, they should bring up their children as Indians." Only two administrators and four teachers gave unqualified positive responses to this question. When qualified positive responses were made, only five administrators and eight teachers agreed with the question. Seven teachers did not respond to the questionnaire item at all.

Should Indian Students Attend Classes Arbitrarily?

Of the survey population, only ten students, one parent, four administrators and two teachers thought that Indian students not wanting to attend classes shouldn't have to. Over half of the teachers, parents, administrators

and students felt that Indian children should attend classes even if they don't want to.

#### Are Indian Students Trying to Tell People About Themselves?

The majority of Bryant parents thought their children were "trying to tell people about themselves." About half of the students and teachers and approximately 60% of the administrators also agreed.

#### Willingness to Work Hard to Learn About Indian Young People.

Parents expressed the most interest in learning about Indian young people. Two-thirds of the administrators indicated a willingness to work hard to increase their knowledge of Indian youth. More Indian students than teachers demonstrated a willingness to learn more about Indian young people through hard work. Only one half of the Bryant teachers indicated a willingness to learn more about Indian adolescents.

#### Willingness to Serve on a Committee Setting up Indian Education Goals

Students, parents and administrative personnel were considerably more interested in serving on a committee to set up goals for Indian education at Bryant than were the teachers. Only four teachers wished to serve on such an Indian education committee at Bryant.

#### Reciprocal Favors Between Bryant Staff and Indian Students

Most Indian students at Bryant (78%), two of the five parents, twenty-five per cent of the administrators, but only eighteen per cent of the teachers believed that when Indian students "do something the staff wants them to do the favor should be returned." Ten teachers did not respond to this questionnaire item.

Reciprocity Between the School and Indian Parents

Most students (19 of 28), five parents, but only four administrators and five teachers thought that "if the school people do something right then the favor should be returned by Indian students and parents". Seven teachers did not respond to this questionnaire item.

Reciprocity Between School Personnel and Indian Parents

Most Indian students (20 of 28), five parents, but only four administrators and five teachers believed that "if Indian parents do something right then the school people should return the favor." Nine teachers failed to respond to this questionnaire item.

Action Areas Indicated in the General Questionnaire Survey

From an analysis of the results of the general survey of Bryant Junior High School populations, the following "action areas," or points at which experimental intervention may be attempted to improve conditions, may be suggested:

1. Indian students may be taught Indian crafts, the Bryant staff may be taught about Indian values, and Indian parents may be taught about Indian life in the contemporary world;
2. Indian courses may be taught at Bryant and Indian faculty should be acceptable for these courses;
3. Alternatives to the grouping of Indian children might be explored at Bryant;
4. All Bryant populations might learn more about other Indians, including the ways in which these Indians educate their children;
5. It might be tentatively assumed by all Bryant populations that Indian children wish to be approved by others, including authority figures;
6. Ways might be found to further educate all the Bryant populations about the functioning of that school;

7. Functional ways might be sought to articulate Indian people with Bryant school;
8. The definition of "fairness" among the school populations should be investigated, with an eye to improving Indian education at Bryant;
9. Definite responsibility for the quality of Indian education might be affixed to Bryant staff, with appropriate rewards and punishments;
10. Active attention should be given to defining what is a "good education" for Indian students at Bryant;
11. The rights of all population groups at Bryant should be defined in terms of the provisions of an adequate Indian education ideology;
12. Further investigation about the usefulness of white and black curricula should be undertaken by all populations at Bryant who are interested in Indian education;
13. Attempts should be made by Bryant staff to actualize the parental feeling that parents should be more responsible for the behavior of their children;
14. Further dialogue should take place among populations at Bryant concerning the relationship of education to "good jobs";
15. Greater stress should be placed upon the relationship of a junior high school education to collegiate education, and this relationship should be stressed in as positive a light as possible;
16. Attempts should be made to further develop the general agreement that Indian students should be responsible for their school behavior;
17. The complicated question of Indian identity for current students and their probable offspring should be the subject of continuing year-long seminars on the human meanings of education from identification standpoints;
18. Attempts should be made, in the context of seminars and other questioning sessions, to further investigate the possibilities of an apparent Indian student desire to have their parents more actively structure educational requirements;
19. Indian students apparently wish to attend classes, and the implications of this apparent wish should be explored in the context of rule modifications;
20. Generation gap questions between Indian parents and their offspring should be explored in a variety of discussion and educational contexts, and those members of the several Bryant populations wishing to learn more about Indian young people should be given the opportunity to do so;
21. Those wishing to serve on a committee considering Indian education goals should be encouraged to do so, and the committee should be set up immediately, probably on an ad hoc basis;

22. The whole question of positive reciprocity between Indian students and their teachers should be investigated, perhaps with an eye to the eventual dismissal of certain teachers if they cannot come to regard their responsibilities in a mutually supportive manner between Indian students and themselves;

23. The question of reciprocity between school personnel and Indian parents should be investigated, with the possible introduction of punishments and dismissal for administrators and teachers unwilling to treat Indian parents in a mutually cooperative, human manner after the development of a jointly approved trade-off system;

24. THE ENTIRE AREA OF RECIPROCITY BETWEEN FORMALLY LICENSED SCHOOL PERSONNEL AND INDIAN STUDENTS AND PARENTS SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED, AND IMMEDIATE ATTEMPTS SHOULD BE MADE TO DEVELOP TRAINING PROGRAMS AND HUMAN POTENTIALS SEMINARS STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF POSITIVE SELF CONCEPT, AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF POSITIVE SELF CONCEPT TO A HUMANLY REWARDING INTERACTION ENVIRONMENT.

A Profile of Bryant Indian Students

Before going into greater detail about the characteristics of Indian children at Bryant Junior High School in early 1970, it might be best to examine some of the attitudes of these children on a quick overview basis in order to set the stage for later, more detailed analysis of their responses and their "fit" in the complex social setting of Bryant and its surrounding community. We will proceed in this overview by supplying the responses of these children to some relatively simple questions asked them by Miss Hammond.

Would You Like Help in Getting Along Better with People?

Eighteen of the Indian students answered "yes" to this question, while two replied "no" and eight were undecided.

Are There too Many Classes to Attend?

Only seven students agreed with this statement, sixteen flatly disagreed and five were uncertain.

Do You Plan to go to High School?

All but three students answered this question affirmatively.

Would You Prefer High School Preparatory Classes?

All but four students answered this question positively.

No Plans to go on to High School

Only fourteen of the Indian students completely negated this statement - that is, when high school plans were called forth through a negative statement, only about half of the students as opposed to a great majority whose responses



were obtained through a positive question planned to go on to high school.  
(The exact responses to this question were: five yes, fourteen no, three maybe, six no answer.)

Would You Like to Learn a Trade For Use After Quitting School?

Eleven students agreed that they would like to learn a useful trade under this condition, eight students said they would not, five were uncertain, and four gave no response.

Interest in Learning About Different People in the World

About half the Indian students at Bryant interviewed in this survey indicated an interest in learning about different people elsewhere in the world. Of the remainder, two were negative and thirteen were uncertain.

Importance of Attending Meetings and Conferences Given by and for Indian People

Fifteen of the respondents felt that attendance at such meetings was important; three were negative and ten were uncertain.

I Would Like an Indian Center at School

Seventeen of the twenty-eight respondents indicated agreement with this idea while eleven were ambivalent.

Desire to Have Classes With Indian Friends

Sixteen of the Indian students wanted classes with their Indian friends while one student was negative, nine were ambivalent and two did not respond.

Opinions on an All-Indian School

Only six Indian students interviewed wished to have an all-Indian school while sixteen were negative about this idea, and six were ambivalent.

Desire to Have Only Fellow Indian Children in Classes

Only eight Indian students wished to be in classes containing Indian students alone. Sixteen students were definitely negative about this idea and four were ambivalent.

Knowledge of Non-Indian Children About Indian Heritage

Twelve of the Indian student respondents felt that non-Indian children should know about Indian heritage. One student was negative about this idea, thirteen were ambivalent and two did not answer.

Desire to Have Indian Adults as Teacher Aides

Nine Indian students wished to have Indian teacher aides in their classroom while six were against this idea. Twelve of the remaining students were ambivalent and one provided no answer.

Knowledge of Indians Who Could Help Teach Classes on Indian Heritage.

Only one student in the entire responding population knew of an Indian who could help teach Indian heritage classes. Twenty-two of the remaining students knew of no one; two were ambivalent and three gave no answer.

Willingness to Attend an Indian Language Class

Sixteen of the twenty-eight respondents were willing to attend an Indian language class, while two were not and ten were ambivalent.

Impressions of Teacher Behavior Towards Self

Twenty-four of the twenty-eight Indian student respondents felt that their Bryant teachers treated them "like all the other kids." The other four students felt as if their teachers did not care for them.

Response to Strict Teachers

Only two of the Indian students said they liked strict teachers. Eleven were definitely against such teacher behavior and fourteen were ambivalent. One student gave no response.

Approval of Teachers Who Make the Indian Student Feel Important.

Only eight of the students felt that teachers who treated them "like important persons" were liked best. Four students disagreed with this statement, nine agreed that it applied sometimes, and seven were ambivalent.

Preference for Teachers Who Do Not Raise Their Voices

Fourteen of the twenty-eight students felt that they would prefer teachers who did not "yell" at them, while thirteen students indicated that this aspect of teacher behavior "didn't matter" and one student responded ambivalently.

Desire to Attend Another School

Only eight Bryant Indian students interviewed felt that they would like to attend another school. Eleven were definitely against this idea, seven were uncertain, and two did not respond to the item.

Parental Authority Over School Attendance

Twenty of the twenty-eight responding Indian students felt that their parents should make them attend school. Only seven felt that their parents should let them decide if they wished to attend, and one gave no response.

Communication to Parents About Bryant

Fourteen of the twenty-eight students indicated that they communicated about Bryant with their parents, while seven were ambivalent and an equal number indicated no communication.

Desire to Have Parents Visit the School

Only six Indian students interviewed felt that they would like their parents to visit Bryant. The other responses were divided evenly between ambivalence and negativism.

Occasions of Parental School Visits

The majority of responses to this question (9) concerning school visitations were associated with "trouble"; the others were divided as follows: sometimes (7); never (6); to see what is going on(5); and no response (1).

School Behavior Versus Home Behavior

Eleven of the twenty-eight Indian students interviewed indicated that their home behavior was not the same as at school, while nine indicated that the school behavior patterns were sometimes the same as at home. Only six indicated a distinct congruence between behavior at home and at school, and two chose not to respond.

Preference for the Reservation Over Minneapolis

Seventeen of the twenty-eight Indian students at Bryant preferred not to live on their home reservations. Four expressed such a preference, and the remaining seven were ambivalent.

Preference for New Experiences

Twenty-five of the twenty-eight Indian students interviewed at Bryant expressed a desire to "try new things." Only one responded negatively and two with ambivalence.

Would It be Better to Work Than to go to School?

Only four Indian students agreed with this statement. Fourteen flatly disagreed with it, nine were ambivalent, and one gave no answer.

Do You Want More Money to Buy Nice Things?

Twenty-one of the Indian students answered this question affirmatively. Only one was negative, and the remainder expressed ambivalence.

Should There be Free Time for Personal Activity During School Hours?

Twenty-three of the twenty-eight students agreed with this statement, while only four were ambivalent and one replied no response.

Satisfaction With School Schedule

Students were about evenly split on this response, with fourteen expressing happiness with their schedule, thirteen unhappiness, and one replying no answer.

Is Working For Nice Things the Best Way to Get Them?

Twenty-five of the students agreed with this statement while three were ambivalent.

Can You Get the Things You Desire in School Even Without Proper Behavior?

Only three students felt that they could get what they want from school without adequate behavior patterns. Twenty flatly disagreed with this statement, and five felt that it applied sometimes.

No Reason to Follow the Rules at Bryant

Only two Indian students interviewed felt that there were no reasons to follow the rules at Bryant, while sixteen felt that this position applied "sometimes." Six students felt that the rules at Bryant should not be followed and two gave no response.

Would it be Easier to Follow Bryant's Rules if Changes Were Made in Your School Program?

Fifteen of the students felt that it would be easier to abide by Bryant's rules if changes were made in their programs. Ten of the remaining students were ambivalent about the question, one replied negatively, and two gave no response.

What Group do You Get Along Best With?

Fifteen of the Indian students interviewed felt that they got along with all racial and ethnic groups well. Five of the students felt that they got along best with Indians, two with blacks, two with Indians and whites, two with blacks and Indians, and two with complicated responses that stressed getting along well with all ethnic groups.

Classes Preferred and Not Preferred by Bryant Indian Students

Among those classes preferred by Bryant Indian students were the following: Cooking, Gym, Art, and Math. Among those classes not preferred by Bryant Indian students were the following: Science, English, Health, Social Studies, and Reading. Those classes over which approximately equal likes

and dislikes were expressed were the following: History, Sewing, Wood Shop, SLD, Electricity-Drafting, Typing, and Girls' Center.

What the Indian Children Would Like to Learn at Bryant

Most of the Indian children interviewed at Bryant would prefer to use their school experience as a means to make more money, obtain better clothing, enhance their dating experience, and (for the girls) improve their dancing. Virtually all of the students expressed an interest in working up to half time to obtain these rewards. Virtually all of these responses were heavily school-oriented -- that is, students generally expressed no desire to leave the school environment.

What the Students Would Like to be Versus What They Will Probably Be Upon Graduation (Self-Designations)

Students were asked what they would like to be when they got out of school in one questionnaire item, and then were asked what they would probably be in a second item. Measurements were made of three tendencies in these responses: for aspirations to remain the same; for aspirations to change upward; and for aspirations to change downward. While more interested readers may wish to see Appendix III for full responses to these two questions, the following generalizations are possible:

1. Most of the aspirations were comparatively low-level -- that is, most of them fell short of the need for four years of college training prior to licensing or qualification;
2. Thirteen of the students, or a slight majority, indicated that their real likelihood of attaining a particular career aspiration was lower than the level of the aspiration itself as a desire;
3. Twelve of the students indicated a linear, unchanged relationship between their preferences and the likelihood of achieving those preferences;
4. Three of the students actually indicated higher probable achievements than their aspirations had earlier indicated.

Should Some of the Rules at Bryant be Changed?

Exactly one-half (14) of the Bryant students interviewed felt that changes should be made in the rules at Bryant. Ten of the remaining students were ambivalent in their responses, three felt that no rule changes should take place, and one gave no answer. Of the fourteen who did reply yes, virtually all specified problems in extra-classroom regulations. Of primary importance to these Indian young people were rules connected with hallways and free time.

What Should a Good Teacher be Like?

Virtually all the Indian students responded to this question with substantive remarks. Most of these comments stressed three basic content areas: teacher courtesy and positive reciprocity; teacher "fairness" in making assignments and assigning grades; and personal attention on the part of the teacher without recourse to group comparison.

Why Do You Go To School?

Most Indian students at Bryant go to school because (1) their parents send them; (2) they like school; (3) they want to see their friends; or (4) they want an education, either for itself and/or for its possible occupational pay-offs.

Why Do You Skip School?

Some Indian children indicated that they did not skip school at Bryant at all, but the great majority indicated that "they'd rather be doing something else," or that they "just don't feel like doing anything." It is possible that some of these responses are ethnically related, that some of them are related to poverty variables (such as dietary deficiencies, etc.), and that some are distinctly peer or sub-cultural styles. Many of the responses, reviewed for the more interested reader in Appendix IV, appear to indicate a distinct detachment from many of the processes of the Bryant



environment. We will deal at greater length with this question and the implications of this questionnaire item at a later point in the report.

#### What About Kids Who Are Not Indian?

Eighteen of the twenty-eight Bryant students interviewed felt that other kids liked them for what they are. Seven of the others felt that they were teased because they were Indians and a few felt that they were liked because they were Indian.

#### What Are the Statements That Best Describe You?

Every respondent to this question indicated in some manner that self-identification as Indian was at the core of self-concept. (Interested readers may investigate detailed responses in Appendix V.)

#### Self-Judgment of Comparative Age Grade Accomplishments

When asked if they did things as well as anyone else their age, the Indian students in the Bryant survey indicated unqualifiedly positive responses in only eight cases. Eighteen responses were of a qualified nature, and two respondents gave negative replies to the item.

#### What Would You Like to do in Your Free Time at School?

These responses are contained in Appendix VI because of their possible importance to school personnel. For the most part, the bulk of Bryant Indian student responses to this question centered around the concept of a physical space for smoking, listening to records, interacting with other children, or reading. None of the children mentioned an all-Indian environment.

Some Possible Action Areas Concerning Bryant Indian Students

As in the case of previous "action summaries" of data gathered from Bryant School populations, we feel it possible to suggest some potential areas of practical importance concerning Bryant Indian children themselves. We realize that we have already indicated some possible action areas for this and other populations earlier (see the suggestions from the general survey questionnaire), but it is likely that a more detailed group of suggestions is possible through an interpretation of the student-oriented questionnaire.

1. Indian students may be indicating they wish assistance in getting along with other students, and if this is the case, such assistance should be provided as soon as possible;
2. There is considerable evidence to suggest that many Bryant Indian students do not actually plan to go on to high school - this possibility should be looked into more fully and action interventions should be considered;
3. A heavy "useable" trade interest is apparent among Bryant Indian students - this interest should be further investigated and some pilot action projects should be considered;
4. There is a strong bimodal tendency in the Bryant Indian student population over questions of Indian-oriented thinking and activity - these populations are probably distinct ones for the most part, and Indian-oriented programming at Bryant should take cognizance of this population distinction in practical ways;
5. Some students are ambivalent or negative about all-Indian functions in the context of Bryant Junior High School - these responses should be more carefully investigated and examined for their ideological and emotional characteristics;
6. Much of the response tendency in Bryant Indian students regarding the question of separatism versus integration is complex and probably related to distinctive student groups - this phenomenon should be investigated in far more detail before practical program planning;
7. Many Bryant Indian students appear to be ambivalent or negative about Indian teacher aides - this apparent fact should be investigated further before practical program planning;

8. There is apparently a fundamental absence of Indian student knowledge about historically and culturally knowledgeable Indian persons - this is probably related to substantive identity problems, and should be corrected by model or example as soon as possible;
9. The possibilities of an Indian language class should be investigated for Bryant;
10. There are persistent and disturbing indications of low student self-esteem on the part of Bryant Indian children - these characteristics should be more thoroughly investigated before a heavy emphasis upon Indian-oriented curricula is established at the school;
11. There are strong indications of psychological and social separation from Bryant on the part of Indian students there - this "accommodative" pattern is all too familiar in other instances of Indian education and should be investigated in far greater detail;
12. The possibility of enhanced Indian parental control over school-related behavior of their off-spring should be investigated further in light of the insistence by Indian children that their parents should require them to attend school;
13. There is an apparent communication gap between about half of the Indian students and their parents - this problem is almost certainly related to a bimodal student population distribution, and should be investigated prior to the blanket initiation of change programs requiring greater parental-student communication;
14. The lack of student desire to have Indian parents visit the school is likely based upon complex psychological and social characteristics, and should be investigated in more detail before the initiation of contact-oriented community relations programs;
15. The cultural problems suggested by discontinuities between school and home behavior should be looked into more closely, perhaps in the context of "open seminars" on the subject which would involve Indian students, parents, and school personnel;
16. The implications of an apparent unwillingness to return to the home reservation on the part of Bryant Indian students should be taken into account;
17. The apparent proneness to attempt "new things" on the part of Bryant Indian students should be examined more closely;
18. The possibility of initiating "high pay-off" work-study programs for Indian students enrolled at Bryant should be investigated;
19. The provision of more truly free time for Indian students at Bryant should be investigated;

20. Bryant students should probably be involved in substantive discussions about the utility of the Bryant school schedule;
21. The interest exhibited by Bryant students in work programs should be investigated, with special attention to the interest of Bryant Indian students in remaining in school;
22. There is some possibility that Bryant Indian students adhere to the abstract concept of rules and appropriate rule behavior - this cognitive "understanding" should be operationalized through appropriate alterations in the rule structure to accommodate the different cultural background of Indian students;
23. The inter-ethnic social characteristics of Bryant Indian students should be looked into in far greater detail, especially if the possibility exists that more alienated students (from self, Indians, and whites) are identifying and/or interacting with certain groups in regular ways;
24. Class preferences, dislikes, and neutral responses were sufficiently non-significant as to require considerable additional research;
25. Practical action should be taken on the depressingly low-level occupational and "professional" orientation of Bryant students, even, in many cases where these orientations did not change downward or even changed in an upward direction;
26. BRYANT INDIAN STUDENT SUGGESTIONS THAT TEACHER COURTESY, POSITIVE RECIPROCITY, "FAIRNESS" IN MAKING ASSIGNMENTS AND ASSIGNING GRADES, AND PERSONAL ATTENTION WITHOUT RECOURSE TO GROUP COMPARISON SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED IN FAR GREATER DETAIL FOR THEIR POSSIBLE CONCRETE PAY-OFFS - ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF POSITIVE RECIPROCITY;
27. The tendency of Bryant Indian students not to be interested in school should be investigated with an eye to creating a more sexually valid, action-oriented, and reality-oriented school environment;
28. These possibilities might be investigated for their eventual realization in a useful restructuring of the "physical environment" of Bryant, especially with respect to vision of home-like relaxation areas, etc.

### The Education-Related Values and Attitudes of Indian Parents

Miss Hammond, the Indian interviewer for the Bryant-TCCP Indian education survey, found it very difficult to make contact with Indian parents having children in Bryant. Many parents missed interviews and others simply did not want to be interviewed at all. Some professed that they were no longer Indian and did not wish to be recognized as such. However, Miss Hammond did manage to succeed in obtaining interviews from six Indian parents - all of them women. The next portions of this report concentrate on the responses of these six Indian parents to a special questionnaire designed for them.

### Are There Changes You Want the School to Make?

Three of the six parents did not feel that changes should be made at Bryant. Two failed to answer this question and one replied that she "didn't know."

### Can the Parent Help Make Changes at Bryant?

One parent felt that she might be able to help make changes at Bryant while three did not, another didn't know, and a sixth gave no response.

### Parental Comfort in Talking to School Teachers and Staff

Four parents said they felt comfortable going to school and talking with Bryant teachers and staff. One indicated ambivalence and no response was obtained from another.

### Knowledge of Personnel Working With Offspring

Only two of six parents knew the persons who worked with their children at Bryant.

Impressions of Personnel Quality at Bryant

All Indian parents rated staff performance at Bryant positively.

Are Indian Teachers Preferred?

Four of the six Bryant mothers interviewed felt that it "didn't matter" if their children's teachers were Indian or non-Indian. One parent thought that it would be best for her child to have an Indian teacher, while another parent definitely disagreed with this idea.

Is Education Important for the Indian Child?

All parents agreed that formal education was important for their children at Bryant.

Should There be Evening Classes for Bryant Parents?

All of the Bryant Indian mothers interviewed felt that evening classes should be offered for them. Their interests in this matter were varied and were distributed as follows: spelling(1), mathematics(2), history(1), sewing(2), and no response(3). (The high total is derived from multiple responses.)

When do Bryant Parents Visit School?

Three of the six Bryant parents interviewed visited school only when their children were in trouble. Two Indian women visited Bryant for a combination of reasons involving trouble and other events, and one parent indicated that she did not visit Bryant for any reason.

Interest in Becoming an Aide at Bryant

Only one parent wished to be a teacher's aide at Bryant.

### Preference for the Reservation Over Minneapolis

Five of the six Indian respondents preferred to live in Minneapolis than on their home reservation. One respondent indicated ambivalence about moving back to the reservation.

### Action Possibilities Suggested by the Parental Questionnaire

While the representativeness of the Indian parent data gathered in the context of the Bryan-TCCP Indian education survey may be questioned, it is reasonably certain that the six Indian women who responded to the survey are among those most positively oriented to the potentials of Indian education at Bryant. Therefore, we offer the following action potentials as limited to those six Indian women who responded to the survey through their active participation and limit any generalizations of a positive nature to Indian parents of this responsive posture. It is assumed that a number of other Indian parents expressing these attributes were accidentally missed in the survey, and that those Indian parents who refused to be interviewed also represented a distinct parental population. The following action possibilities may be suggested from the results:

1. Predictably, Indian parental response of a general nature to education at Bryant was positive;
2. Most Indian parents require more information about the personnel with whom their children are working at school;
3. Some attempt should be made to develop evening classes at Bryant for Indian parents, assuming that such attempts are not already being made;
4. Attempts should be made to bring Indian parents closer to Bryant school, especially out of the context of pupil difficulties;
5. Further investigation should be conducted concerning the apparent unwillingness of Indian parents to become formally connected with Bryant school( in such positions, for example, as teacher aide);

6. Cognizance should be taken intellectually and practically of the apparent unwillingness of Bryant Indian parents to consider returning to their home reservation.



### Teachers and Administrators at Bryant: Attitudes Toward Indians and Personal Competence

We were deeply interested in the Bryant-TCCP Indian education survey about the similarities between teacher and administrative attitudes toward Indians, and in the self-ratings of these professionals about their competence to deal with Indian people in the schooling environment. (The reader is asked to recall that our category "administrator" contains not only formally designated administrative personnel but certain professional support personnel as well.) The following data overview constitutes a first step toward better understanding of the relationships between school professionals and Indian students and parents, and the self-judgments about professional competence in Indian-related intercultural education. Further analysis of these data, together with other data reviewed in the survey and from previous research, will be accomplished in the conclusions and recommendations sections of this report.

#### Effective Knowledge for Teaching Indian Students

Most Bryant teachers (20 of 27) felt they did not know enough about their Indian students to teach them effectively. Indeed, only three teachers thought their knowledge of Indian students enough to allow teaching these students effectively. Administrative personnel, who have had less contact than teachers with Indian students, felt in almost half the cases that their information about Indian students was lacking and helped to prevent them from having successful interactions with these students. Only one administrator felt fully confident that his level of knowledge was sufficient to interact successfully with Bryant Indian students.

#### Feelings of Success in Teaching Indian Students

Only two teachers believed that they were successfully able to teach Indian students "what they should get out of my class." But eight more of the teacher category thought that they were successful "most of the time", and one teacher felt that she was successful "sometimes." Eleven of the teachers

felt they were not successful at any time, and one of them added "neither am I successful with black or white students." Only one administrator self-evaluated his own work with Indian students as successful, while another felt successful "most of the time." Six of the professionals in the administrative category refused to reply to this questionnaire item.

Would the Professional Like to Become More Involved in the Personal Lives of His Indian Students?

Comparatively more administrative personnel than teachers expressed an interest in becoming more deeply involved in the personal lives of the Bryant Indian students. Over one-half (8 of 13) of Bryant administrative staff indicated an interest in becoming more involved with students, but only eight of twenty-seven teachers indicated such interest. Approximately one-half of the teachers indicated ambivalence over this question.

Would You be Interested in Taking Courses Concerning Indian Heritage?

About half of Bryant's teachers (12) and administrators (7) indicated a desire to take Indian heritage courses for professional growth credit.

What Would the Teacher or Administrator Find Most Helpful in Indian Education at Bryant?

Most teachers (16) and some administrators (4) thought that a combination of classwork and field experience would be most helpful to them.

Desire to Become More Involved with Indian Students in Out-Of-School Activities

Administrators showed the most interest in becoming involved with Indian students in out-of-school activities. About half (5) of them supported the idea, while only three teachers were interested. Teachers were most ambivalent (18 of them) with regard to out of school involvement with their

Indian students. Six teachers expressed outright disinterest in becoming involved in such activities with Indian students.

Would You be Interested in Tutoring Indian Students?

Teachers and administrators at Bryant were not really interested in tutoring Indian students. Only four teachers and two administrators indicated some interest in tutoring, while eleven teachers and two administrators responded negatively. Ambivalence was evident in about half of the responses of the Bryant teachers and administrators.

How Can You Best Motivate Your Indian Students?

A wide number of responses were obtained to this questionnaire item. Most of the teacher responses seemed to have something to do with "teaching effectively", "being enthusiastic", using the "same methods" as would apply to other students; or just leaving them alone. Administrative responses heavily stressed human relations approaches (a full treatment of the response is contained in Appendix VII).

Do You Look Forward to Meeting Some Classes and Not Others?

Most of Bryant's teachers (21) did look forward to meeting some classes and not others. Four administrators had similar feelings.

Under What Conditions do You Look Forward to Classes?

While the answers to this questionnaire item were many (they are reproduced in Appendix VII for the examination of the reader), certain recurrent themes were present for Bryant teachers. These themes were essentially the same as those expressed by Bryant Indian students concerning their teachers. The themes consistently stressed by Bryant teachers were oriented to three basic content areas: student interest and courtesy; and

positive reciprocity on the part of the students (returning kindness for kindness, motivation for motivation, fairness for fairness, making the teacher look good, etc.). Teachers tended to stress the absence of discipline problems as one important element in a system of positive reciprocity with students. Administrators tended heavily not to respond to this item since most were not in teaching circumstances.

#### The Kind of Discipline Most Important to Indian Children

Most of the Bryant staff regarded consistently applied external control as the most important element in Indian student discipline. "Understanding" was also important to some teachers and administrators. Ten teachers and seven administrators chose not to respond to this questionnaire item.

#### Do Indian Children Perform and Behave Best in Class When You Are Strict?

A variety of responses were given to this item, split about evenly among the four response categories: agreement; qualified agreement or disagreement; disagreement; and apparent confusion. Appendix IX contains these data for specific examination by the reader.

#### When do Indian Children Behave Best?

Again, as in the preceding questionnaire item, teachers and administrators responded in a variety of categorical ways to this item. The same essential categories were present as in the preceding case. (See Appendix X).

#### When Would You be Willing to Talk With Indian Students?

Twelve of the twenty-seven responding teachers and three administrators were willing to talk with Indian students one hour per week. Nearly half the administrative personnel did not respond to this question and many teachers appeared to respond with confusion.

Some Action Possibilities Suggested by the Teacher-Administrator Questionnaire

The following suggestions for further action at Bryant Junior High School are derived from the teacher-administrator questionnaire administered by Miss Hammond:

1. Both Bryant teachers and administrators demonstrate a woeful lack of sufficient knowledge about Indian students BY THEIR OWN ADMISSION;
2. Teaching success as measured by Bryant professionals is middling to low with regard to Indian students - workshops and seminars should be useful in bringing out the specifics of these negative self-evaluations as a preliminary to the development of action programs;
3. Further investigation should be conducted of the apparent unwillingness of Bryant teachers to become more involved in the personal lives of Indian students;
4. Credit courses should be provided for Bryant teachers and administrators on Indian history and culture;
5. Wherever possible, field work should accompany these credit experiences;
6. Further investigation should be conducted into the distinct unwillingness of teachers to become involved with Indian students in out-of-school activities;
7. Further investigation should be conducted into the apparent unwillingness of teachers to become tutors to Indian students;
8. TEACHER-PLEASING INDIAN STUDENT BEHAVIOR PATTERNS SHOULD BE ELABORATED AND RELATED TO THE CLASSROOM IN PRACTICAL WAYS WHENEVER POSSIBLE - THESE THEMES WERE - STUDENT INTEREST, STUDENT COURTESY, AND POSITIVE RECIPROCITY (OR THE RETURNING OF A FAVOR FOR A FAVOR);
9. THE APPARENT UNWILLINGNESS OF TEACHERS TO EXTEND POSITIVE RECIPROCITY TO STUDENTS WHILE STUDENTS HOPE FOR SUCH RECIPROCITY SHOULD BE EXAMINED WITH RESPECT TO ITS POSSIBLE DAMAGING EFFECTS UPON THE HUMAN AND TEACHING-LEARNING CHARACTERISTICS OF BRYANT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL;
10. The whole area of Indian student behavior and the control of his behavior in the classroom, in the hall ways and on the school grounds should be the focus of year-long seminars and workshops involving all Bryant school populations - pilot action programs should be initiated in this extremely important area and should be linked to FUNCTIONALLY APPROPRIATE IMPLEMENTATIONS OF MUTUALLY AGREEABLE RECIPROCITY SCHEMES BETWEEN INDIAN STUDENTS AND SCHOOL PROFESSIONALS.

Some Overview Commentary

A severe dissonance exists between the culture of the American Indian in Minnesota and non-Indian styles of life. The concept of cultural dissonance is not intended to pass judgment upon Indian culture or white culture - instead the term is meant to refer to an adjustive process engaging both whites and Indians in their attempts to better deal with one another. Cultural dissonance is apparent in several important aspects of Minnesota Indian life related to success or failure in public education:

Formal schooling of any type represents a discontinuity of experience for most Indian children; this discontinuity impedes the child's early scholastic achievement.

The degree of discontinuity is affected by several important factors, such as the level of parental education, the family economic background, and the style of family and peer life to which the child is accustomed.

Where disorganization is strong in Indian communities, there is a fundamental problem for Indian young people of ethnic ambivalence and lack of identity.

Indian communities and neighborhoods often tend to restrict the level of useful aspirations through the absence of educated models.

Indian children and non-Indian slum children (in city or country) exhibit similar behavior in the classroom: (1) both are unfamiliar with the school structure, with expectations held by teachers and with classroom procedures; (2) both diverge from the normative group values attached to cleanliness, attendance and punctuality; (3) both often have poor health, are listless and under-nourished; (4) both show evidence of cognitive variance from their middle-class peers; (5) both have difficulty in verbalizing, and tend to have depressed scores on IQ tests and low achievement levels. While these similarities are striking, the causes differ significantly in many cases. For example, Indian children do grow up in different group settings, each having cultural and subcultural aspects of rich variation and depth.

However, this early experience, rich as it may be, does not prepare the child for public school routines and activities.

Environmental differences tend to have a depressing effect upon the Indian child's achievement of certain skills and abilities. The same or other environmental differences are also important to the middle-class child whose cultural background is out of step with school expectations. Such environmental differences do not automatically imply that children from such backgrounds will be unable to learn skills later on, but it does mean that if they have not learned them during earlier and more optimum periods for development they will take longer to do so when given the opportunity.

Negative opinion about Indian educational interests abounds. Some Minnesotans picture the average Indian adult as lax in his concern for the benefits of public education, ignorant about the relationship of education and success in the job market, and generally unaware of the quality of education provided by the schools in the state. But recent research in Minnesota reservation and urban areas indicates that Indians and local white people are almost identically and unanimously aware of these relationships, and that educational aspirations for their children are also close together. Both groups of parents point to about the same reasons why a formal education allows for greater ranges of job choices -- that is, they both understand with the same degree of sophistication more detailed kinds of specific events that go on in schools and how these events are linked to the job market or to the demands for further educational experiences. Indian parents are deeply concerned, sometimes more than local white parents, about educational issues that affect their children. Most do not, however, possess the day-to-day skills to put these educational values to "work" for their children.

Similar to the myths about Indian parental attitudes toward education are those which are often unfriendly toward inferred attitudes of Indian children, especially teenagers. Yet additional research<sup>29</sup> has acted to modify these stereotypes with the following conclusions:

A substantial group of inner-city Indian teenagers exists with positive orientations toward higher education. If the high school dropout barrier can be surmounted (or if appropriate alternatives to a conventional high school education can be devised), recruitment of Indian college students can proceed on the local level, although the matter of appropriate recruitment approaches and incentives may need to be explored.

Another important finding suggested the crucial nature of support from friends and relatives for Indian educational endeavors. Success of educational endeavors for Indians may depend largely upon the active support of the Indian youth's circle of friends and relatives. Substantial involvement of members from the Indian community in structuring educational programs for and about Indians is essential. It may be necessary for Indian college recruiters to spend time communicating the purposes, advantages, and practical problems of college education to the relatives and friends of potential Indian college students. Specifically, such attention to the social context of the Indian child might fall within the following areas:

Increasing parental understanding and interest in formal education;

Increasing acquaintance with school-style English practice and development;

Structuring a positive system of sanctions for learning which is actively supported by parents, relatives, and peers;

Structuring a discipline framework within which the Indian child may know the parameters of his school existence and the supporting non-school environment.

Building life-style patterns and routines which emphasize sufficient nutrition, sleep, quiet for study, and social predictability in and out of school. [emphases added]



It is not only the dropout rate that reflects the general failure of Indian education. For the past ten to fifteen years, a growing body of literature from psychological testing and clinical testing reveals severe mental health problems for Indian youngsters, with an attendant suicide rate much higher than the national average. Alienation and anomie generally accompany these emotional problems and even result in Indians becoming separated from other Indians. The school is the main area of confrontation with the dominant culture, yet it is the school which will offer Indians their greatest opportunity for a viable and productive style of life as adults. Indian education projects must recognize the great potential of the school and help to make it useful to the Indian child. The schools must help the Indian child to answer his most pressing question, "Who am I?"

Do the Bryant Data Support the Senate Subcommittee Findings?

It is now time to attempt a summary of the data gathered in the Bryant-TCCP survey and in previous Bryant survey work reviewed in this report. As we indicated in the early pages of this document, we will direct our attention to the "Summary of Public School Findings" from the 1969 Report of the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education.<sup>30</sup>

1. What amount and kind of influence or control in the education of their children do Bryant parents have? It is evident that "a strong feeling of powerlessness" does indeed characterize the relationship of American Indian parents to Bryant Junior High School. This impression of powerlessness appears to prevent Indian parents from more than minimal contact with Bryant, and tends to restrict even this minimal contact to times when their children are in difficulty. There appear to have been few attempts - if any - on the part of Bryant parents to "win curriculum reforms which recognize Indian history and culture," and few attempts on the part of Bryant staff to initiate significant Indian curriculum changes.

2. Does Bryant Junior High School include coursework which "recognizes Indian history, culture, or language?" Does Bryant "often use materials and approaches which are derogatory toward Indians?"

It is apparent that Bryant Junior High School had made no significant efforts to develop Indian curriculum materials at the time of this study. This study did not attempt to answer the question whether history and social studies textbooks "grossly distort" the role of American Indians, but it did attempt to find the extent of derogatory approaches toward Bryant Indian students and their parents. We found no evidence of gross derogation; we did find AN APPALLING ABSENCE OF HUMAN AND PROFESSIONAL CONCERN FOR INDIAN STUDENTS ON THE PART OF A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF BRYANT CLASSROOM TEACHERS.

3. Do Bryant school administrators and teachers "consider Indian pupils inferior to white students, and thus expect them to fail, both in school and in life?" Our survey data indicate that MANY BRYANT CLASSROOM TEACHERS APPEAR TO BE GROSSLY IGNORANT OF INDIAN LIFE STYLES, AND SHOW LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO MAKE HUMAN CONTACT WITH THEIR INDIAN STUDENTS. THERE IS STRONG EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, THAT MANY BRYANT CLASSROOM TEACHERS WOULD ENROLL IN CREDIT COURSES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE. It is also apparent that BOTH CLASSROOM TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL AT BRYANT HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO LOW LEVELS OF SELF ESTEEM AMONG INDIAN STUDENTS, AND TO PREDICTIONS OF HIGH SCHOOL FAILURE AND SOMEWHAT UNIMPRESSIVE POST-SCHOOL ADULT OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES. It is also evident that THE PROPOSED BRYANT PLAN COULD MAKE SUBSTANTIAL STRIDES IN RELATING THE INDIAN COMMUNITY TO BRYANT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL THROUGH SIGNIFICANT INVOLVEMENT IN THE DAY-TO-DAY FUNCTIONS OF BRYANT, THUS OVERCOMING A MAJOR DIFFICULTY IN PREVIOUS COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT ATTEMPTS: THE "USE" OF INDIAN PARENTS TO SUBSTANTIATE PRE-DETERMINED SCHOOL OPERATIONS. It was not a function of the Bryant-TCCP survey to determine the extent of "social passing", if any, where Bryant Indian students are concerned.

Not included in the public school findings of the Senate Subcommittee Final Report, but a major finding in the Bryant-TCCP survey was the issue of positive reciprocity among the various population groups at Bryant. It seems to us that along with increased communications among Indian parents and students, and Bryant administrative and teacher personnel, mutually agreeable new techniques should be included for insuring rewarding human trade-offs among these population categories. Time and time again in this report we have called attention to the apparent absence of teacher willingness to engage in such trade-offs with Bryant Indian students and their parents. IT IS OUR ASSERTION THAT WHATEVER VALUE THIS PARTICULAR REPORT MAY HAVE TO INDIAN PEOPLE AND EDUCATORS IS ESSENTIALLY BOUND UP IN THE STATEMENTS IT HAS HAD TO MAKE ABOUT THE NEED FOR POSITIVE RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE SYSTEMS BETWEEN INDIANS AND NON-INDIANS ASSOCIATED WITH BRYANT. We have a great deal of faith in certain highly principled and excellently qualified personnel at Bryant Junior High School, and we are certain, especially after communicating the early results of this survey to them during the spring of 1970, that they will devote vigorous attention to the possible implications of newly developed positive reciprocity systems within the school. The final section of this report contains earlier thinking by University of Minnesota persons on this subject. (The structurally innovative aspects of the Plan For Bryant appear to have taken into account many of the suggestions contained in the final section).

A few more comments are also possible:

1. Despite the often degrading working atmospheres of public schools, atmospheres which tend to quickly erode teacher enthusiasm and humanity, and despite the timid, unimaginative approach of many central school administrations to inner-city education problems, MANY OF THESE DIFFICULTIES APPEAR TO STEM DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY FROM TWO OTHER SOURCES: STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION AND TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS. It is our hope that the implications of this survey for possible innovations in teacher licensing procedures, in the licensing of non-graduate personnel for classroom and other school use, and in the pre- and in-service conception and conduct of

professional growth credit and college credit educational experiences will be recognized. These considerations will be the subject of a later TCCP report scheduled to appear in several months, after completion of additional research reports on Indian education in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

2. The general interest shown in learning about American Indian people in other places appears to offer some interesting possibilities. Interest shown on the part of most parents, teachers, students and administrators in learning more about the ways in which other Indians educate their children may offer some fascinating practical possibilities. Further conceptual work on these areas, on the development of any pilot projects connected with them raises immediate questions about: the nature and developmental directions of contemporary American Indian life styles; the preparation of excellent curriculum materials geared to the Indian present; the possible utilization of sophisticated multi-media techniques; the responses of Indian politicians to such developments; and many more eventualities.

3. Indian students show positive responses to the question "Do you want more money to buy new things?" By themselves, these responses may signal some changes in traditional Indian values concerning material matters, but when Indian students express a strong desire to get jobs, as they have in this study, further very important questions must be raised about the current directions of Indian cultural change. Large positive student response to the idea of working for desired things as the best way to get them is certainly a "dominant society" value; it also raises further questions about whether Bryant Junior High Indian children understand just exactly what work is and what it requires on a day-to-day basis.

4. Indian students do not like science, English, Health, Social Studies, and reading - all the things academically important for further education beyond high school. Although it is the case that many other non-Indian students do not "like" such subjects, it is statistically the case that many of those other students will have much higher acquaintance with such courses, and score higher in them as enrollees than Indian students.

It appears that efforts should be directed toward making such courses much more attractive to Indian students at Bryant.

5. It is important to recognize that the strong teacher reluctance to get involved in Indian student's lives may be directly correlated with institutional prohibitions, formal and informal, working against such human contact. The possible roles of teacher training requirements and procedures should also be looked into with regard to problems in teacher-Indian student interaction.

6. The small size of willing Indian parent participants in this survey again requires us to raise cautionary comment about the meaning of parental data in this survey. It is our feeling, however, that those Indian parents who did participate in the Bryant-TCCP project probably represent a more benign and positively oriented parent category than the majority of those who did not choose to participate. The implications of this statistically unsupportable conclusion, assuming its validity, are of fundamental importance to Indian people, to educators, and to Indian politician-professionals.

#### A Modest Proposal

A few months ago, G. William Craig, Arthur Harkins and Richard Woods drafted a brief position paper-proposal directed toward some of the Indian education problems defined in this report. The balance of this final section contains a slightly edited version of that proposal, circulated locally in late 1969, because we believe it is of possible relevance to the framers of the Plan for Bryant.

For several years the issue of "local control" vs. control by the "establishment" has been a complex and emotional subject for schoolmen and interested citizens alike. In this section, we wish to outline a rather simple set of mechanics by which community residents might learn to participate in the control of their schools, while schoolmen learn to participate in the communities from which school populations are drawn. We will not argue for an Ocean Hill-Brownsville-style surrender of the schools to local community segments ill-equipped to operate them, nor will we opt for a token (and insignificant) input by "the local community" in the day-to-day functions of the school. We will suggest that the schools require trained, intelligent and imaginative involvement by user populations which did not create these agencies, but which have much to gain from learning to operate them, even to bend them, in some cases, to their special needs.

As we have implied, the problem with Ocean Hill-Brownsville was that it was "too much, too soon"; it asked of a minority of urban black people that they suddenly be able to transform their zeal to participate in the schools into the competent expertise demanded by the day-to-day operational requirements of these schools. This is not possible for any population which has not been able to share in the day-to-day operations of the schools, any more than it is possible for a schoolman from the white community to become, overnight, an everyday functioning member of a low-status ethnic minority. We realize that to make an inner-city adult resident into a creative and imaginative component of the school-community relationship is to change the man and his community; and that to make a schoolman into a sensitive, receptive co-partner in the community-oriented modifications of a school is to change the administrator and his school. Our concentration is on a structural approach that could make positive changes along these lines emerge as realities.

We are concerned with one Minneapolis inner-city minority and the Minneapolis public schools. We are interested in attempting the development

of a pilot program utilizing a different approach to change than Ocean Hill-Brownsville, or the common and conservative approach whereby persons are routed into the bottom of the existing structure to begin a long trek "upward." We are asking that Minneapolis Indian adults living in an area served by a Minneapolis junior high school and at least one feeder elementary school work directly with these schools and the Minneapolis public schools, to contractually define an important piece of the day-to-day operations of those schools for themselves. We wish to test the feasibility of a programmed setting in which the schools might do their jobs more satisfactorily if some daily requirements for student management were gradually assumed by the user community.

Specifically, we are suggesting that the feasibility of parent and adult management of "student discipline" be tested through the development of a mutually binding contractual relationship between an American Indian community and the school system serving it. In effect, such an arrangement might substantively change the authority structure of the school. It might mean, for example, that a principal would be more free to administer without the bothersome and time-consuming interruptions of his professional duties, caused by incessant disciplinary problems of various kinds. It might mean that teachers would be more free to teach and to relate humanly to children than is now possible. It might mean that parents would come to know the schools better, and thereby be in a more favorable position to influence the curricular, cultural, and ideological aspects of those schools. Furthermore -- we believe this to be the major payoff, at least initially, of such a project -- it might mean that the parents would come to know their own children better as students and as family members.

We understand that it is difficult enough today to "manage" young people in the suburbs, let alone in seamy inner-cities where major institutions of any kind are usually alien to the populations they are attempting to serve. We do feel that the crisis of school-community relations is amenable to change if the change process actually brings the school-as-institution closer to the community it serves. We believe that the Ocean Hill-Brownsville approach is not the answer; similarly, we believe that a wholesale "giving up" on minority adults in favor of increased manipulation

of their children in non-familial institutions is not a satisfactory answer either. We are concerned that the institutions "bend" to fit the populations they serve, and we are concerned that the converse take place. To this end, we have hopes that the following rough guidelines might be a beginning point for the gradual assumption by a population of inner-city Minneapolis Indian citizens of a major aspect of the day-to-day activities of the schools which serve their children: the maintenance of "discipline."

For the purposes of this proposal, we will define "discipline" as a state of mind and as a state of conduct. We will define a "positive state of discipline" as that state which does minimal violence to school, community, and person while making teaching, learning, and acting upon learning possible to the maximal extent. We recognize that teaching, learning and action take place in the community as well as the school. (Our hope is that positive discipline would apply to all members of the school and community, whether they are formal teachers and learners in the bureaucratic sense, or whether they are teachers and learners of any background outside the classroom.) We believe that the quality of teaching and learning suffers, whether that teaching be in the home, the classroom or on the streets, wherever indifference, lack of understanding, or disrespect for the rights and privileges of others negatively intervene. Thus, while we believe that it is possible for an insensitive teacher to interrupt seriously the learning of a minority child both inside and outside the classroom, we also believe that it is possible in many ways for an indifferent or ignorant parent to seriously damage the learning potential of his own children. Our intention, therefore, in the use of the word "discipline" in this expanded context, is to convey as broadly as we can the mutual school-community responsibilities for developing mutually effective kinds of teaching and learning in humane, supportive, and responsible school-community settings.

#### The Proposal

- A. That one junior high school (perhaps Bryant) and one feeder elementary school be identified in south Minneapolis as sites for this experiment.
- B. That these schools begin to engage in a process of mutually informative dialogue with Indian adults



from the Southside when such an adult group is constituted.

- C. That this adult group of Indian people be constituted by the Indian Education Advisory Committee to the Minneapolis public schools under those organizational guidelines it feels are most appropriate.
- D. That a pilot time schedule of two calendar years, commencing September 1970 and extending until August 31, 1972 be established for the duration of the pilot project.
- E. That the goal of the pilot project, in quasi-legal terminology, be the development of a mutually binding contract between the duly constituted group of Indian adults and the schools named, together with their organizational parent, the Minneapolis public schools.
- F. That the development of this contract be as unhurried and as thorough as possible, with the understanding that the separate parties to the development of the contract be allowed as many escape clauses as necessary, owing to the pilot nature of the project and to the possibility of any harm being brought to the user community. In the past, Indians have suffered greatly from devastating pressures to change against their desires.
- G. That as the contract develops and as small test versions of the principles and techniques to be embodied in the larger contract are tried out, sufficient funds for such purposes as babysitting, taxi fares, bus fares, and part-time personnel be made available for the Indian parents involved in the development of the pilot project.

- II. That the pilot project, from the beginning, be carefully scrutinized by a school-community board of evaluation having in its employ the services of trained ethnic and non-ethnic consultants, and that at least one half-time quality research person be retained from the duration of the pilot program.
  
- I. That this board of evaluation, in close communication with the Indian parental group and the schools, submit a quarterly report to the Advisory Committee and to the Minneapolis public schools commencing 90 days after the inception of the pilot program and each 90 days thereafter, culminating in a Final Report within 90 days of the close of the entire pilot project, whether that termination date be the proposed two years or some other time.
  
- J. That the Minneapolis public schools and all other interested parties be willing to abide by the direct and indirect implications of the experiences shared in the pilot project.
  
- K. That the schools and the Indian community be willing to help make structural and other changes in school and community if such changes seem warranted by the findings of the pilot project.
  
- L. That both parties recognize that the best interests of Indian children must be the first consideration in any acceptance or rejection of implications derived from the project.

## SOURCES

1. Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge - 1969 Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Washington: 1969.
2. Madison Coombs, "The Indian Student Is Not Low Man On The Totem Pole," Journal of American Indian Education, Vol. 9, No. 3, May, 1970.
3. Training Center for Community Programs, Indian Education In Minneapolis: An Interim Report, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota: 1969.
4. Arthur M. Harkins, Public Education on a Minnesota Chippewa Reservation, University of Kansas: 1968.
5. Murray L. Wax, Rosalie H. Wax, and Robert V. Dumont, Jr., Formal Education in an American Indian Community, supplement to Social Problems, Spring, 1964.
6. Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, op. cit., pp. 52-53.
7. Minneapolis Public Schools, A Community Looks at Its Schools: An Inter-Agency Task Force Approach, January 24, 1969, p. 4.
8. Ibid., p. 35.
9. Ibid., p. 36.
10. Ibid., p. 36.
11. Ibid., p. 40.
12. Ibid., p. 54.
13. Ibid., p. 55.
14. Ibid., p. 55.
15. Ibid., Appendix.
16. Minneapolis Public Schools, A Plan For Bryant (mimeo), January, 1970; p. 1.
17. Ibid., p. 4.
18. Ibid., p. 13.
19. Ibid., p. 16.

20. Ibid., p. 3.
21. Minneapolis Public Schools, A Community Looks at Its Schools: An Inter-Agency Task Force Approach - Report #2, 1970.
22. Ibid., Report Introduction.
23. Ibid., Report Introduction.
24. Ibid., Bryant Task Force Report, p. 1.
25. Ibid., p. 3.
26. Ibid., p. 4.
27. Teachers' Human Relations Chairman, Bryant Junior High School, "Brotherhood Week" mimeo, p. 1.
28. Ibid., Section X.
29. Richard G. Woods and Aruthr M. Harkins, Education-Related Preferences and Characteristics of College-Aspiring Urban Indian Teenagers: A Preliminary Report (Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, May, 1969), p. 6.
30. Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, op. cit.

## APPENDIX I

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BRYANT TASK FORCE:

1. The principal and assistant principals should make more creative use of support services and encourage them in innovative activities.
2. There should be clarification of the role of the support services, including assistant principals, counselors, social workers, and resource teachers. This should include clarification of their areas of authority, competency, responsibility, services provided. Means of communication to and from the teachers, to and from their colleagues, and methods of referral should be communicated to the teachers.
3. It is recommended that frequently scheduled Support Services Team meetings be instituted. The schedule should be followed without deviation.
4. It is recommended that regularly scheduled case conferences be instituted to deal with individual problems and to serve as a communications and learning tool.
5. The student referral process to support staff and outside agencies should be critically examined and expressly delineated.
6. There needs to be one staff person accountable for each child referred to any resource.
7. It is recommended that there be regularly scheduled grade-level or "house" meetings.
8. The composition of the Student Human Relations Council should have wider representation.
9. The Student Council should be made a more effective tool in providing greater self-governance among the students.
10. The Zero Hour should be continued and strengthened in providing additional education resources for students.
11. The Task Force supports the concept of the reorganization Plan for Bryant.

12. The Bryant administration needs to involve the staff in the Plan for Bryant more than was apparent at the time of the Task Force visit.
13. The Extended Day Program needs strengthening, both in staff and in funds.
14. It is essential that the Central Administration make a definite statement about the extent that they will back financially and otherwise the Plan for Bryant, and this should be done before further planning proceeds.
15. The position of the Task Force Coordinator should be most definitely continued.
16. The Staff Development Programs need to be continued and strengthened.
17. It is recommended that the Bryant Task Force meet as a body to select members for an advisory committee to advise and support the Task Force Coordinator in implimenting the Task Force recommendations.
18. The reading program needs to be continuously evaluated and modified as needed in view of the severe reading problems that exist in the student body.
19. There needs to be a periodic review of each student's progress to aid in individual programming.
20. The program of employing parents as aides should be continued and expanded. The increased use of parents as aides or assistants to the social work staff should be investigated to help in securing greater parent involvement at Bryant School.
21. Further intensive effort should be directed towards securing more parent involvement through using the Concerned Parent Group and the P.T.A.
22. Efforts should be directed to securing more cooperation among the student groups, teacher groups, and administration.
23. The support services should be encouraged to use innovative techniques.
24. There is a need for staff training in the concepts of the interdisciplinary team approach, and the Central Administration should be encouraged to provide financial support.

25. Teachers should have systematic training in the skills of team teaching.
26. Community resources should be systematically utilized on specific types of problems in a cooperative fashion.
27. The number of phone lines in the Bryant building must be increased.
28. The seventh grade orientation program should continue and be strengthened.
29. Consideration should be given to provide a contingency fund for Bryant School.
30. The Paperback Book Store should be continued.

[emphases added]

## APPENDIX II

I am:

an Indian person  
 a White person  
 a Black person  
 a Mexican person  
 other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

I am:

single  
 married  
 divorced  
 separated

If married, I am married to:

an Indian person  
 a White person  
 a Black person  
 a Mexican person  
 other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

I am:

a man (18 or over)  
 a woman (18 or over)  
 a young man (17 or under)  
 a young woman (17 or under)

I am:

a father  
 a mother  
 a student at Bryant  
 neither of these

If I am a parent, I have:

children in elementary school  
 (no. of) \_\_\_\_\_  
 children in Bryant Junior High School  
 (no. of) \_\_\_\_\_  
 children in high school  
 (no. of) \_\_\_\_\_  
 very young children at home, but not yet in school  
 no. of) \_\_\_\_\_  
 teenage young men and women (17 or younger) home and not in school  
 (no. of) \_\_\_\_\_

If working, I;

work at Bryant  
 teach at Bryant  
 work elsewhere (please indicate where): \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_



NOTE: You may feel that some statements require more than one response.  
Please check all responses you feel are applicable to you.

I would like very much to learn more about:

\_\_\_\_\_ Indian crafts

\_\_\_\_\_ Indian history

\_\_\_\_\_ Indian values

\_\_\_\_\_ Indians today

\_\_\_\_\_ other things about Indians: specify: \_\_\_\_\_

I think Indian courses like this should be taught at Bryant:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think classes like this should be taught by Indians whenever possible:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think Indian children need a place in school to be together by themselves:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I'd like to learn about American Indian people in other places:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I'd like to learn more about the ways Indian people in other places educate their children:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think Indian kids like to do things right:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think that we should all learn more about what schools are and how they run:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think Indian parents and their children can work with school staffs to make things much better for everybody:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

If I could have any say and be treated fairly, I'd like to try working with others to make school better:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think school staff can be responsible for what kind of education Indian students get:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think school staff should understand how to give Indian students a good education:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think children have a right to quit or ignore school:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think everybody who is an Indian living in the city should be taught things about White people:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think everybody who is an Indian living in the city should be taught things about Black people:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think Indian parents understand how to be responsible for the behavior of their children in school:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think school should prepare children for good jobs when they graduate:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think a high school diploma (or a G.E.D. certificate) really helps in getting and keeping a job:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think Indian children have a right to all the education they want, even college:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think Indian students should be responsible for their behavior in school:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think Indian children should be brought up as Indians:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ yes, if the no \_\_\_\_\_  
children have maybe \_\_\_\_\_  
a choice \_\_\_\_\_

I think Indian children have an obligation to get all the education their parents think they need:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think when Indian children grow up, they should bring up their children as Indians:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ yes, if the no \_\_\_\_\_  
children have maybe \_\_\_\_\_  
a choice \_\_\_\_\_

I think that when Indian children don't want to attend a class at school they shouldn't have to:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think that Indian students are trying to tell people about themselves:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I would be willing to work very hard to learn about Indian young people:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I'd like to serve on a committee that would set up goals for Indian education in Bryant:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

If the Indian students do something the staff wants them to do then the favor should be returned:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

I think if school people do something right then the favor should be returned (i.e., the students and parents should do something right in return):

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

If Indian parents do something right then the school people should return the favor:

yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ maybe \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX III

Students

When I get out of school I  
would like to be:

When I get out of school I  
will probably be:

secretary or nurse	secretary
drafter or electrical engineer	drafter or elec. eng. or truck driver
VISTA- Peace Corps	I don't know yet
airline stewardess, waitress. secretary	an old housewife
VISTA	I really am not sure
no answer	Psych. nurse - secretary
no answer	nurse
no answer	no answer
no answer	no answer
no answer	no answer
daywork	no answer
nurse or veterinarian	just working
boxer	boxer
professional athlete	foundry worker
airline stewardess, WAVE, WAC	housewife, secretary, nurse
nurse at General	housewife
nurse	nurse
secretary	secretary
secretary	no answer
airline stew., music teacher, singer	airline stew., music teacher, secretary
teach Indian language	veterinarian
don't know what I want to do	secretary
machine worker	machine worker
get a real good job	computer programmer
hockey player	a flunky
football player	in sports
working	working
social worker but for this I must go to college	housewife - haven't the money for college

## APPENDIX IV

I skip school because:

Students

1 - I don't like some kids - teachers - classes - I'd rather do something else. don't feel like doing anything

---

2 - I don't like some classes - teacher, sometimes I don't feel like doing anything

---

10 - there are times I just don't feel like doing anything

---

1 - I don't like some kids, rather do something else, don't feel like doing anything

---

3 - I don't like some classes

---

1 - no answer

---

2 - I never skip school

---

3 - I'd rather do something else

---

1 - I don't like some kids

---

1 - I don't like some kids - teachers

---

1 - don't like some kids - teachers, rather do something else, I just don't feel like doing anything

---

1 - rather do something else, just don't feel like doing anything

---

1 - times when I don't feel like doing anything but I don't skip school

---

## APPENDIX V

The statements that best describe me:

Students

1	I am a member of Chippewa Cree Iroquois French
6	Indian and white
3	Indian and Mexican
1	Indian Chippewa Mexican
6	Indian and black
1	Indian Sioux 1/8 white
4	I am an Indian
1	Indian black and white
1	Chippewa Indian and white
1	Indian Indian and Mexican
1	Indian Chippewa Ojibway
1	Chippewa part French
1	I am an Indian Chippewa

## APPENDIX VI

During my free time at school I would like to:

Students

1	Sit around with kids listen to records smoke library and work or read
1	Sit around with kids listen to records smoke
2	smoke
2	Sit around with kids listen to records smoke talk with some of the workers at Bryant
4	Sit in the library and work or read
1	Smoke sit and talk with a couple of girls
1	Smoke talk play records
1	Go home go to store
1	Sit around kids smoke
1	Sit around with some of the kids
1	Sit around with kids go home listen to records
1	Listen to records smoke (sometimes I like to smoke but don't tell mom)
1	Sit around with kids - teacher listen to records smoke maybe talk with Bryant workers
1	Sit around with kids listen to records
1	Listen to records
1	Sit around with kids go home
1	Sit around with kids go home listen to records smoke
1	Sit around with kids go home listen to records work or read in library
1	Listen to records work or read in library
1	Sit around with kids go home smoke
1	I would like to work helping people
1	Go home
1	Smoke work or read in library

## APPENDIX VII

I find I can best motivate my Indian students by:

Teachers

2	Personal relationship
3	?
10	NA
1	Presenting class material relevant to their needs and interests
1	Same methods that best motivate any of my students
1	Beauty in nature
1	Only a few in my classes (common behavior modification has worked)
1	Teaching them effectively
1	I don't know enough about these students to comment
1	Give them something they like to do - find out and utilize their hobbies
1	Have none
1	Haven't found a way to motivate them
1	Leaving them alone; treating them like any other human being
1	Enthusiasm and making them feel useful and find success
1	Being enthusiastic



I find I can best motivate my Indian students by:	Administration
1 Expecting the best	
1 Treating them as human beings - each one as an individual	
1 Attempting to give them the feeling that what they have to say or how they feel is important	
6 No response	
1 Reaching/touching them as a person	
1 Personal attention	
1 Can't answer	
1 Treating them with respect - emphasizing the fact that they are Indians and have tremendous ability also accept them where they are - usually quiet but attentive	

## APPENDIX VIII

I look forward to classes where:

Teachers

1	Strong personal relationship in which they seem interested in learning
1	Accomplishments are made
6	No answer
1	Students are prepared - I don't have to babysit - spend my time teaching not disciplining
1	Students' values are most like my own they set standards of learning which were important and relevant for me as a student
1	Students are there because they want to be there
1	I am prepared for the students and for teaching
1	Easy control - few problems - good relationship - very difficult to put a finger on it
1	Students are not all tired out from other classes
1	Students listen to an explanation of how to solve a particular type of problem then proceed with a minimum of outside assistance from me
1	Students are responsive
1	Students and I are trying to achieve the same things at least a small portion of the time
1	I don't have to worry about someone picking on other students or acting belligerent or stealing
1	All students are motivated
1	I can feel at the end of the period that I have accomplished something
1	Children are friendly
1	There are few students present who usually try to disrupt class, which prevents other students from participating in a learning experience
1	There is eagerness and enthusiasm
1	I have the best discipline
1	Students are anxious about doing something
1	I have few discipline problems
1	Students are lively, ask questions, try

I look forward to classes where:

Administrators

1 There is high intent

---

10 No response

---

1 I am prepared

---

1 The kids are themselves - free to be for real - meet their own needs  
rather than my needs

---

## APPENDIX IX

Teachers

I think Indian kids perform/behave best in class when I'm strict:

5	No
1	Yes - any kid
1	Yes - most kids
3	Yes
2	?
3	No answer
1	Treat same as others - recognition of "individual" problems - humanized approach
6	Sometimes
1	What do I compare with
1	No idea
1	I don't know as I only have one
1	Have never had any Indian students
1	Makes no difference. They are <u>not</u> behavior problems! They just are not motivated to get work done!

I think Indian kids perform/behave best in class when I'm strict:

1	Yes
2	Sometimes (perform)
1	Yes - strict but fair
6	No response
1	Not having a class I would think not
1	Depends on situation
1	No

## APPENDIX X

Indian kids behave best when I:

Teachers

1	Show I care about them
1	Fair firm friendly
1	Encourage them
1	Don't know
3	Strict with them
2	Permissive with them
1	Can't categorize 'Indian kids' any more than I can 'black' or 'white' kids
1	Treat same as others recognition of individual problems humanized approach
1	No real experience with Indian kids as yet
1	Take an interest in them
1	What do I compare with
1	?
1	Treat them as I expect to be treated
1	Have never had any Indian students
3	No answer
1	Fair and consistant to all
1	Strict with a personal approach and friendly
1	Strict and permissive
1	Middle of strict and permissive
1	Give them personal attention
1	Too few to judge
1	Other (no comment made on questionnaire)

Indian kids behave best when I;

Administration

1	Strict with them
1	Other - treat as human beings - each one as an individual
1	Am strict with them - but fair and not giving the impression that they have to respond only because I say so
1	Other - am me with them
5	No response
1	Other - treat them like kids
1	Other - I am equal to them eyeball to eyeball level
2	Other

Jr. High Indian Children in  
Mpls: A Study of One  
Problem School. Hammond,  
Sherarts, Woods, Harkins.

Copy 2

INDIAN AMERICANS

Jr. High Indian Children in Mpls:  
A Study of One Problem School.  
Hammond, Sherarts, Woods, Harkins.

Copy 2

INDIAN AMERICANS