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CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WESTERN EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES
AND THEIR EFFECTS ON LOCAL WAYS OF KNOWING

By

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Dissertation

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Cultural Characteristics of Western Educational Structures and Their Effects on Local Ways of Knowing

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This critical ethnography is a study of how the interfaces between Western educational structures and Native cultural structures function in the daily operations of a privately owned school in a Native community, how these functions have evolved, drawbacks and strengths of both Western and Native cultural structures, and current challenges in relating to the mixtures of philosophy, value systems and socialization expectations of these systems.

The review of literature exposed a variety a variety of assumptions regarding individualism, bureaucratization, homogenization, universalism, meritocracy, and rationalization reflected in Western educational structures. The study done at Valley Grove Mission School illuminated the assumptions and expectations for educational processes of the surrounding Native community which at times reflected Western values, but at other times were very different.

The Native community in Valley Grove demonstrated a value for democracy, individualism, and efficient bureaucracies. To some degree the Native community under study recognized and appreciated the fairness and order that these elements of structure sought to bring to decision-making. However, the Native community prioritized long-term relationships nurtured through visiting and localized events that capitalized on community interaction. Self-determination was important: Native leadership emphasized their role in sharing Native ways of knowing and cultural meaning in order to develop cultural bridges between the Native and modern worlds for Native students. Rather than long-term professional training programs at distant schools, participants in the study deemed short-term, practical, apprentice-style trainings in local fields more useful as tools for developing Native leadership in Native communities.

For Willie

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The political, religious and economic histories of Western civilization have shaped the philosophies, values and organizational patterns evident in today's Western educational programs. Such cultural aspects include individualization, bureaucratization, homogenization, universalism, meritocracy, and rationalization (Baker & LeTendre, 2005; Anderson-Levitt, 2003). As many developing countries seek to become more modern, they are attempting to assimilate the characteristics of Western educational structures as a means of becoming more democratic and competitive (Baker & LeTendre, 2005). However, often these Western cultural characteristics do not mesh well with the value systems and organizational methods of many indigenous families and communities who have cared for the educational needs of their children for generations (St. Clair, 2000; Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2004).

Robert St. Clair (2000) notes that while Western educators usually view the acquisition of knowledge as a goal of education, many Native peoples view meaning as the most important end product. Indigenous social and educational practices often include collective decision-making, extended kinship structures, authority vested in elders, and flexible notions of time, which characterize what has been termed "informal" traditions of organization (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2004). Societies that are accustomed to such methods of interacting are not only challenged by Western structures and systems, but at times have been damaged and destroyed by Western educational initiatives throughout history (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2004).

Not only is it likely that Western educational institutional processes and structures are damaging indigenous societies, but these processes and structures may not necessarily be the best or the most sustainable educational practices for any culture, including our own (Semali &

Kincheloe, 1999; Reynar, 1999; Shiva, 1993). Yet it can be difficult to identify, much less analyze, the cultural characteristics of Western educational programs by those who have been raised and trained in these programs (Slaughter, 1989; Katz, 1987; Purpel, 1989). These characteristics may be easier to identify when they are contrasted with qualities that characterize cultural educational traditions from other cultures. McDermott and Varenne (2006) assert that culture, rather than the individual student or social group, is a crucial aspect of study for educational research, since “culture is not a past cause to a current self. Culture is the current challenge to possible future selves” (p. 8)

Some of the cultural characteristics of Western educational structures are associated with, and may contribute to, the organizational efficiency and economical successes that Western educational institutions have been recognized for internationally (Ramirez, 2003). Other characteristics, while they present challenges to every educational system, seem to be particularly threatening to indigenous peoples who are brought into interaction with these institutions as a result of the globalization of Western educational practices (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Reynar, 1999; Shiva, 1993).

It is important to examine the assumptions and outcomes of Western ways of education in contrast with different cultural traditions, in order to gain a clearer picture of educational realities we may not otherwise be aware of close to home as well as around the globe. As we are able to identify those cultural characteristics that are valuable and those that are detrimental, from which ever cultural traditions they reflect, we come that much closer to making wiser decisions in educational leadership, especially in a global context.

Purpose

This critical ethnography is a study of how the interfaces between Western educational structures and Native cultural structures function in the daily operations of a privately owned school in a Native community, how these functions have evolved, drawbacks and strengths of both Western and Native cultural structures, and current challenges in relating to the mixtures of philosophy, value systems and socialization expectations of these systems.

Research Questions

The following questions outline the areas of concern in the study.

1. What are the cultural assumptions and historical processes that characterize Western educational institutional practices?
2. How have the cultural characteristics of Western educational structures and practices impacted indigenous peoples?
3. What strengths and benefits of Western educational structures are evident in cultural interfaces with indigenous peoples?
4. What weaknesses and drawbacks of Western educational structures are evident in cultural interfaces with indigenous peoples?
5. How do indigenous groups identify and address the strengths and weaknesses of Western educational structures in the design of their educational programs?

Significance of Study

It is especially important that those in educational leadership examine how ideologies in the Western worldview conflict with other worldviews. These conflicts and the trauma they cause cultures become evident in the interfaces between formal schooling and informal indigenous socialization and educational practices around the globe (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Reynar, 1999; Shiva, 1993).

Those in educational leadership represent international schooling interests as well as diasporas in Western countries. As nation-states around the world address neoliberalism and democratic and technological development, capital available for the development of educational infrastructure is becoming scarce, and pressures are being created to propagate political agendas via public educational programs (Nekhwevha, 1999; Semali, 1999). It is critical that educational leaders recognize the impact of culture on organizational structure, the history of colonial educational practices on indigenous peoples, current indigenous efforts to use education to support self-determination in their communities, and how communities are challenging modern assumptions of progressive technologies, world culture, and global schooling practices, as they work to develop culturally meaningful and sustainable community development and education.

Definitions

Indigenous/Native: The term “Indigenous” and “Native” are often used interchangeably in this study. Battiste & Henderson (2000) quote the definition for “Indigenous” accepted by consensus at the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: “Indigenous people and their communities have a historical relationship with their lands and are generally descendants of the original inhabitants of those lands” (p. 63).

Neoliberalism: Harvey (2005) defines neoliberalism as “a theory of political economic practices” organized around the assumption that societies prosper best when individual entrepreneurs are free to operate within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The institutional framework is created and protected by the state, but state intervention in the market system is kept to a minimum (p. 2).

Mission school: In this study, a mission school is a school which is affiliated with a church organization and relies on donations for its support.

Morality: In this study, morality has to do with that which is right and wrong, good and evil (WordNet).

Delimitations

This study is limited to the study of a privately owned school on a Native American reservation, the history of its development, and impact it has had on the community in which it is located.

Limitations

As a qualitative study examining localized experiences, it is not possible to generalize these findings to any other educational structure or school. Any findings may be transferred only in the personal constructs of individuals, as they recognize and interpret these findings in and through their own experiences.

Summary

This critical ethnography is a study of a school and the Native community it serves, in an attempt to examine how Western cultural assumptions have affected the development of the school and impacted the local community. The next chapter is a review of the literature regarding Western cultural assumptions that are inherent in school structures, and the effects

these Western educational programs have had on Indigenous communities around the world.

This chapter also examines the historical context of the Navajo community and school which is the focus of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Despite some differences in methodology from classroom to classroom, nation to nation, or era to era, Western schools share a number of cultural characteristics (Baker & LeTendre, 2005, p. 8; Anderson-Levitt, 2003, p. 3). Most Western societies expect that children should be educated to learn to read and write, and much time is spent in classroom settings with their peers for this purpose. More recent developments include compulsory education for all children with the state footing the bill, graded classrooms and standardized testing. Those who are successful are provided credentials that tend to serve as a gateway to the labor force (Baker & LetTendre, p. 8). These cultural assumptions have become so endemic to our way of understanding ourselves that they have often taken on the stature of self-evident principles of education (Purpel, 1989, p. 63; Katz, 1987, pp. 1, 2; Bowles & Gintis, p. 116).

As Western educational practices become global, the cultural aspects and the problems associated with them become more evident as they are contrasted with local ways of learning and knowing. It is critical to examine the basic assumptions of Western education in order to trace their effects on local ways of knowing in many areas which may not share these assumptions, and which may be threatened and destroyed by them as global interaction in politics, economics and education increases (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Reynar, 1999; Shiva, 1993).

Most Western nations are made up of people from many cultures. Not only have Indigenous peoples with their own worldviews occupied many of these nations from pre-colonial times, but on-going wars and civil and religious disputes have resulted in numerous influxes of

peoples who have been displaced from other areas, and who require educational services in their adopted countries (Segal-Levit, 2005). In order for the many diverse communities of the world to have a voice in their own futures in the midst of changing political, economic and social arenas, they need to have access to information about how their ways of knowing may be impacted by widely spreading structures of Western education that are designed to promote and support modern political, economic and social developments. Educational leaders operating in either or both Western and non-Western educational traditions need to be able to sort out, as clearly as possible, best educational practices in the light of cultural traditions and the history of the interplay of these traditions with modern developments (Reynar, 1999; Freire, 1985).

Like all cultures, Western cultural characteristics of educational structures have their origin in history and the interaction of human relations. The first part of this literature survey will briefly examine how Western concepts of individualism, democracy, free inquiry, capitalism and meritocracy evolved in relationship to Protestant worldviews and the authoritarianism that, to some degree, has been the legacy of Catholicism. Related issues include family socializing processes, class and developing industry and their impact on the evolution of school bureaucracy models and homogenization processes. The concurrent rise of rationalism, science and technology and their influences on Western education will also be addressed, as they relate to discussions of neoliberalism and current theories on world culture and global schooling issues.

The second section of the literature survey is an overview of the effects of Western educational structures on local ways of knowing around the globe as they are impacted by the cultural characteristics of Western education. Cultural characteristics of local ways of knowing will be addressed, as well as a review of challenges Indigenous knowledge bases face in various parts of the world. Challenges faced by both Western and eastern models of learning and

education will be examined, and examples of how various communities are addressing these challenges will be included.

The third section of the literature survey offers a contextualization for the critical ethnography embraced by this study. Because this ethnography examines the interfaces of a Native culture and a Western-styled school, some background needs to be provided in regard to the community and the school and its supporters that were a part of the study. Since the community is Navajo and the school a Seventh-day Adventist mission, this section of the literature survey provides a short overview of the role that Indian education, particularly mission schools, played in the expansionism of Western civilization in the Americas, especially in Navajo history. It also briefly describes the Seventh-day Adventist organization and its relationship to the Valley Grove Mission School.

Cultural Characteristics of Western Educational Structures

A number of cultural characteristics have been identified with Western educational institutions, including individualization, bureaucratization, homogenization, universalism, meritocracy, and rationalization (Purpel, 1989). These characteristics are becoming increasingly evident in the many educational systems around the globe that are seeking to become more democratic and modern (Baker & LeTendre, 2005, p. 2). In commenting on the development of world models of reality and their influence on both individual and collective sense making, Francisco Ramirez (2003), notes that “the triumph of the West in the twentieth century has led to the intensification of the Western emphasis on both universalism and rationalization” (p. 246). Nation-states that adopt Western assumptions regarding economic progress and development of human and natural resources tend to depend on modern science and technology to direct these initiatives. In consequence, they adopt Western educational systems that are well practiced in

promoting these ways of knowing (Baker & LeTendre, 2005; Rotberg, 2004; Anderson-Levitt, 2003).

Around the world, centralized governments are assuming responsibilities for funding mandatory and egalitarian schooling for all children. Formal schooling has an “unprecedented monopoly” on the production and control of credentialing and licensing services for adult workers (Baker & LeTendre, 2005, p.8). Those who herald these developments as progressive see a world culture emerging that values schooling as a way of producing “individual empowerment, national development, organizational effectiveness, professional knowledge, and expert advice” (Anderson-Levitt, 2003, p. 242).

Authoritarianism and the Rise of Individualism

Individualism may be one of the most identifying characteristics of modern Western thought. In *The Gifts of the Jews*, Thomas Cahill (1998) argues that the importance of individuals and the impact of the personal choices they make on the course of history were concepts that originated with the biblical stories of the patriarchs and founding fathers and mothers of the Jewish nation. He writes, “Most of our best words, in fact—new, adventure, surprise, unique, individual, person, vocation, time, history, future; freedom, progress, spirit; faith, hope, justice—are the gifts of the Jews” (p. 241). By way of contrast, in most of the ancient Mesopotamian religions, one could only guess at what the gods were about and hope to do the right rituals and offer the right sacrifices so that future events might be favorable. There was no point in planning for the future, as it had already been decided (p. 46).

St. Augustine, living and writing more than 300 years after Christ, used Greek philosophy as well as Scripture to develop the foundations of church dogma, and to set the tone of preeminent church doctrine and intolerance for dissent (Blötzer, 1910). Eventually the

Inquisition was established to stamp out all who might differ with the papacy. Many millions perished in Rome's determined efforts to maintain supremacy politically and spiritually during the Middle Ages. Rome destroyed records of dissent, but some scholars have put the number at around 50 million (Plaisted, 2006).

“The noon of the papacy was the midnight of the world,” J. A. Wylie (1878, p. 18) wrote in *The History of Protestantism*. Though the papacy had its foundations in scriptural traditions, eventually the Bible became almost unknown, not only to the people but to the priests. Few could read or write. In *How the Irish Saved Civilization*, Cahill (1995) describes how the scholars in Ireland copied texts not only of the Bible but other books of knowledge that otherwise would have been lost to history because of the indifference of the general populace of Europe and its leaders to the written word.

The individual was not of much value during the Dark Ages, but as humanism developed, more emphasis began to be placed on human thoughts and emotions. Martin Luther of the Protestant Reformation has been called “the accidental father” of modernity (Kolakowski, 1991). Luther and other reformers proclaimed that the church did not have jurisdiction over the individual's conscience, as had been taught since the time of St Augustine, but that it was the individual's responsibility to examine the Bible for themselves, to determine their duty to God and find a personal relationship with him by faith (Nord, 1995 p. 19). This in turn brought about a move to put the Bible in the languages of the common people and teach them how to read it. Luther declared that since what a person believed was a matter of individual conscience, the state “should be content and attend to its own affairs and permit men to believe one thing or another, as they are able and willing, and constrain no one by force” (Nord, 1995. p. 21).

This was the beginning of the withdrawal of religion to private, personal space, and the call for the state to be neutral (Nord, 1995, p. 21). However, it was not the end of authoritarian tactics on the part of churches and civil governments to force the will of the church and government on the people. Protestants tended to be as intolerant of dissidence as Papists. The Thirty Years War, between 1618 and 1648, eventually was resolved with the result that Catholic states remained Catholic, and Protestant states remained Protestant. But over 300,000 had been killed in battle in Germany alone, and millions had died of malnutrition and disease as wandering, undisciplined troops robbed, burned and looted the countryside. The population of Europe dropped, many scholars believe, from 21,000,000 to 13,500,000 during these thirty years (Rempel, 2004).

The struggle for political structures to support liberty and individual autonomy continued throughout the next century. Belief in freedom of religion and yet implementation of a totalitarian regime were evidenced in the actions of Puritan general and statesman, Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658). Trim (2007) contends that the two apparently contradictory impulses emerged from the same worldview. Cromwell was a staunch supporter of religious freedom; he actively aided the Vaudois and Huguenots, was instrumental in allowing the Jews back into England after an almost 400 year ban, and even personally intervened on behalf of many Catholics suffering persecution. Yet he instituted a very unpopular system whereby, under threat of pike and musket, Major-Generals enforced Puritan standards of behavior on the wider populace. In just a year, such hostility was built over civil control of moral behavior that it created a horror of government by the military in England and later in America. Puritanism was discredited, which eventually led to Puritans being kicked out of England all together, and their

eventual relocation to New England in America. The dream of a godly nation (civilly enforced, if necessary) went with them. (Trim, 2006, 2007).

Roots of Democracy

Unlike earlier philosophers such as Hobbes (1588-1679), who believed that people were too corrupt to have self-determination, John Locke (1632-1704), an English Protestant, believed that human nature was naturally good rather than bad, and people could rule themselves.

Locke's (1689) "Letter Concerning Toleration" urged the idea that everyone was equal and independent, that no one had the right to destroy another's "life, health, liberty or possessions." Locke believed that even middle-class people could revolt if the government they were under abused its power. Locke's influence on the Constitution of the United States is evident in the policy of governmental checks and balances and emphasis on rights of property.

Another philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), a Frenchman, argued that the popular will of the people should rule rather than the king who claimed divine right to rule. In his *Social Contract*, Rousseau argued that people are born free rather than born into a station and its acquired duties and identity. Rousseau also argued for strict enforcement of political and religious conformity, which was perhaps one source of the totalitarian ideology that was influential in the French Revolution. Self-determination and totalitarianism seem a contradiction of terms, but so was the French Revolution in many ways, as exemplified in its many atrocities in the name of liberty (von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, 1989).

Locke and Rousseau's writings were of great interest among the elite of France and America, and in part, laid the foundation for both the American and French revolutions (Esler & Ellis, 2006). However, democracy is not the sole bequest of European philosophers or even original to Europe. Both Locke and Rousseau were inspired by the ideals of a democratic

government that had been observed in practice in the new world. Bruce Burton, professor of English at Castleton College and author of "*Hail, Nenne Karena!*" made the following points in a 1988 conference on the Indian Roots of American Democracy:

1. The 16th century treatises of Bartolome de las Casas, inspired by the ill treatment of the Native peoples in the Spanish possessions, initially challenged the traditional European view of the nature of man, asserting that Native peoples possessed reason and were the equals of Europeans before God and that no man was a slave by nature.
2. European political philosophers such as John Locke, writing his second treatise on civil government, used the Canadian Huron's example of free government to support the glorious revolution of 1688 in England.
3. The need for confederation was espoused by Benjamin Franklin who, employing Iroquios terms, became a specific but not the only instrument of diffusion of federal representative self-rule, modeled on the Iroquois example in his historic drafting of the Albany Plan of Union of 1754.
4. The Albany Plan provided a working model for Federalism and representative self-rule 33 years later at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. (p. 45)

In a hearing on the Senate resolution to recognize the Iroquois origins of the U.S. Constitution, Oren Lyons, speaking for the Onondaga Nation, reviewed the origin stories of the Peacemaker and the Great Law of Peace. Then Lyons described how the Indians encouraged the development of democratic ideals and methods, that, Benjamin Franklin took notes at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1774 as “our grandfathers who took your grandfathers by the hand” urging them

to design the union between colonies in a similar fashion to the union between the Iroquois nations.

It was our chiefs and leaders who first acknowledged you as a new and separate nation, independent and free, with these words, 'Brothers, the whole Six Nations take this opportunity to thank you that you have acquainted us with your determination in so public a manner and we shall for the future consider you as thirteen independent states. . . Your people went on to develop the Constitution of the United States encompassing the symbols of our constitution, the bundle of arrows symbolizing the new thirteen states, the leaves of the pine tree, and the eagle that we place upon the tree of peace. This and more we share as common history. (p. 20)

Oren Lyons closed his speech by describing the new worldview found by the white men who landed on the North American continent, and the subsequent effect on Western government.

They found here in full flower, free nations guided by democratic principles, all under the authority of the natural law, the ultimate spiritual law of the universe. This was then the land of the free and the home of the brave. Sovereigns and sovereignty as understood by the Europeans related to the power of kings and queens, of royalty to rule men as they saw fit, to enslave human beings and control in total the lives and property of their subjects. Strange indeed it must have been for these immigrants to find a land with nothing but free people and free nations. The impact has reverberated down through history to this time. As Felix Cohen put it, 'the Indian people had "Americanized" the white man.' (p. 20)

What had been discussed as novel and titillating democratic philosophy in the salons of Paris by Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson and other French and American aristocrats,

brought on the American Revolution of 1776. Its spirit was caught up by the middle class professional men who used the starving mobs of Paris to ignite the great blaze of the French revolution in 1789. But on the European Continent, the democratic revolution had hundreds of years of tradition to buck, and expressed a clash of values between classes. The results were much different than in the Americas. After years of ineffectual attempts at reform, the French were glad to set Napoleon on the throne. His leadership promised security. But after twenty years of his dictatorship and unending wars, they were even gladder to get rid of him. Democracy didn't really make headway in France until the 1900s.

Protestant Education Reforms

Democracy in the United States has been a long experiment. Even here, it has done better in rhetoric than in actual practice. Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Cornell, Chicago, Stanford, and Johns Hopkins were all founded as Protestant institutions (Marsden, 1994). Richard Boone (1889), in his *Education in the United States*, described the efforts of many of these institutions to develop educational reforms that promoted the development of a democratic state, using methods very different from schools following the papal, classical system of education.

Thomas Jefferson, in his establishment of the University of Virginia in 1823, allowed students uncontrolled choice in the lectures they attended. Other schools, including Harvard, Yale, the University of Michigan, Cornell University and John Hopkins, also instituted the elective, or open system, whereby students were often allowed choice in not only subjects, but the length of time it took for them to become proficient in these subjects. Some institutions, such as the University of Michigan, sent off graduates not with degrees, but with certificates of proficiency.

Many of these early educators believed that the elective system encouraged the early choice of a life work, developed individuality, provided the opportunity for students to choose those courses which they needed most and would best hold their attention, and quickly revealed the capacity of the student (Sutherland, 2005, p. 35). They felt that schools that forced students to accept faculty-chosen coursework and would only grant degrees after the prescribed program was followed, “destroy freedom, independence, and originality of thought, while on the other hand they develop class distinction, aristocracy and imperialism,” methods and results associated with the papal system of education (Sutherland, 2005, p. 22). The elective system had its challenges;

From the standpoint of the ancients or even of a scholar of the Revolutionary period, the change would seem to be ruinous. . . . The transition is a hazardous one, and has need of calm judgment and wise foresight. But no one longer denies either the necessity or the wisdom of the elective principle. “To permit choice,” says Prof. Palmer, “is dangerous, but not to permit it is more dangerous.” Only so can superficiality, on the one side, be avoided, or, on the other, cramping of minds. (Boone, 1889, p. 197)

Many early Protestant colleges struggled with concerns over grading systems and granting honors and prizes for scholarly achievement. Lindsley, founder of the University of Nashville which was the predecessor of Peabody Institute, noted that when the giving of prizes for scholarship was discarded, “a much greater peace, harmony, contentment, order, industry, and moral decorum prevailed” (Quoted in Sutherland, 2005, p. 42). Founders of Oberlin College in the 1830s believed that rather than giving notice and prizes for high achievement, it was better to appeal to a student’s better nature. While recitations and examinations were marked, these records were only used for private consultation by the teacher and student, and “no

announcement of standing is ever made” (Sutherland, 2005, pp. 41-42). By way of contrast, in the Jesuit Papal practice nothing was more honorable than “to outstrip a fellow student and nothing more dishonorable than to be outstripped,” with prizes being awarded to the best students “with greatest possible solemnity” (Sutherland, 2005, pp. 41-42).

Jefferson attempted to drop the use of academic titles except for M.D. Titles for faculty were unknown in the early days of Oberlin College. Leonard, one of the chroniclers of Oberlin College history wrote, “The democratic feeling, the spirit of equality, the absence of classes and casts based upon mere artificial distinctions, is marked” (Quoted in Sutherland, 2005, p. 77). Jefferson believed that learning self-government was considered especially important for a fledgling democratic nation, and instituted a student government in his university.

Further democratic reforms in many of the early colleges included the use of small buildings for school facilities that students could build themselves, as well as other types of manual labor whereby students could support themselves while attending school. This encouraged the attendance of many students who could not otherwise afford higher education, and taught a simple and easily afforded way of life that students could not only utilize as a means of self-support when they left the school, but promote in the frontiers of America (Sutherland, 2005, p. 47-69).

Most of these educational reforms met with stiff resistance, especially from numbers of Protestant church leaders and others trained under the old world system, and many were eventually discarded in favor of the more authoritarian educational methods of the classical system (Boone, 1889, p. 190, Sutherland, 2005, pp. 35. 40). Sports became a wide-spread substitute for manual labor. Student choice in curriculum did not completely disappear, but certainly has become severely limited in most schools, even through graduate school, and the use

of titles and hierarchy in professorship is well-established. Student self-government and involvement in institutional policy development rarely extends to much more than social planning and representation on governing boards. While some of the fingerprints of the early democratic reforms may be seen in some of the more practical, student-centered programs and the emphasis on mass education in American education, numerous inequalities remain.

The use of educational systems to enforce moral behavior was a hallmark of early American education. Because there were so many Protestant denominations, a state church was hardly possible, but many administrators of church-supported colleges believed that a morally-based education would take the place of a state church in unifying and guiding the nation (Marsden, 1994, p. 329; Nord, 1995, pp. 100, 101; Fraser, 1999, p. 102).

Common or public schools, first championed by Horace Mann in Massachusetts in the 1830s and moving with missionary zeal into the frontiers of the expanding nation, were founded on the belief that education should be moral and religious but not sectarian (Fraser, 1999, pp. 36, 89 ; Katz, 1987, p. 46). The first amendment of the constitution of the United States declared that the new nation would pass no laws respecting the establishment of religion, but Horace Mann claimed that though public schools of the 1830s received tax support, since they provided religious but not sectarian instruction and were open to every child in the community, they were not a religious establishment. Mann reported that the King James Bible was read without comment, and the goal of this religious instruction was to allow the student “to judge for himself, according to the dictates of his own reason and conscience, what his religious obligations are” (Nord, 1995, p. 72).

Not surprisingly, Catholics objected to the Protestant Bible and the overtly Protestant content of the extremely popular McGuffey’s Readers (122 million copies were sold between the

years 1836 and 1920) which were used as texts for the common schools. They sought support from the state for their parochial educational system, reasoning that either the public school was sectarian and Protestant, or it was non-sectarian and excluded Christianity, and that it was not fair have to pay taxes for an education they didn't believe in (Fraser, 1999, p. 55). The battle lines over whether state classrooms should be promoting morality, whose ideas of morality should be supported, and whether the state should help support parochial education, haven't changed much in the last 150 years (Haynes, 2006; Fraser, 1999; Nord, 1995; Marsden, 1994).

Family and Class Socialization Issues

Part of the concern for creating a public schooling system which emphasized morality was born out of the perception that families needed help raising their children. The early 1800s was a time when industry was beginning to develop in America, and large numbers of Irish, German, English, Scotch, and Scandinavians were immigrating to the United States. The development of institutions, particularly public education, was a reflection of the need for local authorities and the state to achieve some system of order and discipline during a time when many landless wage-earners were experiencing dislocation and distress. (Katz, 1987)

Immigrants with Protestant middle-class values tended to blend into American society much easier than the lower classes. The assimilation of "famine" Irish Catholics were especially a cause of concern. Though the actual relationship between crime and poverty was not proven and the Irish immigrants of the time were most likely to have represented what Katz refers to as a "select, highly motivated, and unusually literate sector of Irish society," social beliefs equated poverty and crime, and connected cultural diversity with low morals and deviant behavior (Katz, 1987, p. 17, 18; Fraser, 1999, pp. 40, 50; Bowles & Gintis, 1975, p. 38; Sommerville, 1990, p. 227).

It was assumed that schools would provide good substitutes for poor family environments. They would provide good role models and socialize all children, but especially the lower classes, in the high morals needed for a stable society. Many charities on both sides of the Atlantic undertook the education of the poor, such as the “Ragged Schools” in England, and the New York Free School Society in the United States. For the most part, they were voluntary systems which assumed complete control of the children without input from the parents in regard to curriculum, teachers or school management. In effect, they were a higher class teaching and controlling the socialization of another class, and the values taught for each class tended to be much different (Katz, 1987, p. 28, 29; Sommerville, 1990, p. 277). Sommerville notes,

These charity schools were meant to counteract the effect of the homes which were training children up to crime. They presented an ideal of hard work, regularity, and submission to authority. This was a very different ideal from that held up before upper-class pupils, who were expected to be spirited and self-confident (p. 227).

Critics of the time pointed out the undemocratic policies of voluntarism and the various unwieldy aspects of funding the variety of competing charities in the different localities, and eventually the move was made to allow local control of school programs. Local control came under attack as well, as it became evident that majority rule over such things as religious curriculum could leave 49% of the population out, and some localities were far better able to finance a school system than others (Katz, 1987, pp. 40-44).

Even though freedom of conscience has been purported to be of value, historically it has been a challenge for communities to accept differences of beliefs, socialization practices, and value systems, especially those associated with class. Upper classes often desire to control social outcomes, and usually have not only the means, but the social power to do so.

Bureaucracy, Hierarchy, Homogenization and Professionalism

As schools became larger, centralization became a goal as educators began to emphasize standardizing and professionalizing education. The grading of schools was promoted as adding to educational efficiency and bureaucracy. In the early and mid 1800s, educational institutions were developing at the same time as industrial organizations. Earlier imperialist governments had used bureaucratic systems of administration, but during the Industrial Revolution, a different, more complex style of bureaucracy was needed, and developing educational administrations adapted similar bureaucratic structures to those being forged in the industrial world (Riggs, 1996).

Hierarchies were not a new development in models of administration; Moses' father-in-law was one of the first on record to suggest that a leader set up a system of hierarchy in order to administer to the needs of a large number of people (Exodus 18:13:16). Frank Riggs (1996) notes that bureaucracy has been around for thousands of years, but neither in the past nor in modern times, have they ever been democratic. Their purpose has been administrative, and their structure hierarchic. The elaborate bureaucracies of the Chinese, Roman and Ottoman empires, for example, enabled their rulers to administer those under their authority, and protect and expand their domains. The general population had little to do with these bureaucrats.

In traditional societies, most people lived on a subsistence basis, producing and consuming what they needed for their own survival with virtually no dependence on public services. In such an environment, bureaucrats primarily met the needs of a ruling elite who, alone, were the victims of administrative failure (Riggs, 1996)

Though bureaucracies have been around a long time, Peters (1995) contends that it has “been only in the post-World War II that they have been perceived as powerful policy-making actors in democratic regimes” (p. 27). Bureaucracies have a number of administrative assets. Because the division of labor is clearly delineated and the chain of command is visible, problems of efficiency and control can be spotted and dealt with decisively. Policies and procedures are likely to be objective, and are most efficient when applied to a homogenous clientele. Because power is concentrated, decision-making can be quick and efficient, and those with specialized skills can focus on particular tasks (Gould, 1999).

While at times beneficial, bureaucracies have also had their down side. Standardization made bureaucracy processes more efficient, but less responsive to individual student needs. Hierarchies in schools created distance between the children and families served and the leaders making the decisions. Early school bureaucracies soon were faced with some of the same issues schools face today. Katz (1987) lists a number of these challenges:

Schools had become too rigid; they did not lessen crime; they were unresponsive to the community; they taught reading and writing less effectively than had little country schools earlier in the century; they cost too much; they required too many administrators; educators had become martinets, unwilling to tolerate criticism and defensive of their systems (p. 118).

Compulsory Schooling

The first form of compulsory schooling, which opened in Massachusetts in 1847, was a reform school designed to force every child who didn't choose to go to the public school into an educational institution—essentially, the uncooperative poor. The first general compulsory education law soon followed in that state in 1851 (Katz, 1987, p. 51). European countries were

also developing laws for compulsory education during this time. Prussia had a state regulation for universal education in place since 1763, and by 1850, attendance was pretty much universal. When France lost a war to Prussia in 1870, France began to think a free, compulsory, universal educational program might be critical for its survival, and they started theirs in 1880. England passed its Education Act in 1870, and by 1880 free, compulsory education was available for those up to age 13 (Sommerville, pp. 229-231).

In some cases, the argument for compulsory education moved from the necessity of supporting schools with taxes to the point of making sure that all children took advantage of this free education, since it had already been provided for (Katz, 1987, p. 51). Others reasoned that it was in the highest interest of the State to provide for children “whose parents or guardians are unable or indisposed to provide them with an education: it is precisely those for whom the State is most interested to provide and secure it,” especially since neglected children could grow up to cost the State dearly in crime and corruption (Katz, p. 52). Indeed, even if the people didn’t want compulsory education, they didn’t necessarily know what was good for them, and it was the State’s responsibility to take leadership and act in the best interests of society (Katz, p. 52).

The idea that the elite had to control the immoral lower classes and that it was dangerous to go along with the people’s “whims,” was similar to that held by Alexander Hamilton who felt that the people were a “great beast,” and democracy was a disease (Muzzey, 1911, p. 192). In 1880, Charles Francis Adams described a society whose “future is in the hands of our universities, our schools, our specialists, our scientific men and our writers and those who do the actual work of management in the ideological and economic institutions.” Adams concluded that the thinking public shouldn’t think too much, but just enough to make sure that order and

submission to authority were in place (Chomsky, 2003, p. 32). Later, Robert Lansing, secretary of state to Woodrow Wilson, warned of the danger of allowing the “ignorant and incapable mass of humanity” to become influential (Chomsky, 2003, p. 32).

Possessing the specialized knowledge that is deemed necessary for developing an industrial technological society gives one status as a professional, one cut above the working class (Marsden, 1994, p. 155). In his discussion on the connection of the development of middle-class America and higher education, Burton Bledstein (1976) describes how the American university developed into a source of professional authority in society.

The visiting James Bryce observed: “In a country where there is no titled class, no landed class, no military class, the chief distinction which popular sentiment can lay hold of as raising one set of persons above another is the character of their occupation, the degree of culture it implies, the extent to which it gives them an honourable prominence” (Bryce, 1895 in Rothstein, 1972). For the middle class in America, degree granting education was an instrument of ambition and a vehicle to status in the occupational world. (p. 34)

The university response to the heat of the debates over fundamentalism and antievolutionism illustrates how universities had come to see themselves in the role of expert leaders. One author wrote in the *Bulletin of the Association of American Colleges* (which was reprinted in the *Bulletin of the AAUP* in 1925): “The thing that America needs more than anything else from American colleges and universities is the type of leader who understands that the first requisite . . . is not the desire to know what the people want, but . . . to help the people want what they ought to have” (Richmond, 1925 in Marsden, p. 325). A special committee of the AAUP reporting on “Freedom of Teaching in Science” declared that fundamentalists who

opposed teaching evolution were “‘un-American’ in that [they] attempted to control learning by popular vote, rather than relying on the leadership of qualified experts” (Marsden, p. 325).

To some degree, the development of a professional class is at odds with the democratic principles that have promoted education for all. Universities in the United States are faced with contradictory goals: to serve the needs of all the students that enter their doors, and to produce graduates with specialized knowledge and skills and the credentials that will privilege them with professional authority and control (Katz, 1987, p.167, Foster, 1986, p.. 22). Educational systems on the continent have been designed to weed out all but the most capable to send on to higher education. Indeed, the fewer at the top, the higher the status (Illich, 1971, p. 50; Brubacher & Rudy, 2002, p. 436).

It stands to reason that a democratic state has an interest in education. John Dewey saw schools as a place where children learned how to be responsible and committed members of an ethical and scientific community. Rather than non-sectarian religion being the core of American society, Dewey believed the schools should teach a national culture of civil responsibility and ethical conduct (Dewey, 1960; Fraser, 1999, p. 133; Purpel, 1989, p. 49). In the name of democracy, some educators argue that a state education helps children not only develop their own interests, but also addresses the public interest in education by helping to homogenize a diverse culture and teach its citizens to become skilled members of democracy (Shanker & Rosenberg, 1992; Gutmann, 1987; Fraser, 1999, p. 135; Nord, pp. 358, 359).

On the other hand, there have been numerous concerns about the state taking responsibility for education, especially *because* of democratic issues. John Stuart Mill declared in *On Liberty* (1859):

That the whole or any large part of the education of the people should be in State hands, I go as far as any one in deprecating. All that has been said of the importance of individuality of character, and diversity in opinions and modes of conduct, involves, as of the same unspeakable importance, diversity of education. A general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another; and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government, whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the body. An education established and controlled by the State should only exist, if it exist at all, as one among many competing experiments, carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus, to keep the others up to a certain standard of excellence. (chap.5, para.13)

Mills raises the importance of individualism and diversity as a defense against state-wielded force used to create a people molded for the state's purpose. Religion, in the new world, was so important that it was entitled to protection from state coercion. Education has been thought to provide the unity that a state-enforced religion should not be called to do. However, is unity compelled upon a people by compulsory education any less costly in terms of loss of personal freedom than unity brought about by state-enforced religion? Legal scholar Michael McConnell (1989) wonders whether, since the risky experiment to forgo a national church in the United States has worked rather well and religion is doing just fine, perhaps a single public school system is not as necessary as has been thought for national unity, and it might be more costly than we can afford, in more ways than one.

Ivan Illich (1971) argues in *Deschooling Society* that

Schoolteachers and ministers are the only professionals who feel entitled to pry into the private affairs of their clients at the same time as they preach to a captive audience. Children are protected by neither the First nor the Fifth Amendment when they stand before the secular priest, the teacher. The child must confront a man who wears an invisible triple crown, like the papal tiara, the symbol of triple authority combined in one person. For the child, the teacher pontificates as pastor, prophet, and priest—he is at once guide, teacher, and administrator of a sacred ritual. He combines the claims of medieval popes in a society constituted under the guarantee that these claims shall never be exercised together by one established and obligatory institution—church or state (pp. 45, 46).

In a similar vein, Charlene Spretnak (1991) suggests that though there are great differences between Marxist-Leninist governments and democratic ones, “passive detachment among citizens is the desired goal of the modern state whether it is the long arm of a centralized government or the corporate culture reaching into the inner landscape of the individual” (p. 225).

The need for diversity and protection for individual rights in education has been recognized in several courts. The U.S. Supreme Court in 1925 struck down a successful referendum in Oregon supported by a number of Protestant churches and the Ku Klux Klan requiring all children between eight and sixteen to attend public school. In his discussion on the case, Justice McReynolds expanded the notion of property rights on which the case was decided to include the right to the “orderly pursuit of happiness.”

[We] think it entirely plain that the Act of 1922 unreasonably interferes with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their

control The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the State to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations. (Quoted in Fraser, 1999, p. 129)

Arguments for and against vouchers which allow parents to choose the schools their children attend echo not only parental rights versus state rights, but also a child's rights—or at least, a child's rights as protected against parents by the state. For example, Bruce Ackerman, Sterling Professor of Law and Political Science at Yale, is concerned that parents will use vouchers for schooling “that strives to reinforce whatever values they have—with so much effort—imposed on their children during infancy” (Nord, 1980, p. 358). The problem, as Ackerman sees it, is that schools try to reinforce rather than question the values with which the child was raised. He declares, “It is not enough to indoctrinate the child into the patterns of life he happens to find at hand; what is required is a cultural environment in which the child may define his own ideals with a recognition of the full range of his moral freedom” (Nord, 1980, p. 358).

Similarly, Justice Douglas, in his dissent in *Yoder* in which the Supreme Court upheld the right of Amish parents to withdraw their children from public schools after the age of thirteen, argued that children have rights that might conflict with their parents' values, and that the state should protect those rights by providing an education that gives students some degree of choice (*Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 U.S.). In both Ackerman and Douglas's arguments, values of morality, individualism and free choice are used to justify state compulsory education that may

oppose parental values, but in neither case do Ackerman or Douglas pose the question of when or how a child should be allowed to make moral choices without parental interference.

Again, it is apparent that the Western worldview contains conflicting cultural beliefs which are particularly evident in education. Though beliefs in the individual rights to freedom are strong, so are beliefs in morality. Just how a moral society should be developed and maintained, and at the same time protection offered to individual rights and freedoms, is not clear, however. Reasons for compulsory education have historically been promoted because of moral considerations (Katz, 1987). It is of particular concern that the state would choose to intervene in the moral state of its families by establishing its own compulsory schooling system, and arguments for state control of family morality continue to surface (Nord, 1980; Fraser, 1999). Is the state prepared to ask such critical questions as how happiness should be pursued? Who makes the essential choices of an individual's life in regard to health, productivity, and happiness, and how is the individual educated to make these choices, particularly in regard to various cultural interpretations of how life should be lived? How are these cultural objectives evaluated?

The state cannot propose to answer these questions for the families and individuals in society without accusations of authoritarianism. It is evident that authoritarianism persists as the *modus operandi* in our government processes, despite our democratic rhetoric (Illich, 1971). Moral and socialization issues are administered daily by educational professionals on behalf of the clientele in their care, though these decision-making activities may not be recognized as such (Purpel, 1989, p. 63).

While Mann and other educators in the early years of compulsory education did not hesitate to point to education as a moral institution, the progression of the Age of Enlightenment

and the Industrial Age into the Age of Information washed questions of morality into the backwaters of public discussion, as the rise of capitalism and “value-free” rationalism carried education in their wake, as we will examine in the next section.

The Rise of Capitalism

More than just a response to a social need for order and control, the development of common schools in society at large was also a response to the capitalistic waves accompanying a newly developing industrial order (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 23). Capitalism itself, as Max Weber described it in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* in 1906, has roots in the individualism of Luther, but even deeper roots in the strong work ethics of Calvinism. Luther emphasized the importance of grace and faith for salvation, rather than works; one can't earn one's way into heaven. But Calvinism's doctrine of predestination tended to muddy the issue of works. The saints could do nothing to deserve salvation, Calvinists believed, but since no one knew whether they were destined to be saved, it behooved everyone to act as if they were saved by faith. While good behavior didn't earn anything, bad behavior certainly demonstrated that one was damned. The saints, by their systematic life style of obedience to God, sought to make sure that if they were predestined for eternal life, the record of their works on earth would not belie the fact.

Capitalism has existed in many other parts of the world, but what distinguished Western capitalism for Weber, was the particular single-mindedness toward making money that evidenced a calling. It went far beyond a natural desire to making a living or subsistence; it was a rational determination, acted on with self-control and frugality as a duty to God, to take advantage of every moment of time and every opportunity He gave to make a gain.

Man is dominated by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life. Economic acquisition is no longer subordinated to man as the means for the satisfaction of his material needs. This reversal of what we should call the natural relationship, so irrational from a naive point of view, is evidently as definitely a leading principle of capitalism as it is foreign to all peoples not under capitalistic influence. At the same time it expresses a type of feeling which is closely connected with certain religious ideas. If we thus ask, *why* should "money be made out of men", Benjamin Franklin himself, although he was a colorless deist, answers in his autobiography with a quotation from the Bible, which his strict Calvinistic father drummed into him again and again in his youth: "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings" (Prov. xxii. 29) (chp.11, para. 10)

Weber also made a connection between the strength of the hard-working middle-class and the individual's personal self-control and drive.

The mercantilistic regulations of the State might develop industries, but not, or certainly not alone, the spirit of capitalism; where they assumed a despotic, authoritarian character, they to a large extent directly hindered it. Thus a similar effect might well have resulted from ecclesiastical regimentation when it became excessively despotic. It enforced a particular type of external conformity, but in some cases weakened the subjective motives of rational conduct. (chap. 4, para. 190)

For Weber, state-driven, externally motivated systems tended to weaken rather than strengthen and support individual purpose and self-governance.

Ethical Dilemmas

As the Industrial Revolution awakened possibilities of unlimited production and wealth, it also brought about a new code of morality and ethics (Andrew, 1992, pp. 2-3). Thomas Hardy, author of a number of English novels about social ethics and justice, wrote *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872) about the period just prior to the Industrial Age in the early 1800s. This literary description of social mores of changing times described the dreams and choices that came with education. Until Fancy came on the scene, Dick had been happy with the life his father and grandfather had lived before him. But his relationship with an educated woman taught him that there were other possibilities available. Payne (2001) discusses the importance of choice in middle-class values. It seems apparent that to some degree, schools have been the vehicle whereby generations have been taught about choice, options, and possibilities, opening the door for a new system of values made possible by the Industrial Revolution.

In the New World, as the Industrial Revolution progressed, Victorian mores and sensibilities became awakened to the difference of doing what was right for righteousness' sake, and doing whatever it took to foster industry and progress and make money (Andrew, 1992, pp. 2-3). To a large extent, the differences in moral definitions could be illustrated in the various viewpoints on the role of Indians and slaves in society at the time.

Leaders such as Andrew Jackson who believed that nothing should stand in the way of progress and development, wanted Indians out of the way, and had no problem with keeping slaves (Meacham, 2008). Others influential thinkers of the times such as Jeremiah Evarts, believed that religious conviction and individual conscience should restrain and control society from greed and boundless individualism such as that which forced the Cherokee and other tribes off their lands (Andrews, 1992). In one Congressional debate of the time, a Richard Wilde of

Georgia asserted, “The earth was given for labor, and to labor it belongs. The gift was not to the red, or to the white, but to the human race—and the inscription was to the wisest—the bravest—to virtue—and to industry” (Quoted in Andrews, 1992, p. 227). As this spirit of liberal capitalism took control of the national conscience, Andrews notes that industriousness “supplanted virtue as the essence of the American spirit. Society still treasured virtue, but industriousness itself became a measure of virtue regardless of the purposes to which it was applied” (Andrews, 1992, p. 227).

Elisabeth Gaskell, writing about the business-based morality that British industrialism was fostering in *North and South* (1854), has her characters explore what is meant by political economy. Mr. Hale, a pastor, believes that caring for the workers’ health is Christian; Thornton, a master in a cotton mill, argues that he follows no other law but sound business sense. In “The Treatment of Political economy vs. *North and South*,” Jo Pryke (1990) points out that the same arguments discussed in *North and South* regarding political economy and morality are made today.

On the one hand it was seen as a ‘science’, proving a set of propositions about economic life which everyone should know about, and which ought to regulate the behavior of all, to their own and society’s moral and material benefit. On the other hand, it was perceived as a set of self-interested theories developed to rationalize and justify the kind of economy that was developing, these theories were felt to be dangerous because they claimed—and exercised—a baneful influence over the discussion of economic, political, social and moral questions. (Pryke, 1990 quoted in Gaskell, 2005, p. 548)

Pryke goes on to note such supporters of economic freedom as Adam Smith and his notion of a 'general desire for wealth' which has been assumed to "have the status of a law of nature" (Pryke quoted in Gaskell, 2005, p. 549).

Counts (1932) pointed out the moral inconsistencies between the democratic system which concerned itself with the welfare of the great masses of people and the industrial machine which as dedicated to "vast material riches, the unrivaled industrial equipment, and the science and technology of the nation" (p. 40). Counts (1932) declared,

The hypocrisy which is so characteristic of our public life today is due primarily to our failure to acknowledge the fairly obvious fact that America is the scene of an irreconcilable conflict between two opposing forces. On the one side is the democratic tradition inherited from the past; on the other is a system of economic arrangements which increasingly partakes of the nature of industrial feudalism. Both of these forces cannot survive: one or the other must give way. (p. 41)

Unless technology was released from the domination of "special privilege" and "individualistic affiliations" and production and marketing was made to serve the masses rather the other way around, Counts (1932) firmly believed the country would eventually abandon the ideals of democracy and become a feudal state (p. 42).

Meritocracy in the school system has created a similar paradox in ethical values, also related to capitalism. The system of meritocracy on which developing school bureaucracies based their methods of evaluating student success rested on the strong Calvinistic values of hard work (Katz, 1987). Rather than wealth and opportunity going to those with land and inherited titles, Mann believed that "...those who have been blessed with a good common school education rise to a higher and higher point in the kinds of labor performed, and also in the rate of

wages paid, while the ignorant sink, like dregs, and are always found at the bottom” (Katz, 1971 in Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 24). As Bowles & Gintis (1976) pointed out in *Schooling in Capitalist America. Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*, it has generally been assumed that since the public school system makes schooling possible for everyone, only lack of intelligence, hard work and talent should keep anyone from achieving good wages and a quality life. Consequently, it would seem apparent that any inequalities that are evident would be due to inevitable differences in an individual’s abilities and personal choices (p. 24). In actuality, Bowles and Gintis (1976) contend, based on the empirical results they have collected, an “emphasis on IQ as the basis for economic success serves to legitimate an authoritarian, hierarchical, stratified, and unequal economic system” wherein individuals are reconciled to a low status in society based on the assumption that IQ is what determines educational and therefore social success, though it is not an actual indicator of social class or status (p. 116).

Rationalism and Ethics

The processes set in motion by the Enlightenment and free inquiry brought on the development of rationalism and science. Since Protestantism has stood for an open search for truth, many Protestant clergy who were also administrators of American colleges believed that the search for truth could only be enhanced by the sciences. Noah Porter, president of Yale from 1871 to 1886, believed that Christianity could actually help scientists who tended to over-specialize, rise above their narrow-mindedness, since Christianity itself, in many of America’s colleges, was non-sectarian (Marsiden, 1994 p. 126).

In the attempt to keep a spirit of open inquiry, however, it was difficult to retain the distinctive doctrines of Christianity. “Modern civilization has institutionalized pluralism,

openness, autonomy, self-transformation—and skepticism,” Nord (1995) declares. As religion became more and more a private matter in order to allow for pluralism and choices, churches and schools found little room to exercise any moral authority. Moral philosophy, which had taken the place of scriptural authority in non-sectarian education, became a loose collection of ideals in regard to moral and civil behavior (Marsden, 1994). Though the ideal language was retained in the vision and mission statements of many universities, and is still reflected to some degree in commitments toward community service and human development, empirical investigation of science eventually became the one pathway to reality and truth (Marsden, 1994, pp. 130, 227).

Positivism, as it evolved from the views of Auguste Comte (1798-1857), excluded any religious or philosophical assumptions in its investigation of the social and natural world. Darwinism fit in well with a system of science that was determined to be value-free. The Scopes Trial of 1925 served to publicize the issues between science and evolution and Biblical teachings of creationism. William Jennings Bryan (1923) argued that “The neutrality which we now have is often but a sham; it carefully excludes the Christian religion but permits the use of the schoolrooms for the destruction of faith and for the teaching of materialistic doctrines” (p. 22). Favoring the materialistic philosophy of evolution would essentially be establishing irreligion in the school system. Unfortunately, this point was presented in such a narrow way that it was easily held up for ridicule as anti-science, and fundamentalists soon became labeled as anti-intellectuals (Marsden, 1994, p. 326).

In time, naturalism and positivist science became as entrenched in academic thinking as authoritarianism had in the Middle Ages. Marsden (1994) writes,

One way to describe the current state of affairs, however, is that, in effect, the only points of view that are allowed full academic credence are those that presuppose purely

naturalistic worldviews. Advocates of postmodernist viewpoints have, as a rule, been just as committed to exclusively naturalist premises for understanding human belief and behavior as were their turn-of-the-century predecessors who established evolutionary naturalism as normative for academic life (p. 430).

Under the guise of free inquiry, science has stooped to hegemonic means to rein as the only author of truth (Horkheimer, 1974). In David Setzer's *The Omen*, the character Thorn makes the point that

Without recourse to force and suppression, the dominant truth cannot protect itself by the weapons of logic, canons of induction, rules of fact-collecting and all the other devices that, as it claims, suffice it to guarantee its superior quality and hence its privileged standing" as "immune to questioning" (Bauman, 1991, p. 242).

David Jardine (2000) speaks of the "self-assurance that Eurocentric Reason has provided us, (in fact, morally obligates us) to use whatever means necessary to replace these Indigenous forms of 'knowledge' with the rule of Reason." In this manner, Jardine argues, reason and logic have become a guise of colonialism, and a way of displacing multiple voices with the monotone of science (p. 92). As Adorno and Horkheimer(1972) have articulated, "Enlightenment is mythic fear turned radical. . . Nothing at all may remain outside because the mere idea of outsideness is the very source of fear" (p. 16). Modern development emphasizes the study of nature and human nature in order to control and dominate them in order to promote economic growth (Bauman, 1991, p. 17).

Neither science nor technology are as value-free as theorists have positioned them to be (Spretnak, 1991; Leiss, 1994, p. 11). "Science and the intimate or interconnected world of technology are deeply embedded within particular social constructs, and therefore, prominently

reflect the moral and value beliefs within” (Reynar, 1999). Doubt about the certainties of science (or any other certainty) is a main characteristic of the relativity and nihilism of postmodernity. This doubt

...undermines the trust that whatever is being said by science at a given time is the best one can say at that time. It questions the holy of holies—the creed of the superiority of scientific knowledge over any other knowledge. By the same token, it challenges science’s right to validate and invalidate, legitimize and delegitimize—to draw the line between knowledge and ignorance, transparency and obscurity, logic and incongruity. Obliquely, it makes thinkable the most heretical of heresies: that instead of being a gallant knight bent on cutting off, one by one, the many heads of the dragon of superstition, science is one story among many, invoking one frail pre-judgment among many. (Bauman, 1991, p. 243)

Though many quantitative researchers might argue the point, science’s claims to be value-free and neutral have lost much of their validity. Foster (1986) argues that education and the social sciences are facing a crisis of legitimization. Because of the faith that educational leadership has had in the scientific methods of investigation and problem-solving, educators have been reluctant to undertake critical dialogue on such basic educational issues as what should be taught, why, and with what models of humanity and community (Foster, 1986, pp. 27, 28; Purpel, 1989, p. 18). Critical dialogue requires assumptions too, however; increasingly, the call has been for moral considerations to help guide educational leadership (Miller, 2000; O’Brien, 1998; Palmer, 1993; Purpel, 1989). “Sense, experience, intuition, sacred authority, and emotion,” Sergiovanni (1992) writes, “must be considered to be as legitimate as secular authority, science,

and deductive logic, the three values that now dominate management thought” (p. xiv).

Furthermore, he says,

Secular authority, science, and deductive logic are algorithmic in nature and produce scripts for us to follow. Their claim to fame is “technical rationality,” in the form of knowledge considered “bigger than we are.”...With these official ways of knowing, discretion is reduced or even eliminated. Without discretion, school administrators are not free to decide but only to do, not free to write the script of schools but only to follow the script that someone else provides. Without discretion, in other words, there can be no leadership. (p. 14)

The argument that education is primarily a moral endeavor may have been forced into the background for a time by rationalism and secularism, but it is reappearing as an important consideration in education once again. The question remains, however; whose morality should be institutionalized by compulsory educational programs—that of the individual, the family, the professional, the elite, the state, or the nation? And if the rules of science are no longer the single authority in identifying truth and reality, who decides the authorities we should rely on?

Cultures generally prescribe how these questions are answered, but from our examination of our Western cultural traditions, it is evident that cultural values can conflict within cultural systems. We move next to an examination of some of the many voices outside of Western traditions, as they speak of realities and value systems which are categorically different from those of the West in terms of education, its socializing processes, and the search for meaning.

Native Ways of Knowing

Oral Traditions

While Western educational traditions have a long documented history, there are few written histories on pre-contact Native ways of thinking and knowing. This is not to say that there have been no written materials by Indigenous peoples around the world. We know, for example, that the Maya wrote books, most of which were destroyed by the Spanish. The Inca also seem to have had written information in the form of designs woven into the fabrics that the rulers wore, though the information has not been able to be deciphered. However, oral, rather than written traditions, have been one of the most important ways to pass on knowledge to new generations for most indigenous cultures, and the *processes* of transmitting oral traditions are as critical to the health and future of the community as the information that is passed on.

Origin stories and teaching stories and songs are prevalent around the world. In *The American Indian Mind in a Linear Word*, Donald Fixico describes the role not only of the storyteller, but of the listener as well.

The event or incident of the story is the 'experience' shared by the storyteller with the listeners. The 'experience' is the heart of the oral tradition for Native peoples. Native people recall the past via remembering experiences, which are told via stories. The participation of 'listening' is equally important to the role of the storyteller. Listening and interpretation is imperative for understanding properly the information and knowledge that were transmitted via the story. (Fixico, p. 26)

For the Arakmbut in the Peruvian Amazon, the performance of the telling of the story is shared with the audience. When a well-known story-teller in San Jose is going to tell a story, the community gathers around him, according to ethnographer Aikman.

There is a feeling of expectancy and anticipation in the audience, who, when the narration begins, form an integral part of the performance, actively participating with the interjection of embellishments, jokes and asides, animal noises and dances miming the action in the storyline. A myth becomes drama and at times there is no clear distinction between audience and performer. (Aikman, 1999, p. 139)

Inherent in storytelling, are a number of teaching/learning techniques that are invaluable. Stories are easy to remember, and they connect the listener immediately to the drama of life and his or her own personal experiences. Stories make connections from the past to the present to the future, and require active construction of meaning. They are personal and bond forming.

Through the oral tradition, I believe that our people have long recognized the importance of being able to relate to one another on a one-to-one basis. If you really want to learn and do things right, then you have to do things in the way where the little ones will want to be there with you. That's where the storyteller and the grandmother become important to the learning process. (Benham & Cooper, 2000, p. 97).

Fixico (2003) quotes Russell Means, musician, actor and writer, as he describes how his grandfather taught using stories. Many of the stories were about young men who had opportunities to live up to their names, but his grandfather didn't explain all the details. When Means asked how a boy in one of the stories killed a deer with a knife rather than with a bow or lance, his grandfather told him, "You'd better figure that out. That's what will make you a man." When Means wanted to know how the boy got the deer to the village when the river was too flooded to cross, his grandfather just said, "You figure it out."

Much later in my life, I realized Grandpa John was teaching me the Indian way of thinking, teaching me to use my imagination, to figure things out for myself, to study,

and to analyze. He caused my uniform mind to ask questions—and then search out the answers. He also taught me patience. It took years to figure out questions, but still more years to find answers. (Fixico, 2003, pp. 88, 89)

The story contains spiritual energy. In the telling of the story, the spiritual energy of the story is reawakened so that the past becomes part of the present, and the past and present moves into the future (Fixico, 2003, p. 27). As the listener sees and feels the experience transmitted during the story, it becomes another piece in a collection of information of the world, all of which comes to bear on meaning and how the listener may relate to the world and its events in a good way. The meaning of the story is interpreted by the listener intuitively in light of previous experiences and prior knowledge.

Basic elementary functions of perception, causality and reality, work in a circular fashion that does not differentiate time and historical events, so that the conscious knowledge becomes a part of the subconscious knowledge.... For them, [traditional Native American thinkers] the reality combines the opposites of conscious and subconscious in one mind set. For them, the mind combines the physical and the metaphysical to achieve a balance that influences Native logic or acting and reacting to stimuli. The real world and the surreal world are one, due to the metaphysical forces that have power over human life.”

(Fixico, 2003, p. 34)

Contemplation and Nature

Patience and contemplation are tools in Native ways of knowing. The point of a particular story may not be immediately evident, but over time, minutes, days, or even years, the meaning becomes clear. A wise person, one who is gifted with insight, can be helpful in

interpreting information. Black Elk, the holy man of the Oglalas, is a famous example. But shamans of many Native cultures have played this role through the centuries (Jacobs, 1998).

Since knowledge comes from many places, the Native thinker is careful not to exclude any source. A major source, of course, is nature. Plants and animals act in concert with the earth. Every plant and animal has special talents and roles to play, and each has a message that can help observers live their lives in a good way (Walker, 2004). Contemplation and reflection in nature are essential in order to recognize these rhythms in the context of spirituality. ‘People’s roots permeate the rhythms of nature when they live life spiritually’ (Jacobs, 1998).

Fixico mentions the importance of a homeland or a special place in nature where a person can go to rest, regain perspective, reflect, and think about the big picture in order to maintain balance and proper relationships. One’s natural surroundings become like nature’s womb for security as the struggle for balance is analyzed by the individual. It is like the Sun providing balance during the day and the Moon supplying balance at night, as both are sources of light. Many Native peoples rely on their surroundings to provide spiritual strength and renewal to the mentally fatigued (Fixico, 2003, p. 50).

In *Primal Awareness: a True Story of Survival, Transformation, and Awakening with the Raramuri Shamans of Mexico*, Don Jacobs (1998) relates how he experienced a major change in his orientation to life after he went through a narrow brush with death kayaking on the Rio Urique, in Copper Canyon, Mexico. In order to learn about why this experience changed his life so profoundly, Jacobs spent some time with Augustin Ramos, a shaman of the Raramuri. “There are places that have great power,” Ramos told him, “like the entrance of a cave or the edge of a canyon. If you are there and you concentrate, you might learn to do many things you could not do before” (Jacobs, 1998, p. 2).

Places are also associated with activities and history. Story-telling brings these associations to mind. Keith Basso (1996), in *Wisdom Sits in Places*, describes how the Western Apache use stories of places and the events associated with them as arrows, ways of bringing lessons to the minds of their listeners without directly moralizing. In describing a situation where this technique was used, one story-teller reminisced:

We gave that woman pictures to work on in her mind. We didn't speak too much to her. We didn't hold her down. That way she could travel in her mind. She could add on to them easily. We gave her clear pictures with place-names. So her mind went to those places, standing in front of them as our ancestors did long ago. That way she could see what happened there long ago. She could hear stories in her mind, perhaps hear our ancestors speaking. She could recall the knowledge of our ancestors (pp. 82, 83).

Dreams and Relationships

Dreams and visions are another source of knowledge. Louis Cardinal (2001), on the faculty of education at the University of Alberta, describes "Elder Think Tanks" that his father helped organize for the Indian Association of Alberta in the early 1970s. The elders would get together to dialogue about a policy coming down from the Indian Act or Department of Indian Affairs. Each would speak in turn around the circle, listening carefully, paraphrasing what previous elders had said. When they came to a point of indecision or question, they would say, "Let's sleep on it." In the evening they would sweat or do other personal rituals.

Early the next morning they would come together and talk about their dreams. Each elder would listen closely and compare information from their dream or vision work. Cardinal notes, "They realized that the various symbols were dictated to them from a different part of their being. And suddenly they would come up with an answer." He concludes, "Our indigenous

cultures are rich with ways of gathering, discovering, and uncovering knowledge. They are as near as our dreams and as close as our relationships” (Cardinal, 2001).

Mentoring and Apprenticeships

The importance of mentoring and apprenticeships with elders is illustrated in the Alaska Native Heritage Center project, *Qayaqs and Canoes: Paddling into the Millennium*. The project not only highlighted the making of traditional birch and skin water craft, but how apprenticeships are utilized as traditional ways of knowing in passing on significant cultural values to future generations (Steinbright, 2001).

One of the participants of the project, David Salmon, an 88-year-old Athabaskan, describes how he learned to make a canoe:

The first birch bark canoe I saw my father make was 1922. In 1922, I was about ten years old. And I helped my father. I always helped my father to hold a stick here, hold this there. He told me to do this. That’s Athabaskan way of teaching the children about the canoe you know, and also the snowshoe too, and also the arrow (Steinbright, 2001, p. 10).

As a child, David helped his father build a canoe, learning the process as the work went along, instead of reading directions from a book, or listening to a lecture. This was how David passed on his skills to his apprentice, Tom O’Brian. Tom noted,

He teaches by talking and by demonstrating. He’ll tell you that he can’t teach unless he has something in his hand. That’s the old way that it was always done, and it’s the best way to teach. It’s showing people what to do, giving them the chance to do it and to perfect the technique and to pass it on to the next generation. (Steinbright, 2001, p. 16)

Another important aspects of the canoe-building project was the spirit of community in which it took place, and the dependence on spiritual guidance.

There's a good-natured aspect to things: sharing and visiting, and mentorship, that I think is much different. Then there is singing, joking, praying, asking for strength, guidance and help to produce a good thing and not let people down. That's a very, very traditional cultural thing here: to do a good job so that we don't let the people down. So, the first thing we do in the morning when we eat our breakfast, is pray (Steinbright, 2001, p. 16).

Symbolism in Art, Music, Dance, and Architecture

Visual arts, music, dance, and architecture, are also ways of knowing that are especially important to many Native thinkers. Art itself is a process that is very intuitive, playful and experimental. Don Jacobs mentioned several unique ways of relating to the arts that he discovered as he visited among the Raramui in Mexico. When these Indians make a tool or a meal, weave a textile, or remove thorns from cacti or plant seeds, they see themselves as creating art. Playing is experimenting, pushing the envelope, dancing on the cutting edge of learning. Play, embodied in work, makes it art (Jacobs, p. 187).

Art-making is highly valued as a spiritual exercise. Jacob relates watching a Raramuri five-year-old's preparation for her first attempts at separating the dried corn kernels from the cob. First she sat in meditation for over an hour, looking out across the canyon. Then she sat down beside her mother and carefully took up an old cob to use as a tool to start the process. When kernels would pop errantly across the yard, she would leap after them, place them in their proper container, and resume work. This story illustrates the concepts of work as art, but especially the spiritual, contemplative aspect of putting one's efforts in proper perspective in the universal scheme of things (Jacobs, p. 151).

The Raramuri believe that beauty is not different from goodness. By creating beauty, the artists create goodness, whether they are harvesting grain or hand-carving a violin. They are resonating with the rhythms of nature and coming into a harmonious, spiritual relationship with the Creator and His creations (Jacobs, p. 151).

Another way art becomes a way of knowing is when the artist becomes his or her creation as a way of knowing the essence of what they represent. This concept is aptly illustrated in many indigenous dances that are performed in order to experience and express an intense awareness of the essence an animal's being, an essence that cannot be observed, but can be understood through the process of becoming, to a degree, what one is trying to understand and express (Jacobs, p. 131).

Community dances can bring about a communal way of knowing. For example, when Costa Rican Indians dance a harvest dance, the men stamp in a line. Women join them in their stamping, as indicators of the other side of the fertility circle. The stamping dance comes to a crescendo in an "orgasm" symbolizing the completion of fertilization, and the whole spirit of the community, in the shout, experiences a drawing together in joy, a participation in a communal ritual full of meaning. Here is play again, but on a community level. "The world is primarily experienced as a thing of space and obstacles, but through the dance, it is understood as a cosmos" (Wilson, 1998).

Salazar also speaks of dances that came from the Spanish that were absorbed into indigenous culture in Costa Rica, though the Native peoples changed the dances and other historic memories to reflect their own perspectives.

The Indigenous relive the Spanish conquest during their traditional festivities. However, folklore not only remembers but interprets that reality. Historical criticism can

corroborate the authenticity of those traditions, but folklore, the popular stories, the songs, the dances of the myths is a collective and anonymous creation. In the last analysis it is an ideological system with mental structures characteristic of societies without writing. (Salazar, p. 140)

The community dance becomes a communal remembering, a communal recitation of an important event that has shaped who they are. Many indigenous communities take community dances and other activities very seriously, firmly believing that it is participation in these activities that keeps the world working properly and in balance (Battiste & Henderson, 2000).

The use of symbolism is prevalent in every culture, but perhaps because of the strong spiritual connections of many Native peoples, symbols are present in many of the products of their hands. Textiles, pottery, architecture, jewelry, all utilize symbols to express connections to beliefs and value systems. For example, the Andean cross is a significant symbol to both ancient and present day Quechua Indians. In Machu Picchu, a large Andean cross is carved into the mountain in front of the Temple of Three Windows. A relief of the design is carved into the Temple of the Sun in the Sacred Valley. Today this design is woven into many fabrics and appears on earrings and other jewelry. The cross embodies some of the most meaningful aspects of the Quechuan belief system; the upper, middle, and lower or under world are symbolized in the steps of the cross. Connections between these worlds are highly prized.

In Peru, the condor, the puma and the snake are symbols for these three worlds. The puma hunts at night and so crosses the boundaries between night and day, this world and the underworld. The condor flies in the heavens, but also enters the underworld with the dead on his back. The snake inhabits both the lower earth, the middle earth, and at times, climbs toward the upper regions.

Geographical and architectural structures have been used to symbolize these concepts. Cuzco, center of the Incan world, was built in the shape of a puma. Machu Picchu has a condor carved into its mountain, frozen in space just as it plunges into the rock. The Sacred River—shaped as a snake---connects the three sacred sites of geography, again connecting the upper, the middle, and the lower worlds.

By observing and participating in the symbolism of sacred geography and spatial, visual, musical and dramatic rituals, the participant is connected to the meaning intrinsic to the symbols.

Connections Emphasized in Language and Worldview

Inherent in many indigenous languages is a worldview that emphasizes connections rather than compartmentalization. Differentiation in indigenous languages tends to be more important than clumping concepts together. For example, the Sawi of Irian Jaya, Indonesia have different words for how the water looks in the river when it is clear, or full of silt and flooding, or dappled with rain.

Sawi is so enchantingly specific in its vocabulary. In English you open your eyes, your heart, a door, a tin can or someone's understanding, all with one humdrum verb "open." But in Sawi you *fagadon* your eyes, *anahgkon* your heart, *tagavon* a door, *tarifan* a tin can, and *dargamon* a listener's understanding.

If someone had shown me a statement of Sawi grammar and asked me to guess the type of persons who developed it, I would have guessed a race of pedantist-philosopher types obsessed with fastidious concern for handling masses of detail efficiently.

And yet, looking deeper, I would have guessed they were also poets—an entire subclass of Sawi verbs is devoted to personifying inanimate objects as speaking! If a

flower has a pleasant scent, it is saying *fok! fok!* to your nostrils. Is it also beautiful? It is saying *ga! ga!* to your eyes. When a star twinkles it is whispering *sevoir! sevoir!* If your eyes twinkle they are calling *si! si!* If mud squishes around your feet, it is murmuring *sos! sos!* In the Sawi universe, not only man, but all things are communicating (Richardson, 1974, pp. 172, 173).

Because many indigenous languages are verb-based and descriptive, they don't lend themselves easily to abstract terms used for categorizing, but they can facilitate working with systems that are full of variety such as rich ecosystems. In providing a means of organizing and integrating complex relationships without dangerous oversimplification, they provide a service that modern science has been unable to achieve. "The pursuit of knowledge in eastern and indigenous cultures has tended to emphasize the coherence that encompasses incommensurables between domains—even if it is a challenge to comprehension and characterized by uncertainties" (Judge, 2000, p. 34).

Robert St. Clair (2000) notes the importance of visual metaphors and the oral culture for many Native thinkers.

Where one sees words, the other sees visual patterns, shapes, colors, and moods. Where one finds education in the formal classroom with its structured textual requirements, mandatory certification hours, and rigid didactic requirements, the other seeks not knowledge, but understanding and employs an apprenticeship model in which the elders are given full opportunity to interact with the novice in an unstructured and experientially based system of learning... The formal school systems tend to focus on analysis whereas the oral culture is concerned with understanding how things are related to one another. The analytical mode is sequential and highlights rationalism and the use of logic, whereas

the relational mode is concerned with the emotive or effective aspects of a simultaneous presentation of imagery. (St. Clair, 2000).

Understanding visual metaphor can help explain intuitive writing structures. When Native students write, their use of structure often baffles Western composition teachers. Their essays may not employ the basic three-part outline of Aristotelian rhetoric. Rather, they explore one area and then suddenly turn in another direction without warning, theme or connection. They come to the center then move out in another direction, rather like the spokes of a medicine wheel. (St. Clair, 2000)

The medicine wheel and other similar shapes in many indigenous cultures consist of a circle divided by a solar cross. The circle symbolizes the constancy of motion, and the solar cross denotes the four cardinal directions. “There are two roads within the circle,” Robert St. Clair explains, “and they are represented by the arms of the solar cross. One must experience life by taking one of these roads, go to the center, and then venture off in a new direction.” Western composition teachers often wonder why thought seems so disconnected in essays authored by non-Western writers, but they don’t recognize the structure provided by allegory, personification, and color symbolism (St. Clair, 2000).

In summary, many aspects of Native ways of knowing are centered in a belief system that values connectedness to the cosmos. The learner gains wisdom from subconscious impressions, from dreams, from talking with others, during apprenticeships, through participating in community functions as family and community members dance, sing, and pray together. Learning is passed down from one generation to the next. Because there is knowledge and power in everything in the cosmos, the student learns from everything all the time, and should always be open to more insights from a wide variety of sources. Wisdom is gained by

listening, by contemplating and reflecting, and this takes time in nature, time apart as well as time together. Harmony and balance are the goals.

How Western Education Has Impacted Native Ways of Knowing

Western education methods emphasize the written word and schooling rather than oral traditions transmitted through intergenerational family and community interactions. There have been grave consequences to indigenous communities and cultures as a result. In writing about the West, David Purpel (1989) declares that

Our culture's insistence on competition, individual success, and privatism is reflected in a school program which puts cultural considerations of achievement, order, control and hierarchy over educational values of free inquiry, the development of a critical and creative consciousness, and the struggle for meaning. (p. 93)

In consequence, Madhu Suri Prakash and Gustavo Esteva (1998) note that "wherever education and development travel (hand in hand) poverty and pollution increase; freedoms and autonomy decrease; monocultures of learning and living destroy the rich pluriverse of the diverse cultures of the social majorities (p. 24).

Western Colonial Hegemony

A major challenge that indigenous peoples face when confronted with Western ways of education, is the long-time association of Western institutions with colonialism. The colonial process not only imposes the external structures of its society on the dominated peoples, but also the subsidiary institutions and the assumptions that accompany them. By way of illustration, Richard Reed (1996), an anthropologist working among the Guarani on the borders of Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina, described the outcome of efforts that he and a team of Red Cross

workers put forth to try to treat diseases that had been introduced and exacerbated by commercial development, mainly forest destruction and land loss.

Over a three-week period, a Red Cross team that regularly visited the communities, trained several local religious healers in parasitology, sanitation, nutrition, and infant re-hydration, and how to disperse Western drugs for certain illnesses during times the team was absent. The healer in the community Reed was working with returned from the training and hung his accouterments of Western medicine next to his herbs and religious materials. When the community refused to respond to the healer's demands to raise the cash to pay for his services on the level of the local state-trained school teacher, the healer refused to act as medico, and the Red Cross team had to abandon the project. Reed recognized that one reason the medical project failed was that technical issues had been confused with moral issues.

I was aware that the sixteenth-century morality of conversion had been recast as the virtues of development. However, I was largely unaware of the morality with which I, and the medical establishment, imbued health. While the first conquerors in the region considered the souls of the Guarani blackened by sin, we perceived their bodies soiled by viruses and bacteria. We promoted the cleansing and saving of ill individuals at the expense of the independence of their community. (Reed, 1996)

Though the anthropologist and medical teams were attempting to relieve the ills caused by development, in actuality they were subsidizing the destruction of the forests and agricultural expansion projects. Reed concluded, "With my right hand I was masking the process that my left hand was trying to expose: indirectly legitimizing the development to which the Guarani were being subjected" (Reed, 1996).

Bilingual and multicultural initiatives in Western educational institutions face similar challenges in using Western ideals of development, structures and methods to meet indigenous needs (Darder, 1991, p. 74). In a discussion of educational reforms in post-colonial Namibia and post-apartheid South Africa, Nekhwevha (1999) notes that despite serious attempts to reconstruct their educational institutions along democratic lines in order to keep the cultural heritages of African ethnic communities central, the new programs are primarily influenced by Western models of education and policies of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The primary reason for the adoption of an education and training strategy linked to an Outcomes-based Educational approach and a standardized National Qualification Framework (NQF) is the lure and attraction of the international economic and technological order. The implication here is that external, global, market-related influences are prime considerations which a country ignores at its peril. A country's future, the argument goes, is to integrate its polity, economy, and critically, its education system into the standardized structure of the world system. The effect of this is to universalize as common currency the hegemonic knowledge system of the Western World. (p. 498)

Nekhwevha quotes Peter Dzvimbo (1997) as pointing out that the outcomes-based educational policy actually “stays very much a discourse of exclusion because teachers do not own the key concepts” (p. 500). Furthermore, these standards are set in English., which has been justified by the international importance of the use of English in technological and industrial communication. Nekhwevha believes that irrelevant Western-based curricula with its “strident individualism” have contributed to current high drop-out rates, alienation and unemployment in Africa today (p.. 502).

Nekhwevha concluded his discussion with the idea that Africans should hurry to develop the capacity for their Native languages to accommodate scientific and technological communication lest these languages continue to be marginalized from Africa's discourse of development (p. 503). However, other educators in Africa and elsewhere have noted difficulties in integrating Native languages and other forms of indigenous knowledge in school systems.

Emphasis on English and Western Science Literacy in Classrooms

Ladislaus Semali (1999) describes a number of serious challenges in the integration of indigenous literacy into the classroom in Tanzania. Semali defines indigenous literacy as “a competency that individuals in a community have acquired and developed over time—part experience, part custom, religion, customary law, and the attitudes of people toward their own lives and the social and physical environment” (Semali, p. 103). These concepts are expressed through oral testimonies by rural people “in their own terms, employing their own language, relating their history, their stories, traditions, songs, theater, and all that goes to make up the repertoire with which individuals communicate among themselves and with others outside their communities” (Semali, p. 96).

Despite efforts to value indigenous knowledge and integrate it into school curricula undertaken in educational reforms in Tanzania and other African countries from the 1970s on, little progress has been made. Though local communities have traditionally been at the center of preserving and transmitting cultural, social, and religious mores, they have been steadily losing ground. Professional educators have entered indigenous communities and assumed roles of authority that originally belonged to parents, grandparents, and elders in the community (Semali, p. 100).

Despite the rhetoric of the value of indigenous knowledge on the part of educators, parents and elders still have little opportunity to have a voice in curriculum issues, school management, or the choice of textbooks, and their input is not usually desired. The main discussions take place in meetings which the communities do not attend, and are based on documents that the communities do not read or write, and decision-making is reserved for educational experts (Semali, p. 108).

The issues are complicated by efforts to maintain a balance between the various ethnic groups that compose the constituencies of the educational programs.

Any imbalance of power between ethnic groups seems to be perceived as a threat to peace in the post-independence era (Huntington, 1968; *Time Magazine*, 1994; *Finance*, 1991; *New York Times*, 1995) This fear has paralyzed any attempt to introduce in schools indigenous languages, themes, ideas, or traditional practices that could be identified with any one dominant ethnic group (Semali, 1999, p. 109).

Attempts to integrate indigenous banks of knowledge into formal classroom curricula are based on the assumption that these banks of knowledge can be easily identified, extracted from their context, and incorporated into Westernized programs. This is not usually the case. Much of indigenous knowledge is so identified with personal contexts and local environmental factors that it cannot be generalized in some sterile format to be transported into a general curriculum program (Mwadime, 1999 p. 264, 265). Since widely generalizable knowledge is what is valued in Western scientific ways of knowing, traditional community educators whose knowledge bases are unique to local areas are discounted.

This deficit-driven outlook assumes that indigenous teachers have little or nothing to contribute to improving the knowledge base of the community and that what they know is

so localized that it is of no apparent value outside the immediate community (Semali, p. 109, 110).

Kenya faces similar challenges in incorporating indigenous literacy in its school systems. While English is used in government, Kiswahili is the national language spoken in political events, market places and some homes, and there are another 30 local languages and dialects spoken in various ethnic communities. There is a generalized fear that using an African language such as the widely spread Kiswahili as the official language of government will lead to ethnic conflicts. The many ethnic languages present other challenges; it is expensive and time-consuming to create the texts and curriculum for the small local schools that use the dialects, and the languages often don't have the structure and vocabulary to deal with modern science and technology used in the school system (Mule, 1999, p.. 235).

The Kenyan post-independence education commissions from the 1960s on have “underlined the need to produce required manpower for development, ensure equity, uphold cultural traditions and promote national and individual advancement” (Mule, 229). However, economic goals have been emphasized at the expense of socially and culturally oriented initiatives. “The emphasis on economic aspects has reflected the embrace of Western values where education is objectified as the sole instrument to achieve a Western type of development, synonymous with economic prosperity” (Mule, 1999, p. 230).

The use of English as the official language of the Solomon Islands has had numerous consequences for its indigenous communities. The Kwara'ae consciously transmit their language and culture not only through parents who are valued as the primary teachers of their children, but also through the use of “critical discussions” in small groups, villages and area gatherings that examine and decide on important issues in daily life, as well as explore the

impact of modern trends on their culture and language. The community recognizes that participation in these meetings is an important aspect of culture and language development, since these public discussions require fluency in “high rhetoric and an intimate understanding of culture and indigenous epistemology” (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 1999).

English, as it has been taught in schools, has tended to undermine the Kwara’ae’s confidence in their own language. Poverty and rural “backwardness” has been associated with using Native language, and prosperity, with using English.

Most children fail the national exams for secondary school and return to village life with low literacy skills and a sense of defeat. The sense of defeat often includes the feeling that their language and culture are inferior to those of the school that judged them inadequate. (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo, 1999, p. 27)

Negative attitudes toward the indigenous language are also propagated by local Christian churches, to which some 95% of the Solomon Islands populations belong. The churches attract members with promises of both economic and educational development, and teach that the use of English and Pijin are signs of salvation and modern development. (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo, 1999).

Adult education workshops have sought to raise levels of education and training in isolated communities of the Kwara’ae. Though they were designed by adult educators with much experience dealing with indigenous peoples, the results illustrate on-going challenges indigenous peoples face with Western-styled educational efforts. The presenters were Kwara’ae and spoke the language, but their training (usually limited) was in English, and their materials and charts were in English, so the presentations were taught in English. The workshops aimed to promote critical thinking about community problems, which the villagers already did on a

regular basis in their “critical discussions,” but the models and assumptions used in the presentations were Anglo-European.

The message that the villagers received from the workshop was that they had to change both their way of living and their language. The content of the workshop “lessons” in many ways was humiliating because villagers were being told that they were ignoring their problems and that they lacked the minimal characteristics (such as furniture in their houses and cement-slab toilets) of a proper contemporary life—with the implication that their poverty was no excuse. The framing of the workshop with an Anglo-European model of a “good life” and healthy functioning community, together with the medium of instruction being English, communicated the inadequacy of indigenous language and culture to support villagers in improving their lives. (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 1999, p. 31)

Despite these challenges, the Native language is becoming more valued among the Kwara’ae who are approaching middle age. Maturity and dignity are usually associated with the Kwara’ae who speak the high rhetoric of their Native language, and immaturity and lack of dignity are associated with those who are not fluent in their Native language. Since high levels of fluency are required to participate in the critical discussions of the community, middle-aged Kwara’ae, many of them Christians who value participation in these cultural events, are striving to recover what they have lost (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 1999).

In communities where much effort has gone into transcribing indigenous knowledge in formats to be used in formal schooling programs such as on the Ute reservation in Colorado, elders believe that traditional leadership has been weakened by democratizing access to knowledge (Leap, 1991). These efforts work toward dividing society, since indigenous

languages are not useful in all social contexts. Producing written texts based in the indigenous language for school results in a type of literacy that is autonomous from the rest of the community (Aikman, p. 154, 148).

In some of the Peruvian Arakmbut communities, attempts have been made to transcribe stories and other artifacts of local knowledge from the elders in the effort to preserve the community's cultural heritage. However, much of the ebb and flow and "production" of the language is lost. The nuances and interactions that come with a live conversation are not transmitted in written text, and though the bones are preserved, later generations find they cannot interpret these stories without the contextualization provided by the authors. Many of the stories and information are connected with plants and animals that their listeners are having less and less contact with, due to the loss of land and habitat. Furthermore, issues of intellectual property are raised. Written, videoed, or otherwise recorded cultural texts become commodities to be protected and hoarded, or sold on the world market (Aikman, 1999, p. 149).

In Hawaii, there has been considerable effort and success in teaching the Hawaiian language in a formalized school system, including the development of a vocabulary to handle scientific and technological concepts. Educators are finding, though, that the Hawaiian language that is evolving in the school system is very different from that which the elders propagate in the community (Wong, 1999).

Changes in the sound system, intonation, and grammatical structure occur as a result of mass bilingualism and language interference. The functional requirements on school language lead to new discourse genres (such as oral reports on books or particular scholastic topics), conversational styles (such as strict turn taking where, even with a large class of students, conversation is always directed at the teacher and a student who

wants a turn must raise her or his hand and wait to be called on), and literary forms (such as written reports, short stories, or arithmetic problems). And there are massive changes in vocabulary to accommodate the need to discuss the subjects taught in school—science, math, and government, to name a few. A vast new vocabulary must be developed to accommodate standard educational topics. The new vocabulary can be so overwhelming that Native-speaking elders may have difficulty understanding the speech of children in classroom immersion programs. (Hinton & Ahlers, 1999, p. 57)

Similarly, Hinton and Ahlers (1999) quote Maori elders commenting on the success of school-based indigenous language programs: “Sure we have a new generation of speakers—but all they talk about is English concepts!” (p. 57).

Western Economic Assumptions

When children are schooled in systems that are very different from their home backgrounds, there are long-term consequences for the community. Children and parents are made useless to each other, because neither understands the other’s value system. (Prakash & Esteva, 1998, p. 3). Since schools are designed to promote professional careers, children develop beyond their parents in needs and desires for careers that are “necessarily theoretical, speculative, and mercenary” (Berry, 1990).

Children learn to leave home, rather than learn how to stay and help their family and community. After drawing on the resources of the community in order to become educated, children abandon it for what appears to be their own self-interests. Since the professional jobs promoted by schools are mostly available outside of the community, “local knowledge and local memories move away to cities or are forgotten under the influence of homogenized sales talk, entertainment, and education” (Berry, 1990).

Gandhi urged that those individuals and communities who became dependent on exterior economies, organizations, and Western ways of learning, would lose opportunities to learn from their communities. They would lose pride in their culture, their origins, their surroundings, and become rootless. (Gandhi, 1946, pp. 32-33). Bauman (1991) describes rootlessness in these terms: “Rootlessness relatives everything concrete and thus begets universality. In rootlessness, both universality and relativism find their roots. Their hotly denied kinship is thus unmasked. They both, in their own ways, are products of ambivalent existence” (p. 90).

The impact of a globalized market economy and its vagaries on Native communities is extensive. For example, in 1997-8, fiscal crises and structural adjustment policies in Mexico, Argentina, Mozambique, Indonesia, Thailand, Korea and other countries caused wide-spread chaos and rioting:

Unemployment soared, GDP plummeted, banks closed. The unemployment rate was up fourfold in Korea, threefold in Thailand, tenfold. In Indonesia, almost 15 percent of males working in 1997 had lost their jobs by August 1998, and the economic devastation was even worse in the urban areas of the main island, Java. In South Korea, urban poverty almost tripled, with almost a quarter of the population falling into poverty; in Indonesia, poverty doubled (Stiglitz, 2002, 97).

In Thailand, the economic collapse resulted in two opposite responses; the first was that “‘the West knows best,’ and that Asia stumbled because it failed to absorb enough of Euro-American capitalism, democracy, and the individualistic ideas that support them.” The other was that “the wholesale consumption of foreign funds and value systems led to greed, blindness, and a breakdown in the moral balance and social control Asian societies thrive on” (Redmond, 1999). There was much more consensus on the concern that a major cause of the crisis was the

inadequacy of the Thai educational system (Jungck & Kajornsinsin, 2003, p. 30). Two years later the National Education Act of 1999 was passed, addressing the revitalization of Thai wisdom, empowerment of teachers, student-centered instruction, fiscal decentralization, and a national system of educational standards, quality assurance, and authentic assessment (Kaewdang, 2001).

Rung Kaewdang (2001), the secretary-general of Thailand's Office of the National Education Commission whose office is responsible for national educational policy development and reform, believes that

As schools will have more autonomy to decide the local curriculum they deem necessary for local children, there is a possibility that Thai wisdom will enjoy the same status as modern knowledge. Our children and adults will learn to be Thais in parallel with the internationalization (Jungck & Kajornsinsin, 2003).

While projects to identify and implement local wisdom in the local school curriculums have been carried out in a variety of communities, there have been some concerns on the part of the community members that their local knowledge doesn't have the status of the government curriculum. Some have expressed a desire for a more empowering curriculum that improves social mobility, and is "aligned with national tests, university admissions, desired credentials, and social status." (Jungck & Kajornsinsin, 2003, p. 42, 43) Sumlee Thongthew, an educator connected with the curriculum reform movement quoted parents who said, "Why should we want our children to become like us? We want them to become doctors, someone else" (Thongthew, quoted in (Jungck & Kajornsinsin, 2003, p. 42).

Thongthew, who worked on a 20-month project in a northern village specializing in woodcarving, recognized that in order for local wisdom to be valued, it needed to be more empowering sociologically, psychologically, philosophically, and pedagogically than the

government curriculum. She saw the government curriculum as the cause, not the solution, to the socioeconomic problems in rural areas, and she believes that including local wisdom in the curriculum would help the villagers “become strong in their own way.”

The equilibrium with nature and local wisdom in rural schools in Thailand has been weakened by the imposition of the National Curriculum for more than a century. The National Curriculum, much influenced by urban industrialized philosophy. . . has less regard for the long-term relationships of people with the natural environment and local culture. . . .

It damages rural socioeconomic background and neglects the worthy purpose of community sustainable development. Growing migration from the rural areas to big cities emerges drastically as most graduates from rural schools find they do not have enough skills and lack attitudes necessary to work and live with nature in the rural areas.

A local curriculum emphasizing the study of rural philosophy to cultivate practices and knowledge will lead to . . . sustainable development in a village The constructed curriculum highlights relevant and meaningful subject matters to the learners, the provision of learners’ control over their own learning process, and community feedback of the curriculum outcomes. (Thongthew, 1999)

Thongthew also noted that the efforts toward building links between local wisdom, local curriculum, and the recovering economy were weak. The bill authorizing the educational reforms did not have fiscal backing that enabled rural teachers to pursue this mission, and schools were limited in scope; if economic recovery and educational reforms were to benefit the community, economic resources and the authority and power of decision-making needed to be decentralized as well as educational policies (Jungck & Kajornsinsin, 2003, p. 45).

Western Patterns of Organization and Structure

Part of the clash between Western and Native ways of knowing involves basic differences in understanding structure. Western ways tend to be very structured, and Western languages are well suited to create abstract categories and sort qualities. However, the specialization, standardization, compartmentalization, and systematization that are inherent features of most Western bureaucratic forms of organization are often in direct conflict with social structures and practices in indigenous societies which tend toward collective decision-making, extended kinship structures, ascribed authority vested in elders, flexible notions of time, and traditions of informality in everyday affairs. (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2004; Peters, 1995, p. 51).

While Western science and education emphasize compartmentalized knowledge which is often de-contextualized and taught in the detached setting of a classroom or laboratory, indigenous people have traditionally acquired their knowledge through direct experience in the natural environment (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2004). For them, the particulars come to be understood in relation to the whole, and the “laws” are continually tested in the context of everyday survival.

Western thought also differs from indigenous thought in its notion of competency. In Western terms, competency has historically been assessed via predetermined ideas of what a person should know, which is then measured indirectly through various forms of “objective” tests. Such an approach often has not addressed whether that person is actually capable of putting their knowledge into practice. In the traditional Native sense, competency has an unequivocal relationship to survival or extinction. If you fail as a caribou hunter, your whole family may be in jeopardy. You either have hunting skills or you don’t, and your competency is

tested in a real-world context (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2004,p 5) Other ways of evaluation are also used in Native educational processes:

In traditional Western teaching and learning, children are expected to adjust their learning approach and findings after corrective feedback. In contrast, Native pedagogy expects the learners to be autonomous and to adjust their responses by self-evaluation (Jenness, 1958 quoted by Bramwell & Foreman, 1993).

Western-style testing has created great problems for indigenous peoples. From kindergarten screening through graduate level exams, minority peoples have struggled to compete successfully with dominant populations (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo, 1999, p. 27; Bordeaux, 1995). Sam Suina, Cochiti Pueblo educator, participated in an extended focus group of Native American educators in 1999 that concentrated on developing models for indigenous education. What is missing in formal school situations, Suina argued, is the understanding that everyone is connected, and therefore, are all responsible for one another. Often, he observed, evaluators and educators don't take the time to listen and to see the special gifts that each person brings to the learning environment. Additionally, K-12 schools do not take the time to partner with other institutions to build healthy communities. Suina concluded that being driven by time (i.e., allowing decision processes to be hurried by deadlines), has invaded Native ways of learning and of addressing problems, thereby creating disconnectedness and dysfunction in families and schools (Benham and Cooper, 2000, p 94).

For many indigenous peoples, finding meaning and wisdom through spiritual connections to physical and metaphysical aspects of the world is fundamental to their ways of knowing, and fundamental to what education should be all about. Vine Deloria, a highly respected Lakota

philosopher and intellectual of the 20th century, quotes a 1919 account that A. McG. Beede sent Melvin Gilmore, the curator of the State Historical Society:

In the Turtle Mountains, North Dakota, Harry Boise...was with me eight months. At his request I allowed him to teach the old Chippewa and Cree Indians there the modern scientific attitude with its view of things....The chief among his pupils was old Sakan'ku Skonk (Rising Sun)...But Rising Sun, speaking the conclusion of all, pronounced "the scientific view" inadequate. Not bad or untrue, but inadequate to explain, among many other things, how man is to find and know a road along which he wishes and chooses to make this said progress unless the Great Manitoo by his spirit guides the mind of man, keeping human beings just and generous and hospitable. (As Quoted in Deloria, 1999 p. 43)

Many indigenous educators believe that education tends to be self-centered and destructive unless it has the guidance of an underlying value system. Russell Means, writes,

In the linear, mathematical way of the Eurocentric male society that has long dominated America, that doesn't work. One is expected to know things, to believe things. Knowing and believing are in your head—there is nothing in your heart. If you cannot feel that the earth is your Grandmother, then of course you will find it easy to rape her, to behave as though she is under your dominion. You will find it easy to believe that we humans are the dominant species, and to act as though the earth and everything on it are ours to do with as we please. (Fixico, 2003 p. 89)

Because Western educational curricula have rarely made connections between the spiritual world, the natural world and people, loss of culturally diverse ways of knowing and banks of local knowledge have been widespread, especially those regarding communal and ecologically

responsible patterns of relationships between humans and the natural world (Mason, 1993; Leiss, 1994). The great tsunami of December, 2004, is one devastating example of the cost of the loss of indigenous knowledge. Great masses of people were left without the knowledge of the natural world that would have allowed many of them to escape the tsunami by simply moving inland half a mile. The wild creatures and indigenous peoples who were still able to draw on local banks of communal knowledge and read the signs of nature were able to escape (Amarasinghe, 2004; The Hindu, 2004).

The great tsunami was not a freak accident. Large scale earthquakes, storms, and other natural disasters are on the increase around the globe and cause great loss of life (Boonstra, 2005). Because how to listen to and respond to nature's agenda isn't part of Western ways of knowing, the vast majority of people around the globe remain ignorant of how to live with their natural surroundings (Thongthew, 1999; Jungck & Kajornsinsin, 2003). Other blanks or misdirections in Western ways of knowing may cause great numbers of people to be misguided because of Western cultural weaknesses that have been perpetuated due to mass compulsory educational practices and the homogeneity and universality valued by the West (Spretnak, 1991 p. 15, 21).

Despite many years of efforts to accommodate and promote Native languages and ways of knowing in formal school settings, the outcomes have been disappointing and destructive to these cultures (Lie, 2003; Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 1999). To what degree are Western structures responsible for these deficits? Are there any aspects of Western educational methods that are important for helping indigenous peoples and their cultures survive? We will examine these issues next.

Comparing and Contrasting Western and Native Ways

Western versus Native Ways of Knowing

Western structures of education have been valued and utilized around the globe for a variety of reasons. Linear thinkers are known for the sheer volume of information stockpiled over hundreds of years of written history, philosophy, literature, and, more recently, scientific studies. As an old proverb says, “One man’s wit sharpens another.” Not only has wit been sharpening wit for generations, but many of these ideas have been documented via the written word, tested and revamped and tested again in the firestorms of revolutions and wars, kingdoms, dictatorships and governments. There is wisdom in experience, and greater wisdom when experience is compiled and reflected upon and tested through time by many minds.

The authority of the written text is paramount in Western culture, and this focus has impacted much of Western cultural perceptions. Modern science controls what is taken for the “essential canon” of valid knowledge. Tony Moodie (2003), a professor on the campus of John Wesley College writes,

In addition to overt Western domination, a more insidious process of disparagement served, and continues to serve, to suppress ways of understanding the world that fail to meet the criteria of the dominant ‘Enlightenment’ worldview. This is illustrated by the exasperated response of an African member of a class of theological students to statements of white classmates in a discussion of aspects of African culture: “Anything that you cannot understand you call superstition!” (Moodie, 2003)

Moodie summarizes British Muslim scholar Ziauddin Sardar’s charges against postmodern ways of knowing: 1) Western postmodernism’s plurality is focused on representations of the “other,” which is not a valid engagement with the true plurality of

humanity; 2) Its hold on global economies is used to drown the traditions of other societies; 3) In arrogating its right to evaluate what is “superstitious” and what is valid scientific knowledge, and postulating that truth is not possible, it denies the possibilities of truth in non-Western cultures as well (Moodie, 2003).

There have been movements to acknowledge a wider range of cultural knowledge bases and values in what has come to be called multiculturalism. Multicultural initiatives are designed to value diversity and address needs of minorities, and as such, are part of many North American educational programs from early childhood through higher education and adult education.

Though it attempts to express the pluralities inherent in Western education, yet multiculturalism rarely transforms the basic structures of Western education itself. For example, Clifford Orwin (2004), a professor of political science at the University of Toronto, notes that while multiculturalism “defines the core of the moral mission of the contemporary university,” he also declares that multiculturalism has encroached on academic freedom in the university, and that rather than truly valuing diversity, many of the multicultural initiatives are instead, attacks on anything Western, labeling them as “mere expressions of partisanship—racist, sexist, classical, ‘Eurocentric.’” O’Brien (1998) makes a similar comment on the stance taken by many multiculturalists:

It is obvious why multiculturalism is such a deep problem for the modern university. It seems to destroy the possibility of dispassionate, universal communication, which is essential to the scientific assumption. Speaking as a multiculturalist, if you are the wrong sort, you cannot possibly understand my point of view. I am the unimpeachable source of “truth”—understanding that there are as many “truths” as there are ethnics available. I do not have to listen to your sort, since you could not possibly understand “where I’m

coming from.” You (wrong sort) are not free to talk about my subject matter, and if you try to do so, I will insist that you stop uttering such distorting “falsehoods.” Thus, multiculturalism is seen as a threat to open inquiry, to academic freedom. (p. 175)

Rather than a true expression of multiple voices, multiculturalism on the modern university campus has often tended to limit discussion rather than promote it.

Others in Western education have viewed multiculturalism as an attack on Western standards and values of achievement and efficiency. For example, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, New York’s city university system, CUNY, lowered its entrance requirements in order to accommodate minority students who were less prepared to enter college and adapted its curriculum to meet the needs of these students. U.S. News & World Report quoted Yolanda Moses, the new president of CUNY at the time, as writing that American universities “are products of Western society in which masculine values like an orientation toward achievement and objectivity are valued over cooperation, connectedness and subjectivity.” John Leo, the author of the article, called this statement an “anti-achievement message carried nationally by some professors who stress feelings and adjustment instead of learning.” The same report quotes Heather Mc Donald, writing in the then current issue of Manhattan Institute’s *City Journal*: “CUNY is at the cutting edge of a nationwide movement to do away with the very distinction between academic proficiency and deficiency and replace it with the concept of competence in one’s own culture” (Leo, 1994).

Western concepts of literacy and dependence on the written word have molded what is considered authoritative and real, not only in what is deemed factual, but how the world is perceived. Marshall McLuhan (1967) proposed that the *way* a society communicates molds its

worldview and cultural assumptions more than *what* is communicated. Robert Logan (1986), in *The Alphabet Effect*, expounded further on this idea:

A medium of communication is not merely a passive conduit for the transmission of information but rather an active force in creating new social patterns and new perceptual realities. A person who is literate has a different worldview than one who receives information exclusively through oral communication. The alphabet, independent of the spoken languages it transcribes or the information it makes available, has its own intrinsic impacts. (p. 24)

Formal schooling and literacy seems to change some of the ways the human brain functions. Vygotsky, Luria and other colleagues studied peoples in the Soviet Union (Uzbekistan) who were still illiterate in the early 1930s, and drew heavily on Levy-Bruhl's studies of what they called "primitive man," or tribal peoples in the early 1900s, in order to develop a cultural historic or social historical theory of development. The illiterate people these researchers studied did not think abstractly in the manner that Piaget describes formal thinking. For the most part they were concrete, practical thinkers and rejected postulations and other "what-if" kinds of questions (Vygotsky & Luria, 1993, pp. 6, 111). However, they had formidable memories. The North Queensland aborigines, for example, recite a song by memory that takes five nights to complete; the same song is performed by tribes who speak different languages, living more than 100 miles apart (Vygotsky & Luria, 1993, p. 94). Levy-Bruhl noted that primitive peoples can observe a herd of several hundred animals and detect the absence of a single animal—and know which one it is--without counting (p. 123). Many of their vocabularies are full of names for very detailed aspects of the world around them. For example,

The Maoris have an unusually complete system for the nomenclature of the flora in New Zealand. For them, individual names exist for the gender of male and female trees. They also give individual names to trees, the leaves of which change form at different moments of their growth. The *koko* bird, or the *tui*, has four names: two for the male gender and two for the female depending on the time of year. There are separate words for the bird's tail, the tail of an animal, and the tail of a fish. There are three words for the designation of a parrot's cry: a cry in a calm state, his cry when he is angry, and one when he is frightened. (Vygotsky & Luria, 1993, p. 110)

While the schooled person depends heavily on external signs such as the written word to hold knowledge for him, the primitive Native depends on memory. Every detail of a landscape is remembered with what seems to be a photographic memory, even the first time passing through. Though most children have an eidetic memory, it is rare among schooled adults, but not among primitive non-schooled adults (Vygotsky & Luria, p. 95, 99).

The West has assumed that schooling is beneficial to the development of the mind. While it is apparent that schooling helps develop formal thinking, other skills may be lost in the schooling process. Observational powers are extremely developed in those who depend on the earth for survival. In *The Living Planet* BBC/Time Life video documentary *Sweet, Fresh Water*, David Attenborough follows an aborigine through a dry landscape with a blade green poking through the baked soil every few feet. The Native stoops beside one blade that looks no different from the rest, digs down, and finds a tuber full of water. He can't (or won't) tell Attenborough how he knows there is water in the root of this particular one plant and not in the others of the same species. There may be Native ways of knowing that are impossible to explain to a

Westerner—but there are also complex issues surrounding whether knowledge should be shared, and what should be shared, in both the East and the West.

Western and Indigenous Technologies

The modern mentality values the great strides Western science and technology have made in medicine, human behavior, geology, geography, space, the weather, communications, physics, chemistry, biology, zoology, and many other scientific fields. This knowledge is becoming ever more easily accessed; more and more peoples around the world can tap into a world bank of knowledge through education and the internet. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's report *Highlights from Education at a Glance 2008*, the number of college-educated persons is rising for most countries; in the 22 OECD countries tabulated in the report, 33% of young adults (25-34) have obtained tertiary education, compared with 19% older adults (35-64). In France, Ireland, Japan and Korea, the gap stands at 25 percent (p. 12).

Indigenous peoples have not been without their own banks of knowledge and technologies, however. For example, the Andes is one of the richest of the world's regions in the wide variety of plant forms cultivated. Farmers here have valued biodiversity for thousands of years.

What the Andean farmers are most known for, is the enormous diversity of plant types which they use and plant together in the same chakra [small field]. The farmers converse and reciprocate with the diversity and variability of climate by means of a diversity and variety of plants. For instance, when the farmers plant crops in the higher fields for a dry year, they know that within the chacra some plants are especially well adapted to the expected low rainfall. Thanks to these plants, the food harvest will be almost equal to that of a wetter season. But, because of the great diversity of crops planted in each

chacra, the yield will be adequate no matter what the actual weather turns out to be. That is, if the weather unexpectedly turns wet, other plants dispersed throughout the high-altitude chacra will thrive under those circumstances. (Sclove, 1995)

Other technologies are evident in archeological records. Ancient Peruvians did successful brain surgeries, as seen in the healed skulls found in graves. Ancient maps such as the Piri Reis map, an exact match of the northern coastline of Antarctica that should only have been possible with modern seismography or aerial surveying, was drawn up in 1513 by Turkish admiral, Piri Ibn Haji Mehmed. To make the map, the Admiral compiled several other maps, some of which dated back to the fourth century or earlier. The coastline has been covered with ice for thousands of years (Bradley, 2005). Ancient building technologies such as the closely fitted Inca stone work, and the transport and building with large cut stones in such places as Ollantaytambo, Ollantayparub, and Sacsayhuamen, Peru; Brittany, France; and Baalbek, Lebanon, baffle modern scientists (Gray, 2006). Sometimes the technologies died with the civilizations that developed them. Without written documentation of how the technologies worked, we are left in the dark. In other cases, the knowledge banks were purposely kept secret and allowed to be lost.

In National Geographic, Swerdlow, (2000) wrote about a healer in West Bengal who used a plant to successfully counter cobra and viper poison, following a recipe that had been passed down through several generations. The healer shared the plant with a Western-trained professor of physiology at the University of Calcutta who successfully tested the plant on laboratory rats. However, when the professor went back to the healer for more information, the healer “had grown suspicious” and refused to share any more of the plant. The professor had a botanist examine the remains of his first experiment, and they went to rural West Bengal to find the plant. Unfortunately, the plants they found did nothing to neutralize the venom.

Swerdlow comments, “Even with all their modern technology scientists do not know which plants to pick or when to pick them or whether traditional healers might have added other herbal or non-herbal ingredients to the cure” (p. 114). Joyce Wallen, a Salish tribal educator, describes how her grandmother gathered plants from the Mission Mountains to doctor her sons with gonorrhoea, but refused to share her knowledge of plants with her children or grandchildren. Wallen also recounted how the Salish and Kootenai Tribes did not allow the tribal education department to disseminate information on certain Native plants to schools in the area. For many indigenous knowledge holders, it is more important that the knowledge be intact and used responsibly than disseminated; indeed, in some cases, indigenous peoples have felt it would be better for such knowledge to be lost than be misused (Joyce Wallen, personal interview, March, 2007; Schwarz, 1997, p. xix)

Western science continues to search for answers in its own way. Baruch Blumberg, who won a Nobel Prize in medicine for his work on infectious viral diseases, believes that because of the variables found in plants, it is impossible for modern medicine to develop reliable pharmaceuticals from them. “The lesson is that we need a better way to deal with all the variables involved. We need a new way to listen to nature while maintaining all the advantages of science” (Blumberg quoted in Swerdlow, 2000, p. 115).

The West has valued its public libraries and processes of free inquiry, and has emphasized the importance of open access to knowledge. However, as capitalistic ventures are swallowing up more and more of the venues of every day life, knowledge is becoming one of the greatest commodities of all. For many, the Information Age started largely with the development of computers in the 1970s (WordNet). The Knowledge Economy has been characterized by a greater dependence on intellectual capabilities than on physical inputs or natural resources

(Powell & Snellman, 2004). The internet is making access to knowledge much easier, but knowledge is also becoming more quickly obsolete. The next age to come on stage, the “Intangible Economy,” is described by Luis Suarez-Villa in *Invention and Rise of Technocapitalism* (Suarez-Villa, 2000). According to Suarez-Villa, the Intangible Economy is a form of capitalism that uses intangibles such as creativity and new knowledge in the same way that raw materials, factory labor and capital were used in industrial capitalism. Suarez-Villa believes that fields such as biotechnology, bioinformatics, nanotechnology, and quantum computing will become the basic drivers of economic development in the 21st century, in the same way that electricity, internal combustion engines and mass production were fundamental to industrial capitalism in the 20th century.

These fields of knowledge and technology are competing fiercely for control of the world’s resources. For example, advances in biotechnology, particularly the hotly contested genetically engineering of seeds, is creating consternation in food markets around the world. Companies such as Monsanto are buying up seed companies and replacing natural seeds with patented engineered seeds with the intent to control a major portion of the world’s food supply (Smith, 2005). In 2001, genetically altered strains of corn were found at 15 locations in Oaxaca, deep in the heart of southern Mexico, despite bans on use of genetically engineered seeds in the country. Not only do these altered strains threaten to destroy 5500 year old strains of corn, but Monsanto is suing the victims of genetic pollution for stealing the patented genes (Mercola, 2002).

Derek Mitchell reports in a forum on Genetic Engineering and the Privatization of Seeds hosted by Creative Commons Cooperative Research, that indigenous representatives from 26 Andean and Amazon communities met in the Peruvian mountain village of Choquecancha in

September, 2005, to protest the possible lifting of an international moratorium on terminator seeds.

The indigenous leaders say in their report that they are concerned that pollen from terminator seeds could transfer sterility to and effectively kill off other crops and plant life. Another worry is that use of the technology would increase their dependence on the seed industry, a conclusion that was also reached by the UN Agriculture and Food Organization's Ethics Panel in 2000. The group says the expansion of monocultural farming and the use of terminator technology could put the region's 3,000 varieties of potato at risk. The indigenous leaders say they are especially concerned about a patent that has been obtained by Syngenta on technology that would be used to produce sterile potato seeds. Syngenta's seeds would only grow if treated with chemicals. "Terminator seeds do not have life," says Felipe Gonzalez of the indigenous Pinchimoro community. "Like a plague they will come infecting our crops and carrying sickness. We want to continue using our own seeds and our own customs of seed conservation and sharing. (Mitchell, 2006, para. 1)

Biotechnology that has developed the ability to create sterile seeds and other genetic amalgamations is not the only threat to Native communities. "Biopiracy" is a term that refers to the practice of corporations and institutions collecting and monopolizing the genetic resources and traditional knowledge of the people or farming communities that developed and nurtured those resources. In August of 2001, a corporation in Texas called RiceTec was awarded three patents for cross breeds of basmati rice, a traditional crop grown in India and Pakistan, thus robbing the local indigenous peoples who honed the development of these crops for thousands of years (Prakash & Esteva, 1998, p. 106). Anup Shah (2002) reports,

Large transnational corporations like Monsanto, DuPont and others have been investing into biotechnology in such a way that patents have been taken out on indigenous plants which have been used for generations by the local people, without their knowledge or consent. The people then find that the only way to use their age-old knowledge is to buy them back from the big corporations. In Brazil, which has some of the richest biodiversity in the world, large multinational corporations have already patented more than half the known plant species. (para.3)

The exploitation of Native resources and knowledge in the on-going development of Western technologies is a threat to the many indigenous people, many of whom are struggling to keep their traditional knowledge, skills and values intact while surviving in the modern world (Shiva, 1999).

The Hegemony of Capitalism

Western capitalism shares several virtues with individualism and Western educational values: the freedom of choice and decentralized decision making (Harvey, 2006). Many countries who have followed Continental European models of centralization, including France, Italy, Spain, Brazil, Sweden and China, are now decentralizing their educational programs, giving teachers more autonomy in the classroom, and encouraging more independence and critical thinking in students (Forsberg & Lundgren, 2004; Bonnet, 2004; Cheng, 2004). The United States is a notable exception; legislation such as “No Child Left Behind” has moved a traditionally decentralized nation toward centralization (Baker, Letendre, & Goesling, 2005, p. 65; Schrag, 2004).

Many countries other than the United States are basing their educational reforms on the notion that the market economy seems to thrive better with a more independent and creative

thinking work force. Singapore, in particular, has been single-minded in its efforts to promote critical thinking in its students, for the purpose of developing more effective and productive business men and women (Horsky & Ghim-Lian Chew, 2003).

Individual freedoms and choice are important in the theory of neoliberalism, a system of economic practices put into place under Reagan and Thatcher leadership that was designed to restore class power to elites (Harvey, 2005, p. 16). In outlining the theory of neoliberalism, Harvey (2005) described it as a proposal that the market exchange act as an ethic capable of “acting as a guide to all human action, and substituting for all previously held ethical beliefs,” and attempts to bring all human activity, including education, into the free market exchange (p. 3). The state is required to protect these international ventures by force if necessary, but in laissez-faire policies of capitalism, state intervention in markets must be kept to a minimum, thereby freeing enterprises to maximize their potentials both nationally and internationally (p. 2). Tragically, the economic disaster of 2008 has been attributed in part to these laissez-faire policies (Garten, 2008).

American economist Sylvia Hewlett, has studied the effect of Reagan and Thatcher’s ideological preference for free markets and the effect this has had on families and children in rich countries. In a UNICEF study published in 1993, Hewlett notes that the “neglect-filled Anglo-American model based on market discipline for the poor has largely privatized child rearing while making it effectively impossible for most of the population to rear children” due to falling wages, job insecurity, and long working hours, even while corporate profits are booming.

An example of the effects of neoliberalism on the identity and status of nation-states, is the 1973 coup in Chile against the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende, promoted by national elites but backed by U.S. corporations, the CIA, and the U.S Secretary of

State. All forms of socialist local organizations such as the community health centers in poorer sections of the country were dismantled, nationalizations were reversed and public assets were privatized, natural resources such as fisheries and timber were opened up to private and unregulated exploitation despite claims by Native peoples, and the rights of foreign companies with interests in Chile were protected (Harvey, 2006, pp 7, 8). It is these powerful political, economic and social forces that have pushed Western corporate interests around the globe, and Western educational institutions have been one of the propagating tools of this process (Simsek & Yildirim, 2003; Mule, 1999, p. 230; Prakash, 1999).

The language of capitalism and neoliberalism permeates much of modern educational discourse. Rosen (2003) highlights the role of marketing language used in a conflict between two groups of parents arguing over curriculum and instructional methods used in their schools.

I examine the processes of cultural production at play in this debate, in which a group of parents used a neoliberal vocabulary to argue for parental choice of curriculum materials in their children's classrooms. This group represented themselves as "customers" of schools and argued for their entitlements to "consumer choice." This claim was vigorously contested by an opposing group of parents and teachers who challenged the legitimacy of the "customer" identity and of descriptions of schools in the idioms of the market. (p. 161)

Bartlett (2003) contrasts competing educational adult education projects in Brazil and other Latin American countries in terms of whether they advocate marketing or social goals:

The first, what I call economic efficiency, places schools in the service of economic goals of the market and transnational capital, the state, and/or the individual student. This educational project predominates in systems of formal schooling. The second, which is

widely known as popular education, advocates a more communal vision of human development, wherein schooling directed at marginalized populations encourages political action and aims to redistribute power and wealth (or at least criticizes the lack of equity and promotes social rather than individual, explanations for that lack). (p. 184)

Bartlett also characterizes the use of phonics-and-skills approach in curriculum as an economist approach which promotes human capital theory and is promoted by many international development circles and the World Bank. The whole-language approach, on the other hand, is preferred by Freirean, informal adult literacy programs who use such critical “generative words” as *fome* (hunger), *saude* (health), and *moradia* (housing) (pp. 194-195).

The effects of neoliberalism on education have been profound:

As an educational project, economic efficiency has evolved to fit neoliberal reforms sponsored by the development banks and partially executed by most Latin American governments since the 1980s (Henales and Edwards, 2000; Levy 1986; Puiggros 1999). Proponents of economic efficiency have cooled on the idea of government intervention (Easton and Kless 1992). They increasingly recommend the marketization of education through increased user fees, the injection of market principles of competition and consumer choice through outright privatization of services, and increased standardization of curriculum and assessment through national testing. (Bartlett, pp. 195, 196)

Chile’s extensive voucher system is demonstrating that voucher systems, while they allow parents more choices to offer support to their children’s education, also increase social inequality, since more well-to-do parents have more financial and decision-making input in their children’s schooling than poor parents (McMeekin, 2004). Baker, LeTendre and Goesling (2005) argue that because class lines still follow family backgrounds, and schools continue to be

unable to create equality in society, family socialization processes should be weakened in order to allow school socialization processes to work better (p. 46).

The inability of schooling systems to bring about social equality is evident throughout the history of compulsory schooling. In a system that assumes that all students can learn, there should be all winners and no losers. However, in a system of meritocracy, competition, and choice, not all students can take the top positions, and those who don't take top positions can only blame themselves (Earley, 2000, Katz, 116, Bowles & Gintis, 1977). The individualistic nuances of the educational system's focus on equality of opportunity rather than equality of condition, and the cultural assumptions that quality will rise to the top through meritocracy, allow schools to legitimize and perpetuate inequality despite reform after reform promoting egalitarianism (Baker & LeTendre, 2005 p. 64; Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 11). The competition that separates the winners and losers and the segregation of class that results is at odds with democracy's ideal that all citizens should have the education that enables them to engage in self-governance (Gallagher & Bailey, 2000, p. 13; Earley, 2000; Labaree, 1997; Purpel, 1989).

While claims for egalitarianism and meritocracy in public school have been advanced as evidence of the fairness of the system, in actuality, Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that "schools legitimate inequality through the ostensibly meritocratic manner by which they reward and promote students, and allocate them to distinct positions in the occupational hierarchy" (p. 11). They quote a number of studies that have showed insignificant differences between rates of success in school and IQ (Jencks, 1973; Hause, 1972; Taubman & Wales, 1974), and note that what does affect a student's success in school appears to be ability to fit in with the school's socializing mechanisms (Edwards, 1975; Smith, 1967; Bowles, Gintis, Meyer, 1975).

Bowles and Gintis (1975) go on to describe how socialization methods in schools tend to follow class expectations. Lower levels of hierarchy in the school system are associated with following rules, middle levels emphasize dependability and abilities to work without direct supervision, and higher levels emphasize internalizing the norms of the institution.

Similarly, in education, lower levels (junior and senior high school) tend to severely limit and channel the activities of students. Somewhat higher up the educational ladder, teacher and community colleges allow for more independent activity and less overall supervision. At the top, the elite four-year colleges emphasize social relationships as conformable with the higher levels in the production hierarchy. Thus schools continually maintain their hold on students. As they “master” one type of behavioral regulation, they are either allowed to progress to the next or are channeled into the corresponding level in the hierarchy of production. (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 132)

In this way, schools have come to serve as gate-keepers to the classes, as Burton Bledstein (1997) pointed out in his discussion on the connection of the development of middle-class America and higher education” (p. 34). Bledstein adds, “Perhaps no Calvinist system of thought ever made use of the insecurities of people more effectively than did the culture of professionalism.” Katz (1987) concurs:

Until the late nineteenth century, most experts and expert knowledge had been produced outside universities. By capturing the process through which they were produced and transferring the actual production of much new knowledge from outside their walls to within them, universities staged one of the great coups in the history of capitalism.

However, they met only minimal resistance because the imperial interests of universities and the self-protective instincts of professionals reinforced each other nicely. Together,

they made credentials dispensed by universities the hallmark of professional expertise. (p. 167)

Issues of tenure illustrate how important conformity is in the upper levels of education. Discussions of tenure for professional educators at the top of the educational ladder often involve issues of conformity with norms of the different disciplines as well as the institution. Though academic freedom is a treasured value of the academy, faculty may not have academic freedom until they have demonstrated conformity to the established patterns of thought (Hays, 2003, p. 45; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996).

Capitalism itself, divested of its Calvinist morality and sense of responsibility to the community through the rise of science, nihilism and other secularizing influences, has driven forward marketing strategies that are built on self-interest alone (Stone, 1997, Fraser, 1999, p. 132; Earley, 2000, p. 36; Nord, 1995 p. 36) F. W. Taylor's emphasis on the scientific methods of management resulted in taking over the skills of the individual, and owning and managing them. When translated into educational policy, these management policies have become marketing strategies emphasizing standardization and centralized sanctions directed toward those who don't conform (Foster, 1986, p. 38; Earley, 2000, p. 36). Outcome-based educational goals and objectives, national testing, and issues of accountability have become the focus of modern educational systems in the United States, resulting in the role of the teacher falling back into that of a semiskilled worker and technician rather than a professional (Earley, 2000, 37). As we've noted, this is the opposite of world schooling trends toward decentralization; and even in decentralization trends, the reasons for offering more autonomy have been for neoliberal rather than humanist reasons.

Since universities are rarely unified by ideals of any kind anymore, the term “multiversities” has come into use, illustrating the loosely associated entities operating toward a variety of ends on campuses today. Chomsky refers to modern universities as a “bought priesthood” (using a term of the labor press), “serving the real masters in the state-supported private system of power, either as managers or apologists who ‘beat the people with the people’s stick’ . . . in the state capitalist democracies” (Chomsky, 2003, p. 31).

A number of components which characterize a university assimilated to the requirements of the marketplace and state have been identified: a) the increasing similarities between the organizational designs of the universities and corporations, particularly in regard to following laws of supply and demand in internal decision-making processes; b) the practice of determining university priorities and plans for development to follow in line with requirements of corporations and the state, such as research based on availability of funds provided by these entities; c) the fact that faculty, acting as entrepreneurs, owe their greatest loyalties to their peers, clients and sponsors; d) that self-interest in these business ventures precludes the academy from acting as genuine critics in social and political analysis (Katz, 1987, p. 178; Marsden, 1994, p. 370).

To recap, the infusion of capitalistic principles in education have not only had the regrettable effect of emphasizing class differences and transposing economic development for human development, but education has become the handmaiden of whatever political interests hold the reins in the nation-state. Whoever is politically in charge runs the infrastructure of the nation-state, which includes the public schooling programs.

Formal Bureaucracy versus Informal Means of Governance

Riggs (1996) notes the close connections between capitalism, industry and bureaucracy in his analysis of the state of public administrations and their effects on infrastructures and social fabrics of indigenous communities. Administrative philosophies in educational administration have tended to follow business models which do not lend themselves well to working with diverse populations and the shifting needs of human relationships and development such as those found in education. Zaleznik, quoted in Sergiovanni's *Moral Leadership* (1992) describes the "mystique" of management this way:

As it evolved in practice, the mystique required managers to dedicate themselves to process, structures, roles, and indirect forms of communication and to ignore ideas, people, emotions, and direct talk. It deflected attention from the realities of business [and schools] while it reassured and rewarded those who believed in the mystique. (p. 4)

While hierarchies used in bureaucracy are useful to administrate large numbers of people and activities, along with hierarchy comes an increasing distance between those who control the school and those who are served by it. Decision-making personal feel little need to listen to students, parents, and others outside their system. Without sensitivity to on-going concerns of the community, they become wrapped up in the process of self-preservation instead of keeping apace of the shifting needs of the community (Katz, 1987, 58-110).

In order for bureaucracies to keep working well, policies either need to self-destruct, or administrators need to unravel their own hard-won organizational fabric in order to keep up with the ever-changing challenges of new situations. Neither actions are likely, so bureaucracies quickly become hide-bound. Heckscher (1991) refers to marketing in his discussion on bureaucratic structures, but these characteristics are shared in educational bureaucracies:

Bureaucracy is ill-suited to the demands of advanced markets for innovation and quality. It depends on stable routine, and every significant change requires a reordering of the entire structure. Nor is bureaucracy good at freewheeling invention. The lack of discretion and initiative intentionally built into a tightly controlled bureaucratic company work against both creativity and high quality. (Heckscher, 1991, p. 119)

Often educational institutions find themselves struggling to attain conflicting goals. For example, goals for increasing parental influence on schooling requires decentralization, while goals for decreasing racial segregation requires more centralization and homogenization. It's little wonder when such institutional reforms meet with little success (Katz, 1987, p. 120).

The development of concept of adolescence is an example of the long-term effects of some bureaucratic structures. Stanley Hall's 1904 *Adolescence* examined the emergence of a developmental phenomenon in the late 1800s that didn't exist until youth stayed home and went to school for much longer periods, prolonging institutional dependence (Esman, 1993). Institutions may unwittingly create social structures that become such a part of the fabric of society that we take them for granted. These social structures may or may not benefit those labeled and sorted by the system, but once the system has been established through bureaucratic means, it is difficult to buck.

Bureaucracies assume responsibility for, and appear to have the power to achieve, a wide number of objectives, but these are often illusions. Schools have been promoted as creators of equality, when in actuality they perpetuate the class system (Bowles & Gintis, p. 85, 89). They have been promoted as the means of solving society's social, economic, political, and moral problems, but their efforts have fallen far short of their goals. Rather than recognize the inherent

faults of the system, however, schools tend to try harder with more of the same (Baker & LeTendre, 2005, p. 64; Katz, 124).

Often reform movements deflect the attention of the public and cover up the inability of the system to address the basic issues at stake. For example, permissive education may appear open and flexible when in actuality it is concealing a tight system of control. Since direct confrontations are avoided between those in authority and those who are being controlled, hierarchical systems of organization are able to hide behind a mask of what looks like participation (Lasch, 1979; Zuckerman, 1975; Katz, 123).

Legislation such as “No Child Left Behind” touts centralization, accountability and testing as the pathway to the eradication of inequality, when centralization and national tests have never accomplished this object in all the countries they have been tried in to date (Schrag, 2004; Kohn, 1999; Baker & LeTendre, 2005, p. 65). Social inequities are increasing around the globe as a direct result of, indeed essential to the neoliberalism project to restore upper-class power promoted in Western economic, social and educational systems (Harvey, 2005, p. 16). The public doesn’t generally recognize this outcome, since neoliberal activities are disguised as practical efforts to promote the cause of individual freedoms for the development of enterprise (Harvey, 2005 p. 40).

Prakash and Esteva (1998) summarize the deceptions in the educational/communication/teaching/learning technologies:

The *illusion* of democratic access to “knowledge,” hides the *reality* of its undemocratic privatization; just as the illusion of equality hides brutal injustice; or the illusion of suffrage hides the concentration of political power by a self-appointed elite; while the

illusion of the “sovereignty of the consumer” hides the corporate control of peoples’ lives. (p. 107)

Heckscher (1991) notes a tendency of bureaucracies (including educational bureaucracies) to fall apart. Reforms that address challenging issues often simply recycle them instead.

Bureaucratic organizations tend to degenerate over time. The original form—as developed, for example, by Alfred Sloan of General Motors during the 1920s—clearly spells out roles and allows a lot of autonomy. But soon mistakes are made, controls are added to prevent a repetition, responsibility is drawn upward, and the top managers get embroiled in details and lose their strategic focus. Meanwhile, managers seek to secure their positions by building personal empires inside the bureaucracy. The end result is a bloated, rule-bound, and conservative organization. (p. 120)

Heckscher (1991) goes on to describe how a clean-up of the organization may cut away excess fat, but in time, layers of management and rules that had been cut away begin to reappear in order to deal with the problems that continue to crop up (p. 120).

Not only are layers in administration expensive, but education is facing rising costs for a variety of other reasons, including a rise in expectations for services. Competing global economy concerns and government legislation has decreased expenditures in education around the world, even as demands for improved quality are increasing (Burke & Associates, 2005; Mhone, 2003; Harvey, 2005, p. 187).

Educational bureaucracies need to be held accountable for expenditures, but the priorities of governments most often reflect the goals of the nation-state (and the international corporations that control them) for economic development and stability, rather than the humanistic concerns

of “consolidating democracy and promoting sustainable human development” (Mhone, 2003). Mhone addresses the particular concerns that many African nation-states have in dealing with post-colonial administrations. Nevertheless, in his assessment of Western bureaucracies around the world, Riggs (1996) generalizes the weaknesses of Western administrative models and the resulting costs to many nation-states, especially those without the experience and knowledge required to establish democratic controls over their bureaucracies.

Not surprisingly, in crisis situations, many of these regimes discredited themselves and provoked widespread public hostility. In such circumstances, civil servants led by military officers often felt they had no choice but to seize power by violence, suspend the constitution and discharge the legislature or any other institutions of democratic governance. Such coups cannot be explained, I believe, by the alleged ambitions and greed of those who seized power -- typically they received widespread support based on popular dissatisfaction and anger, not only at the existing regime's abuse of office but also by its inability to provide effective public administration. (Riggs, 1996, Part II, para.6)

The failing public administrations are unable to provide widely needed services such as roads, water, law and order, garbage disposal, health and of course, education. Riggs (1996) describes the costs of modernity as inherent in the seeds of the Industrial Revolution. Democracies linked with the growth of modern imperialism, led to the spawning of “a host of new and weak quasi-states which, though nominally sovereign and independent, are in fact highly dependent and typically anarchic,” fueling ethno-nationalism, violent internal wars, and mounting terrorism” (para. 12).

It seems more natural and certainly encourages optimism to think of the positive by-products of modernity, including natural science, technological innovations, improved public health, space travel and cybernetics, human rights and social justice. By contrast, we have avoided looking at the negative by-products of modernity, including the invention and use of weapons of mass destruction, the rise and fall of modern empires and the great wars which culminated in their self- destruction and collapse. Other negative aspects include the escalating destruction of the world's environment and a population explosion that now threatens the globe's carrying capacity. (Riggs, 1996, Part I, para. 12)

A crisis of confidence in governance has been a result of failing administrative practices, and this crisis is not just evident in struggling third-world countries.

Even in the heartlands of the most democratic countries, we are becoming more aware of the limitations of modernity, how bureaucratic authority can be abused and how public administration can fail to solve the complex problems generated by industrialization. Thus democratization, as an aspect of modernization, has created great expectations of bureaucratic performance in all countries and failures to meet these expectations now causes great disappointment. In the context of industrialization, the need for highly professional and competent public administration has also increased -- together, therefore, industrialization and democratization have generated the crisis of confidence in governance that marks the para-modern syndrome . . . (Riggs, 1996, Part II, para. 10)

Those who have learned to depend on the nation state for funding educational endeavors believe that they can't proceed with important tasks when external funding fails. Individual initiative weakens when bureaucratic processes take over (Weber, 1906). This is perhaps one of

the most damaging outcomes of bureaucratic processes. As professionals who run educational bureaucracies take over responsibilities that have been the domain of individuals, families, and communities, individual and community powers to think and to do for themselves and to shape critical social and moral outcomes, die away (Semali, 1999, p. 108). Public educational programs are usually shaped by federal and state legislation, and parents often have little say in curriculum, texts, teachers, or scheduling. Even when parents are invited to have a say, it can be intimidating for lay people to question professionals or a bureaucratic process (Bledstein, 1976, p. 100). One parent described the situation this way:

The schools do not like to inform parents. Sometimes parents feel they have no say in what is required for their child. Parents who come from an oppressed society have so much to deal with, lack of self-esteem, the ability to speak effectively, joblessness, isolation and poverty. Parents who feel this way really have a hard time to try and stand up for their children. Because they themselves do not know how to question why. It is passed on to the child. (Personal Communication, college student, 1996)

When funding is accepted from outside sources, the assumptions, qualifications, and expectations of these outside funding sources must be met. This is a major method of grant-awarding foundations and governments to control outcomes, but as a result, the local voice is overpowered and silenced (Leeuw, 1998, p. 79; Reed-Danahay, 2005, pp. 204, 215).

Furthermore, highly centralized education bureaucracies not only limit local educators and community members from formulating policies that address local needs, but these bureaucracies are easily manipulated by political groups more interested in influencing the direction of the country than responding to the needs of children and local communities (Segal-Levit, 2003).

Bureaucracy that is thus manipulated quickly loses the confidence of those under its management (Simsek & Yildirim, 2004, p. 172).

The dilemma of centralized versus decentralized power and decision-making has always been a source of conflict and tension. In writing about legal reform, Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia in the late 1700s, once commented that the most difficult aspect of government to balance was the relationship between the center and the regions (Canning & Kerr, 2004, p. 45). The governments of nation-states today face similar dilemmas in balancing the concerns of unity and localism. May (1998) lists several advantages of a nation state:

It liberates individuals from the tyranny of narrow communities, guarantees their personal autonomy, equality and common citizenship, and provides the basis for a collectively shared way of life (Parekh, 1995). Or at least it does so in theory. As such, it is often viewed as the apogee of modernity and progress, representing in clear political terms the triumph of universalism over particularism. (p. 273)

Often problems lie in how unity is acquired, however. Central requirements for the adoption of a common language for use in the public space excludes the use and value of the minority languages that are used in many of the local regions. May (1998) goes on to say,

The imposition of a uniform national language and culture, and the ideology of political nationalism underlying it, may be described as the ‘philosophical matrix of the nation-state’ (Churchill, 1996)—that is, the widely accepted rationale for the past and current organization of nation states. (p. 273)

Michael Fullan (2003) summarizes issues of centralization versus decentralization in bureaucracy:

Centralization errs on the side of overcontrol; decentralization leans toward chaos. We have known for decades that top-down change doesn't work (you can't mandate what matters). Governments keep focusing on centralized solutions, either because they don't see any alternative or because they are impatient for results (either for political or moral reasons). Decentralized solutions, such as site-based management, also fail because groups get preoccupied with governance or lack the capacity to succeed. Even when they are successful for short periods of time, it is impossible for local developments to sustain themselves without external support and pressure. (p. 21, 22)

As Western bureaucracies try to create unity among diverse elements, they find themselves in a constant bind between top-down initiatives and grass-roots initiatives. Thomas Friedman (2005), in *The World is Flat*, describes the antithesis of global collaboration: the tribal culture.

What is the motto of the tribalist? "Me and my brother against my cousin; me, my brother, and my cousin against against the outsider." And what is the motto of the globalists, those who build collaborative supply chains? "Me and my brother and my cousin, three friends from childhood, four people in Australia, two in Beijing, six in Bangalore, three from Germany, and four people we've met only over the Internet all make up a single global supply chain." (p. 326)

"If you want to have a modern complex division of labor," Friedman stresses, "you have to be able to put more trust in strangers" (p. 326). Indeed, for many tribes, collaborating with the tribe next door may be even more difficult than collaborating with strangers. The Arab-Muslim states have many factions that have difficulties collaborating in government. Turkey is one state that has introduced public schooling to counter the religious factions caused by private schooling

in the various religious traditions, but the result has been a more secular country (Simsek & Yldirim, 2004, p. 157).

Clan Structures and Viewpoints

The organization of clans is around familial ties for the purpose of protection and mutual assistance. Members of clans value loyalty, and protection of the clan activities and interests often leads to trouble between clans, and difficulties in joining together for mutually beneficial activities. Differences between clans are cited as the reason the Scottish tribesmen had trouble joining forces to repel, first the Romans, then the Vikings, and then the English (Watson, 2004). Organized crime such as the mafia and other Blakan organizations are usually based on clan loyalties and demonstrate the violence that can characterize inter-clan relationships (Federal Bureau of Investigation).

In the extended family structure of a clan, members know each other so well that they know who is trustworthy, but this is not likely to affect their loyalty. They may be loyal to someone who isn't trustworthy but who is still a family member, and therefore someone to protect and support (Payne, 2001). The battles between rival Navajo tribal chairmen Peter MacDonald and Peterson Zah, which dominated tribal politics from the 1970s through the 1980s illustrate, in part, the clan viewpoint. When MacDonald won back the chairmanship from Zah in 1986, one council delegate noted that money and business contracts were regularly funneled to MacDonald supporters, and those councilmen who had been supporters of Zah had their chapter's applications set aside. When MacDonald was faced with allegations of bribes and kickbacks and asked to step down from tribal office, violence erupted between the supporters and critics of MacDonald as MacDonald and his vice-chairman attempted to assert their rights to office. The versions of the story vary, but as a result of the riot, two people were killed, three

others shot, and six more injured. MacDonald was incarcerated for seven years, returning to Tuba city in 2001 (Iverson, 2002, p. 293-297).

Because the Bible is the oldest history of the clan system that gave rise to the Judeo-Christian world view, it is a valuable source of information about clans and their systems of political and social organization. Jacob's twelve sons fathered the twelve clans that made up the tribe of Israel. Judges 19-21 documents a struggle between justice and clan loyalties involving all of Israel's clans, and illustrates what can happen when clan relationships become more important than issues of justice.

The story describes a Levite who was traveling with his concubine through Gibeah, a town in the clan of Benjamin. The Levite was accosted by the men of the town who were looking for sex. Trying to prevent trouble, he gave them his concubine, who was treated so badly that she died before morning. The Levite cut the woman into 12 pieces and sent them out to the rest of the tribes of Israel as a shocking call to action. When the tribes gathered to seek justice, the tribe of Benjamin refused to turn over the men of Gibeah, so, after consulting with God, the 11 other clans of Israel fought Benjamin. The troops of Israel, 400,000 strong, went up to attack Benjamin's 26,000 men. Israel was beaten badly during the first and second attacks, although God sent them into battle; a tenth of their troops, 40,000, were killed before the battle finally turned in Israel's favor, and they nearly wiped out Benjamin's tribe.

This is a strange and violent tale, but what was at stake was the morality of an entire tribe. Not only was the clan of Benjamin called to account for backing the wicked town of Gibeah, but it appears that the other clans were punished for allowing such lawlessness to rise in the first place.

The civil war of the United States is a parallel example of the precedence of moral principles of justice over social and political unity between the states. The north as well as the south suffered great casualties in the war, and at least one church leader of the times made note of this: “God is punishing this nation for the high crime of slavery. He has the destiny of the nation in His hands. He will punish the South for the sin of slavery, and the North for so long suffering its overreaching and overbearing influence” (White, 1948, p. 264).

A present-day illustration of the pull of family and clan unity has been illustrated in the story of the Freedom Writers Diary (1999). Erin Gruwell, a young teacher at a high school in Long Beach, California, realized that her African-American, Latino, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Caucasian students knew a great deal about gang violence in their own neighborhoods, but nothing about the holocaust. As her class studied prejudice, they began to write their own stories of war and frustration, compiled as the Freedom Writers Diary (1999).

One of the stories chronicles the struggles of a young Latino student who was pressured to protect her clan members against all outsiders, regardless of truth or justice. Because of what she had learned about social justice and prejudice, she found the courage to testify against her own Latino community when she was the only witness in a shooting, though it cut across strong traditions of loyalty to her own kind, and put her at odds with her community (The Freedom Writers with Gruwell, 1999, pp. 64-66).

While ties between clan members may be strong, relationships between clans and tribes can be violent (The Asia Foundation, 2007; Kasozi, 1994). Mahone (2003) addresses the need for nation-states that are split by many tribal ethnicities to search for ways to work with such diverse populations that not only have a hard time getting along together, but have a hard time

working with outside, Western-styled governing styles. He argues that African nation-states need to “indigenize the discourse on governance and public administration in Africa” (para. 5).

More heterodox approaches are needed to explore innovative institutional and organizational structures that can address the fragmented and dichotomous socio-economic structures of African polities and their development and democratic needs in the context of the current global environment . . .Such an approach would yield more legitimate and accountable practices in the eyes of the majority of the people who are currently relatively alienated by modern forms of governance borrowed from external sources. Such an exercise should be aimed at informing on the search for organic and synergistic grand approaches of governance and public administration. (para. 5)

While searching for out-of-the-box solutions for more grass-roots, home-grown styles of governance, Mahone (2003) also recognizes that both modern and tradition governing styles have their “regressive and dysfunctional practices and forms of knowledge” which should be avoided. (para. 5).

In *Culture of Poverty*, Ruby Payne (2001) describes characteristics that people of lower, middle and upper-classes hold common in many parts of the world. Payne argues that these characteristics make it hard for classes to understand each other. For example, the formal registers used in Western business settings and informal registers of language most often used in poverty cultures, are contrasts in linear and intuitive ways of communicating. Formal registers are arranged in some sequence of argument or logical progression of thought. The casual register discourse pattern includes storytelling and other conversations that are generally very descriptive, dramatic, personal, interactive, and emotive (p. 42-49).

Fixico (2003) describes traditional tribal elders' tendencies to generalize rather than use specific details. According to Fixico, elders prefer to be indirect and keep the opportunity open for further information rather than cause confrontation or risk rejection. However the direct, logical, formal-registration pattern is more quickly and easily understood, particularly in academic settings and the workplace where efficiency and clarity are important (p. 14).

Differences in communication styles need to be noted in addressing the fit between bureaucratic governance models and the traditional societies that seek to have a democratic voice in governance.

According to Payne (2001), other characteristics of poverty involve belief systems about fate and destiny. Though some people today may not attribute destiny to a God or gods, the belief is still held that whatever will happen will happen, and there's nothing anyone can do about it. Discipline is about punishment and forgiveness, not about change; Time is what is now. The future only exists as a word. Choices and their effects on the future, planning for the future, making lists of options and evaluating the possible outcomes, and saving money, aren't part of this worldview (Payne, 2001).

Nathan and Kelkar (2004) cast some insight on why such attitudes toward destiny and the future may be valuable in inhibiting accumulation and promoting the redistribution of surpluses. For example, in pre-Christian times among the Khasi of Meghalaya, India, accumulation was restricted to the chiefs or priests. Those who had too much were accused of worshiping the evil snake spirit. They would be cursed, and their wealth would revert to the chiefs and priests who would redistribute it through feasts. Among the Dai of Xishuangbanna, China, the families would be chased from the village, whereupon their wealth would be seized by the headman. In other tribal societies, rising families would be subject to "envy," and be required to atone for

having acquired wealth by giving a feast for the whole village, thus becoming poorer than anyone else. In other cases, land was redistributed (Nathan & Kelkar, 2004, pp. 295- 296, 313).

In consequence, there has historically been a strong incentive toward subsistent living rather than accumulation for many tribal peoples. Why work and plan and save if you will lose it anyway? The influx of Christianity and other Western influences have broken down the checks and balances establishing equality and stability within many Native communities. Some families have migrated to cities in order to escape social sanctions prohibiting accumulation, for example (Nathan & Kelkar, 2004, p. 296). As values of accumulation have risen, so have the needs to regulate the use of resources, as well as a wide variety of inequalities associated with capitalism such as an imbalance of gender roles and domestic violence, increased poverty, and child labor. Because of the disruption in social norms and cultural mores, it has been especially difficult to reestablish social justice and community regulations. (Nathan & Kelkar, 2004)

Globalization versus Localization

Prakash and Esteva (1998) believe that “the true problem of the modern age lies in the inhuman size or scale of many contemporary institutions and technologies” (p. 26). They quote Leopold Kohr:

Instead of centralization or unification, let us have economic cantonization. Let us replace the oceanic dimension of integrated big powers and common markets by a dike system of inter-connected but highly self-sufficient local markets and small states in which economic fluctuations can be controlled not because national or international leaders have Oxford or Yale degrees, but because the ripples of a pond, however animated, can never assume the scale of the huge swells passing through the united water masses of the open seas (Kohr, 1992, p. 11)

Kohr's use of the analogy of a tsunami is particularly appropriate in these days of globalization. In *The World is Flat*, Freidman (2005) acknowledges that not only is the world small, but the creation of a global fiber-optic network has made the world *tiny*, and all of us next-door neighbors, as close as the nearest on-line computer (p. 10).

Outsourcing, powered through software, for example, has made it possible to call in a fast-food order to McDonalds routed through India. Indeed, any application needing appointments organized, deliveries scheduled, x-ray read, power point created--in short anything handled over the phone or by computer, can be outsourced (pp. 30-47). But it has been all too evident what a glitch in the market in one area of the globe can do to such a tiny world. The tidal effect has been even greater than an underwater mountain sliding off the shore of Indonesia. It is not hard to imagine what little it might take to bring traffic and trading in the heavens and on the earth and under the earth, to come to a screeching halt.

Freidman's and Kohr's conclusions to globalization are very different. Freidman recommends higher education for everyone, particularly education in computer technology, so everybody can join in the global market. If everyone keeps up and finds their niche in the ever-changing, expanding global network, everyone can have a piece of the pie. Trust in collaborative systems around the world and a single global market should make it happen for everyone. On the other hand, Kohr, like Gandhi, recommends autonomy and interconnected but independent local markets. His recommendations are to be self-sufficient and don't put all your eggs in one basket; a diversified market is important.

It seems apparent that unregulated, boundless individualism brought on the 2008 economic crash, and the United States government has had to step in to bail out the banks to the tune of billions of dollars. The danger now is that it appears that institutions again may be

depended upon to dictate and regulate society's moral and ethical codes that science and the capitalistic ethics of industry and individualism promised, but have failed to provide (Spitzer, 2009; Meacham & Thomas, 2009).

Responding to Challenges of Western Educational Structures

Alternative Schools

In Western traditions there are still those who are experimenting with democracy, though they may be few and far between. Summerhill, England, founded by A.S. Neil in 1921, offers a “free” curriculum where children are not coerced into learning, and models the trials and joys of self-government. Sudbury Valley School, founded in 1968 in Framingham, Massachusetts, also offers an open curriculum for preschoolers through high school aged children, and follows the “one person one vote” for staff and students in its model of democracy used in self-government.

Dennis Littkey and Elliot Washor, both leaders in educational reform for the last 25 years, co-direct the Met School, a five-year-old high school in Providence, Rhode Island, which opened in 1996. The Met believes in educating “one student at a time;” each student develops their own curriculum based on their interests and the schools academic learning goals.

Apprenticeships offer many practical ways of learning. The Met has no classes, grades, or tests. Though 70% of its students have parents who never attended college, 100% of the graduating classes of the last two years have been accepted to college (Washor & Littky, 2008).

The Evergreen State College began in 1967 in Olympia, Washington as an experimental, nontraditional college. Most studies are organized by theme in largely interdisciplinary programs; one “Coordinated Studies Program” generally constitutes a full time course. Faculty issue narrative evaluations rather than grades, usually in consultation with students.

Dayle M. Bethel (1994), editor and part-author of *Compulsory Schooling and Human Learning. The Moral Failure of Public Education in America and Japan*, has drawn together a number of examples of school programs that have attempted to address a variety of concerns in education. In Japan, Kazuhiro Kojima was one of the first to develop a structure to meet the needs of school refusers. He began “Global School” in 1985. goal of the program is to offer educational services without force. It helps children decide for themselves the type of educational experiences they want and need most, and supports them in those choices. Kojima also has organized “Global Human Bridge” that provides an educational network of counseling and support services to school refusers and their parents (Fujita & Bethel, 1994). Other examples documented in *Compulsory Schooling* include Children’s Village or *Nonami Kodomo no Mura*, which was founded in Japan by Kuniko Kato, and the Newark Center for Creative Learning, founded in Newark, Delaware in 1970.

Home Education

Perhaps one of the most ubiquitous and growing examples off educational programs around the world which challenge the assumptions of state-controlled schooling is the home-schooling movement. Brian Ray (2006), the president of National Home Education Research Institute, reports that more than 2 million students are in some form off home education in the United States. Home education continues to be one of the fastest growing forms of education in the country. Patricia Lines (1994) argues that home education families who choose to teach their own children have not opted out of the social contract generally understood by the founding fathers of America.

Like the Antifederalists, these homeschoolers are asserting their historic individual rights so that they may form more meaningful bonds with family and community. In doing so,

they are not abdicating from the American agreement. To the contrary, they are affirming it. (p. 21)

The home education movement is spreading globally, as well. Christopher Klica, senior lawyer for the Home School Legal Defense Association in Purcellville, Virginia, has been helping home educators in more than 25 nations around the world organize grass-roots organizations to help home education become protected and legalized. In Japan, 300,000 junior and senior highschoolers drop out of school each year, and leaders from the corporate business community are especially interested in researching and supporting home education options (Billups, 2000). Homeschooling, however, is still not a legal option in Japan.

Home educators both in the United States and around the world are challenged by government and educational leaders who believe that parents are not qualified to educate their own children (Montgomery, 1994). German home educators are facing particular challenges; families face huge coercive fines (\$10,000 in one case), the threat of being jailed and losing custody of their children. In Bavaria, January 2007, 15 police officers took home educated 16-year-old Melissa Busekros into custody where she remained for four months. In Zita, a family fled the country after the state took custody of their children because they were homeschooling (Home School Legal Defense Association [HSLDA], 2007, 2008).

In Montana, where carefully drafted home education laws offer a freedom that is rivaled by few states, the Montana School Boards Association and School Administrators of Montana have tried to pass legislation in 1991, 1997, 2004, and 2005 that would restrict homeschooling by various means. One bill brought to the Montana Senate in 2005 advocated, among other things, that 4th, 8th, and 11th grade homeschoolers would be tested by certified school teachers in a school facility. At what was far and away the largest hearing in the state's history (the next

closest was 472 opponents, 1 proponent against another homeschool testing bill in 2004), 1148 opponents to the bill and 5 proponents presented written testimony (White, 2008).

The numbers of minority peoples in the home education movement have been growing rapidly; Ray (2006) estimates that about 15% of home educators are from minority populations.

Indigenous-Influenced or Controlled Western-Style Schools

Native peoples around the world have responded to the challenges posed by industries, capitalism, and Western bureaucracies in a variety of ways. Many indigenous peoples have come to see Western education as a means to surviving colonial and postcolonial practices. Tribal colleges in the United States have been developed to help tribal students succeed in higher educational institutions. Before tribal colleges came on the scene in the 70s, American Indian graduation rates were very low.

A special U.S Senate subcommittee report in 1969 (Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge) found that only 3% of Indian college students graduated. Since the genesis of tribal colleges, however, Indian graduation rates have risen dramatically. Dr. Mike O'Donnell, who chronicles Salish Kootenai College (SKC) history, notes that SKC alone has conferred more degrees to Indians in its 25 years than the combined total of all Montana public and private colleges and universities in the previous 100 years. (Des Jarlais & Stein, 2005)

Federal funding for tribal colleges is based on ISC (Indian Student Count), and a variety of soft monies in the form of grants are critical for keeping the tribal college doors open.

For the Arakmbut, having a school and teacher became “an important symbol of their equality with the colonists...and a mark of their recognition by Peruvian society” (Aikman, pp. 72-73). By learning Spanish, the language of the Peruvian government, the Arakmbut have been

able to work at defending their rights in trade and land deals (p. 73). For the Maori, “research through the claims process has fostered a demand for expertise across diverse fields of knowledge. . . and this has radically invigorated Maori demands for advanced educational qualifications” (Tuhiwai Smith, p. 129, quoted in McGovern, 2000).

A number of indigenous language programs such as the Maori, Hawaiian, and Sami, have tapped into the bureaucracies already in place for state education programs. Once a part of the system, their programs have been supported with public funding, facilities, and administrative structures (Smith, 1997; May, 1998, p. 292).

In Norway, the Sami (Lapp) language and cultural content has had a formal place in the school curriculum since 1969, and much has evolved in regard to the rights of Sami children to a Sami education. By 1997, the Sami were allowed to create their own separate, equal curriculum, but after more than 30 years of being a part of the national school system, barriers still exist.

Although Sami schools may teach the Sami language and culture, they are restricted by the following the design of the Norwegian school system. Therefore, the degree to which Sami-specific elements and beliefs are taught is very limited. Although the language of instruction is Sami, many would argue that it still could not be considered a “Sami” school (Lie, 2003, p. 281).

As the previous Sami Parliament’s president Ole Henrik Magga describes the situation, “The truth is that we do not today have ‘a Sami school,’ rather a type of partially translated Norwegian school. And unfortunately this translation is not so complete or good. We have no Sami school today, neither when [we] examine the contents or the organization” (as cited in Lie, 2003, pp. 281, 282).

Despite the fact that the United States has 563 federally recognized tribes, it is considerably behind Norway in promoting indigenous education. Montana, the first state to address and fund indigenous education state-wide in its public school program, has seven reservations and eight tribal governments, and more than 12 Native languages. It was 1972 before the Montana state legislation recognized the unique heritage of the American Indians of the state and the responsibility of schools to support the preservation of this heritage, and noted this in the state constitution. It took several law suits and 34 years before the legislature not only defined a quality education that was culturally responsible, but also funded the implementation of “Indian Education for All” in 2005 (Juneau & Broaddus, 2006). Now the task is to implement the Act, which puts Montana where Norway was in 1969.

In some cases, indigenous peoples have developed their own programs rather than attempt to cooperate with, and infuse their programs into, existing Western schooling systems. In some parts of the Peruvian Amazon, indigenous peoples, dissatisfied with the subordinate roles they play in decision-making in the educational programs developed for them by the dominant culture, have developed their own organizations and programs, staffed by their own experts. The Programme for Intercultural Bilingual Education (PEBIAN) on the Alto Nap River, is based on a study of the Napurun and Siecoya peoples and the structural changes required for their liberation. The Programme is designed to complement their traditional education processes and serve as a “critical filter for absorbing elements from other cultures without jeopardizing their own identity” (Aikman, 1999, p. 163).

PEBIAN neither attempts to forge something indigenous onto the national system nor does it try to forge something national onto the indigenous system. What it has sought to do is to develop a new form of education which takes the interface between cultures as its

starting point. It puts the oppression and injustices which characterize the intercultural relations of the Napuruna and Sיעויה peoples at the centre of its curriculum and analyses the indigenous situation in terms of their marginalization and dependency vis-à-vis the wider capitalist society. (p. 163)

Another program jointly developed by the Inter-ethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest and the Loreto Teacher-Training College, (AIDSEEP/ISPL) takes its direction from an indigenous conception of holistic culture founded on principles of co-operation and collective rights respect for the environment, and the indigenous movement toward self-determined development. The focus of the program is on the conflictive interface between the indigenous and non-indigenous worlds, and it aims to help its students develop analytical tools for a non-indigenous awareness of their own cultures so they can recognize the processes affecting their situation in modern society, and participate in the development of their own communities as members of a multi-ethnic state (Aikman, pp. 164,165).

Other indigenous peoples have rejected cooperation with Western ways. Gandhi opposed industrialization because it wasted resources and took people's work away (Prime, 2006). Gandhi believed that villages should be self-sufficient, rather than depend on Western-styled bureaucracy, industry, and capitalism. When production and capital were in the power of a few, the individual and the community lost the means to control their own livelihood. Gandhi objected to

the craze for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of humanity, but for all. I want the concentration

of wealth, not in the hands of a few, but in the hands of all. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of all. (Gandhi, as cited in Prime, 2006, para. 28)

Gandhi declared that “India lives in her villages, not her cities,” and such village-industries as the manufacture of hand-made cotton cloth, hand-grinding, hand-pounding, soap-making, match-making, tanning, oil-pressing and other industries should be controlled and supported by the whole population of each village. Village schools are set up to teach these trades.

All should make it a point of honour to use only village articles whenever and wherever available. Given the demand there is no doubt that most of our wants can be supplied by the villages. When we become village-minded we shall not want imitations from the West or machine-made products. (Gandhi, as cited in Prime, 2006, para. 31)

Prakash and Esteva document a number of independent initiatives undertaken by those who are resisting dependence on the market or state to meet their needs. At the heart of these initiatives is local autonomy. The movement of Community Supported Agriculture is spreading through many industrial countries, as well as experiments with alternative currencies such as exchange of goods and services (p. 41). The *Zapatistas*, indigenous Native peoples of southwestern Mexico who have organized themselves in an effort to resist neoliberalism, have declared that “the purpose of the organization is not to seize power on behalf of the people — rather it is to create a space in which people can define their own power” (Irish Mexico Group, 2001; Prakash & Esteva, 1998, p. 27)

The Free Workshop of the Art of Shoemaking is located in Tepito, a large barrio in downtown Mexico City. The Workshop doesn't have teachers; “it has maestros who really know how to make shoes . . . and young people who really want to learn” (Prakash & Esteva, 1998, p.

59) Those who attend learn how to make a living and still keep their dignity. They learn to own themselves, rather than buying and owning more and more material goods yet owing their time and skills to a boss.

In the Peruvian Andes, Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas (PRATEC) was started by three first generation of non-elite Peruvians with a university education. They began a process of “deprofessionalizing,” extricating themselves from Western “cosmovisions” and epistemologies of neoliberalism in which they had been trained, and teaching courses that supported the cultural ideologies and methods of indigenous traditions.

PRATEC organized with the goal of teaching about Andean technologies, farming practices, and knowledge systems. Their targeted audience has been technocrats of rural development, with the intention to halt destructive development projects. But their impact has far exceeded their expectations. PRATEC courses are now accredited in the Universities of Ayacucho and Cajamarca in Peru, and PRATEC members have taught also in Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, and Paraguay. . . . Andean peasant farmers' position vis-a-vis modern Western knowledge is non-confrontational and non-oppositional. They are neither fundamentalists nor purists, nor do they reject everything foreign. Rather, they see themselves relating to the West "dialogically,"--that is, interacting with the West and adopting from it what benefits their own worldview. As Eduardo Grillo Fernandez, a core member of PRATEC puts it: "...Andean peasants `digest' foreign elements, incorporating what they can use and excreting what they do not need or want" (Sclove, 1995, para. 3, 5)

Fernandez explains that the farmers view the challenges of colonialism like the challenges of hail or pests.

When frost or hail falls in the fields of our peasant communities, it is because some of us have disturbed the harmony of the world with our incorrect conduct. Similarly, the arrival of the Spanish invaders is due to a perturbation in the harmony of our own world. To free ourselves from colonialization we have to recuperate our own harmony. Then it will be impossible to colonize us, just as a healthy and strong person, in whom life flows fully, illness cannot penetrate. It is not a question of acting directly against the invader, because while we remain perturbed another can always come and invade us. (Fernandez, as quoted in Sclove, 1995, para. 6)

These indigenous programs are taking the initiative to identify for themselves what they want in an educational program and creating that program without waiting for outside support. They do not reject Western knowledge, but start first with what they know, and then proceed to take what is valuable from other traditions. Bramwell and Foreman (1993) cite Giroux as arguing,

It is clear that for any culture to extend knowledge it must first employ the methods of that culture in coming to know and *later*, employ the extended knowledge as counter-memory in moving into a critical exploration of the knowledge and the ways of knowing other cultures. (As quoted in Bramwell & Foreman, 1993, p. 570)

Need for Research

While there are educational programs which are challenging traditional Western structures of education in their design, there has been little research that describes which, if any, aspects of Western educational structures are beneficial and valued. There is some information on which aspects are causing trouble, but more could be known about which characteristics of

Western structures non-conforming educational designs purposefully avoid, and which they purposefully include. There would be little point in examining educational programs that are owned and operated by the nation-state or by any other national or international entity, as it has been demonstrated that education, ideally, should be in the hands primarily of the individual and family, and supported and protected by the community and nation-state. How this may be attempted in a self-sustaining, intact cultural environment and the challenges that are faced in the process is a matter of great interest, particularly considering the complex context of historical, philosophical and economic ideologies and powers that are present locally, nationally, and internationally. This is the study which was embarked upon as a critical ethnographic study of a mission school on a Native American reservation in the United States.

Geography of Four Corners Area

From a Western point of view, geography affects how people use the land, how they move through it, how they live on it. From a Native point of view, the land shapes the people. It gives substance to life from its gifts of food and water. It is sacred, because it is a gift in itself, a home, and a place where the holy ones reveal themselves (Kelley & Francis, 1994).

The San Juan basin once used to be part of a large inland sea that stretched from the Gulf of Mexico through Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and Montana, and Western Canada, to the Pacific Ocean. Sometime later, the Colorado Plateau was uplifted and cut into canyons and basins, one of which is the San Juan Basin. The Animas River is one of the few rivers that flows year around; the Four Corners area is semi-arid, and while Monument Valley to the West only receives 6 inches of rain annually, Chaco Canyon receives about 10 ½ inches, and Mesa Verde receives 18 inches. Chaco Canyon is about 6100 feet high, and there are various buttes, such as Fajada Butte, Pretty Rock, and Submarine Rock, that are landmarks in the area. These tend to be

sandstone, with broader bases of shale. Shiprock, to the northWest, is a striking example of a volcanic plug. Similar plugs are in Monument Valley (Dunmire & Tierney, 1997).

The Bisti Wilderness has many colors of rock layers; grey and black, deep red, mauves and pinks. Thin layers of coal are evident, as well as gypsum. There is a small petrified forest in the area; large petrified logs lie scattered on the surface of the ground, as well as bits and pieces of petrified wood. On the mesas near the Valley Grove Mission are sharks teeth, rock-embedded shells and shrimp tunnels, reminders not only of the ancient seabed, but because the shrimp tunnels were reinforced with balls of sand to protect them against wave action, they indicate that this area must have been some sort of beachhead.

Coal and oil reserves have been found on the northeastern section of the reservation. Presently there are several coal mines as well as oil wells on the reservation. Uranium, too, has been found in this area. Water contaminated from the mine washed down spillways toward Valley Grove, and local animal owners complained on the effects of the water on their livestock. When prices for uranium began to drop, the mine closed soon after it began its operation.

Navajo Tribal History

The Navajo were not indigenous in the southwest. The Ancient Ones, the Anasazi, were the peoples who built the large public buildings in Chaco Canyon, and spread their architecture, trade, culture and political influence throughout the area. While Chaco Canyon was not home to a large populous, it was the center of politics, trade and ceremony from around 800 to 1200 A.D. It was at the center of the Anasazi culture, and influenced the many great houses and kivas that went up in other centers of culture in the surrounding area. Archeological evidence points to organized agriculture; corn, beans and squash were grown in the canyon in irrigated fields.

The Navajo most likely showed up in the southwest around the 1100s and 1200s. Their language has northern Athabaskan origins, but in the 1400s the culture came to be recognizable as Navajo, or Diné as the people call themselves. It already showed a blending of two cultural traditions, Puebloan (who most likely were descendents of the Anasazi) and Athabaskan (Iverson, 2002, pp. 16-21). Over time, the Navajo have demonstrated an ability to incorporate new elements into their culture. Groups of people from the Jemez Pueblo, San Felipe Pueblo, Utes, Chiricahau Apaches, Zuis, other Puebloans, Paiutes, and some with Spanish/Mexican origins, have become identified as clans in the Navajo tribe, for a total of some 60 clans. About a third of these are of Puebloan descent (Iverson, 2002, pp. 12-14).

The Navajo have proved to be very adaptive in other ways as well. Though most didn't get along with the Spanish, aspects of Spanish clothing were assimilated into their dress. Many of the Native peoples of the southwest were weavers and potters for generations, and turquoise was valued from ancient times for jewelry and trade, but the Navajo also took on silver-smithing, a Spanish craft, and Spanish horses and sheep. While the Anasazi had woven fine cotton, the Navajo began weaving wool. Because the Diné were (and still are, to some extent) a collection of autonomous groups with very localized leadership, the Spanish had a difficult time recognizing the shared characteristics of language, rituals and values. Sometime between 1626 and 1630, the term Navajo, from the Tewa word "navahu" came into usage, meaning "great planted fields" (Iverson, 2002, pp. 25, 26).

While the Spanish had more altercations with the Pueblo and other Native tribes of the eastern parts of the southwest, the Navajo suffered more from Spanish slavery than any other group, and they fought both the Spanish and Mexicans in raids and skirmishes in which both sides captured property and animals, and took captives. When the South was annexed in the

1840s, the Americans proved to be even more of a problem (Iverson, 2002, pp. 26, 42). The slave trade continued, which did nothing to decrease the Navajo reprisals or increase cooperation with authorities.

“Civilizing” the Indians

From colonial times to the present, Western civilization and its ethnocentric press for progress has had its eye on Natives and their lands, and felt it was “manifest destiny” for Western civilizing parties to take and improve what was there. Many early protestant churches and colleges of the United States were interested in missionary work. The 1650 charter for Harvard University includes provision for the education of both English and Native Americans “in knowledge and godliness.” (Powell, 2007). The first overseas mission organization, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in 1812. One of the first organizers of the Board, a lawyer by the name of Jeremiah Evarts, helped to establish a number of missions for American Indians, as well as foreign missions. The program established its first Native missions on the east coast among the Cherokee and Choctaw in 1816 and 1818. Although Evarts and the board focused mostly on educating the children of the tribes, they considered the real purpose of the mission to be a civilizing influence (Andrew, 2002, p. 87).

Historically, missionaries to the Indians have blended concepts of religion, capitalism, and what they felt were the civilizing processes of cultural transformation. In a lecture on the subject of civilizing Indians in the early 1800s, Isaac Darneille noted that Indians didn’t have cornfields, domestic animals, decent clothing, or houses, “nor do they seem to know that these things are essential to their happiness.” (quoted in Andrew III, 1992, p. 147) Mission schools sought to awaken an appreciation of material benefits and the importance of industry in

accumulating these material benefits as a means of assimilating Native Americans into Western values (Andrew III, 1992, pp. 126, 127).

The American policy in the southwest was the same as it had been in eastern relationships with Indians. Americans believed that Indians needed to be impelled out of “savagery” into “civilization,” even if it took coercion. The Long Walk was the southwest version of the Trail of Tears of the generation before. It was the American answer for the “Indian problem,” relocating Native tribes to reservations where they could be isolated and contained. The Long Walk was actually fifty-three different incidents between 1863 and 1866, in which groups of Navajo were forced to march to Fort Sumner, named after Kit Carson’s former commanding officer (Iverson, 2002, p. 52). Carson, who was in charge of the program, cut down the peach trees and destroyed the fields along way. Thousands of Navajo died of cold, starvation, and disease in the forced marches, and at the camp. After the signing of the 1868 treaty, those who survived, some seven thousand Navajo, were allowed to return home to a reservation. When they came at last to their homeland, most of the Navajo returned to the lands they had occupied before the Long Walk, rather than staying only on the land reserved for them.

Reservation Life

Seven peace treaties were signed between the Navajo and the United States nation between 1846 and 1868, though the Senate refused to ratify most of them. The treaty signed in 1868, however, is one that is celebrated in Navajo country to this day, unlike most other Indian treaties signed by most other Indian nations. It was one which gave the Navajo the heartland of their home between their four mountains, and an identity as a semi-independent nation within a nation, a partner with the United States (Iverson, 2002, pp. 36, 37). Between the years of 1868 and 1933, legislation was passed that extended the borders of the reservation and adjusted it to

quadruple its original size. The Navajo are one of the few tribes that has expanded reservation territory through government legislation, rather than losing it (Ivorson, 2002, pp. 72, 320).

The period between 1901 and 1923 was a period of transition. The animals, especially the sheep that were given to the Navajo after their return to the reservation, had become huge herds. There were criticisms about soil erosion, which were the precursors of the deeply resented livestock reduction policies of the 1930s. Diseases such as trachoma and tuberculosis were rampant, and the flu epidemic of 1918 eventually made its way to the isolated hogans of the reservation as well, taking over 2,000 lives. Pressure to send Navajo children to school came both from the federal government and missionaries, but disease spread even more rapidly in the agencies and schools.

In the first decade of the 1900s, the government had built five schools on the reservation, and in the 1920s, built three more. Both parents and children disliked the schools, and the children often ran away. The dormitories were often crowded, the food bad. Good teachers were hard to attract and retain in an isolated, harsh environment with difficult working conditions and low pay. The Western schooling system valued punctuality and industrious purpose, but without consideration for Native values. “Within the traditional society, an educational process was carried on at home,” wrote Robert W. Young, “designed to teach children the traditional techniques of agriculture and stock raising, the legends, the taboos, and the practices of Navajo culture. Reading and writing an alien language and assuming the ways of alien people” were not valued skills (Quoted in Ivorson, 2002, p. 119). Off reservation boarding schools for Native students also became available in Albuquerque, Phoenix, and further away in Chilocco, Oklahoma, Haskell, Kansas, or Riverside, California.

In 1923, the tribal council met for the first time, organized by those who sought to have a body which represented the Navajo nation and could sign off oil leases. While the council was manipulated by outsiders at first, and struggled to believe in its own voice, it became a step in the process of developing a cohesive approach to those issues that affected all the Diné (Ivorson, 2002, pp. 98, 134, 135). The chapter house system of governance, giving voice and some local control, began in 1927. Petitions were often circulated as a way of bringing attention to such issues as land disputes, employment, roads, education and medical needs. Anthropologist Mary Shepardson noted that the chapters provided “the means by which a traditional society with its traditional problems is channeled into the modern Tribal Council system” (Quoted in Ivorson, 2002, p. 211).

Navajo Education

The role John Collier, commissioner of Indian affairs, played in the destruction of Navajo domestic herds as a means of livestock reduction, gave him a terrible taste in the mouths of the Navajo. His much touted Meriam Report of 1928 which advocated cultural pluralism in Native schools and highlighted the medical crisis that existed on many Indian reservations, was not well received by the Navajo. Collier was concerned about the inclination of school systems toward conformity and uniformity, but found that schools as well as Navajo parents were resistant to a change in traditions, even those traditions they didn't like (Ivorson, 2002, pp. 173-177).

After the war years, schools began to be viewed as a way out of poverty and the pathway to greater self-sufficiency. Lilikai Neil, the first woman elected to the Tribal Council, noted that the Navajos were looking to be “self supporting, self reliant, well educated citizens, not dependent on the ones who neglect us the most” (Quoted in Ivorson, 2002, p. 192). Because of efforts to improve themselves, there was concern that the Navajo Nation was “behind,” and

many influential Dine advocated that English be spoken all the time, and schools not “waste time” teaching Navajo history and culture (Ivorson, 2002, p. 196). Boarding schools were, for a long while, the most prevalent means of schooling, and are still in use today, but as roads have become better, and concepts of self-determination have developed even further, day schools have come more in vogue.

The 1960s and 1970s marked major movements forward in educational self-determination. Rough Rock Demonstration School, founded in 1965, was the first successful contract school in the United States in which the school board contracted with the BIA for funds to run to run the school. It was designed to give control to the community, and, in a reverse of the position of many in the forties and fifties, emphasis was given to Navajo culture and language in the curriculum. Navajo Community College, now Diné College, opened its doors in the spring of 1969. It was some years before other tribal colleges were chartered in the 70s. In 2000, Diné College saw its first woman president.

Most recently, challenges in education have focused on attempting to create a unified school system on the reservation. The labyrinth of contract schools, public schools, and BIA or BIE schools has been confusing and discouraging to parents and students. Issues of control and money hold the keys to progress in this direction (Ivorson, 2002, p. 301).

A number of tribal leaders throughout Navajo history had been interested in education as a means to help the Navajo navigate into the modern world. Lilikai Niel, the first woman on the tribal council, was one who believed schooling would be beneficial. She was the first Navajo Seventh-day Adventist to be baptized at Valley Grove Mission, the first Seventh-day Adventist mission for the Navajo. Lake Grove Mission closed in the 1930s, but Lilikai Niel believed strongly that the area needed a Seventh-day Adventist School, and it was to a large degree her

influence and aid that brought about the planting of the Valley Grove Mission School near her birthplace in 1962.

Seventh-day Adventists, Education and Missions

The Seventh-day Adventist church is an evangelical church with strong ties to the Reformation. “Sola Biblos” or “The Bible and the Bible only as the foundation of faith” was a rallying cry of Protestants during the Reformation, who believed that it is important for individuals to examine the Scriptures and determine for themselves their duty to God. Seventh-day Adventists believe that the seventh day is the Sabbath, as it was created in the Garden of Eden (Exodus 20:8). “Adventist” refers to the belief that Christ is coming again in the near future (Revelation 22:20). Other distinctive beliefs include a recognition of Christ’s present work in the heavenly sanctuary (Hebrews 9:11-15); that the church has been given the Spirit of prophesy (2 Peter 1:19-21); and that those who die sleep in the grave until they are resurrected at either Christ’s second coming when the righteous enter heaven, or at His third coming after a thousand years, when the wicked will be raised to face judgment (1 Thessalonians 4:13-18; Revelation 20:11-15).

Disaster relief, health, and religious liberty are significant services of the church. ADRA, the Adventist development and Relief Agency, offers disaster relief services around the world, as well as food security, economic development, primary health, and basic education for those most vulnerable, such as women, children, and the elderly. Publications such as “Liberty” and involvement in legislation on Capital Hill seek to protect separation of church and state and freedom of conscience in the religious and workplace. One of the largest studies of lifestyle, The Adventist Health Study, conducted through Loma Linda University, has attempted to examine the effects of diet and lifestyle on disease. The study has demonstrated that, on an average, Seventh-

day Adventist women in North America live 4.4 years longer, and men live 7.3 years longer than the general population (Loma Linda University, 2008). Nearly fifty percent of Adventists are vegetarian, and other related lifestyle behaviors include abstinence from drugs and alcohol, and an emphasis on natural health promoters such as water, sunshine, fresh air, and trust in divine power. The church owns and operates some 600 healthcare institutions; in the Sub-Saharan, clinics and hospitals annually treat over 800,000 HIV/AIDS-positive patients (Standish, 2008).

The Seventh-day Adventist church was organized in 1863. Today the church has about 15 million members, and carries on work in 203 of 229 countries recognized by the United Nations. The world-wide church is divided into 13 divisions, and the divisions are divided into unions. The unions are divided into conferences, if they are self-supporting, or missions if they are not. One and a half million students are served in church-owned educational programs: 5,666 elementary schools, 1,470 secondary schools, 12 junior colleges, 55 colleges, and 34 universities (Seventh-Day Adventist World Church Statistics). Other schools are affiliated with the church, but are not owned by the church. They may self-supporting, or are supported by donations, such as Valley Grove Mission School.

Self-supporting Adventist schools have a relatively long history in the church. Early church leader and author, Mrs. Ellen White, worked to develop a concept of education that was practical and gospel-oriented. Some of these reform ideas were similar to other protestant educational reforms of the time; she advised colleges which were starting up to purchase large acreages around their schools where students could work to support themselves. She advocated a holistic program that balanced the development of mental, physical, social and spiritual development, and a curriculum that was based on the Bible and texts that were consistent with the scriptures rather than the traditional classical texts.

College president E.A. Sutherland and Dean P. T. Morgan attempted to bring these reforms first to Walla Walla College and Battlecreek College, and then to Emmanuel Missionary College, now Andrews University in Berrien Springs, Michigan. Eventually Sutherland and Morgan left EMC and purchased property in Tennessee for Madison College. Madison College was organized in 1904 on the principle that any student willing to work could not only support themselves and pay for their education, but learn several means of supporting themselves before they graduated. The program was Bible-based and holistic. Sutherland believed in self-government, and held regular meetings in which faculty, staff and students met and together decided on policies and college activities. Eventually the college had a 220-bed sanitarium, a huge farm, orchard and vineyard, a health food factory that shipped its products world-wide, a broom factory, tailor shop, and many other industries where students could learn skills and support the school and themselves while taking classes (Sutherland, 2005).

Of Madison College, Dr. Philander P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education under Presidents Taft, Wilson and Harding, commented, “I have seen many schools of all grades in many countries, but none more interesting than this. Nowhere else have I seen so much accomplished with so little money. . . Here students, teachers, and directors, working together, constitute a self-supporting, democratic, educational community, the like of which I do not know—a fulfillment of the hopes and dreams of educators and philanthropists” (Quoted by Gish and Christman, 1989, p. 192). Madison College eventually closed its doors in 1965, but its influence still is felt in the many health and education programs started by its graduates.

Today the Adventist-Laymen's Services and Industries which originated on the campus of Madison with Sutherland as its first president, is a forum where numerous Seventh-day Adventist lay-owned (as opposed to church-owned) for-profit and non-for-profit organizations

can collaborate and share information. Valley Grove Mission is one such organization and has a church, clinic and school as part of its program.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Research Methods

While educational leaders have valued science for its attempts at clarifying *what* we do, quantitative sciences have difficulty examining *meaning*, or *why* we do what we do. The qualitative sciences are better prepared to explore deeper issues of meaning as expressed in human structures (Creswell, 1998). Rather than looking at people and what they do as a “subject,” ethnography is a way of viewing cultural aspects of people’s lives from the viewpoint of those who are living them; rather than researchers operating as outsiders who study people as objects, ethnographers ask people to help them understand what is going on as the researchers learn what it is like “looking out from the inside” (Handwerker, 2001).

Like traditional ethnography, critical ethnography uses a period of systematic fieldwork of participant-observation, key informants work, and informal and semi-formal interviews. But rather than seeking to develop a well-rounded “universalizing portrait” of complete cultures as is done in regular ethnography, critical ethnography focuses on social institutions or subgroups in “a well-theorized empirical study with a serious political intent to change people’s consciousness, if not their daily lives” (Foley, 2002, p. 140). Kincheloe and McLaren (2002) urge critical researchers to “ask questions about how what is has come to be, whose interests are served by particular institutional arrangements, and where our own frames of reference come from” (p. 124). In this context, educational processes need to be examined particularly in regard to global capitalism, neoliberalism, and asymmetrical gender, ethnic, and social class relations (Kincheloe & McLaren, p.125, 126).

This critical ethnography is a study of how the interfaces between Western educational structures and Native cultural structures function in the daily operations of a privately owned school in a Native community, how these functions have evolved, drawbacks and strengths of both Western and Native cultural structures, and current challenges in relating to the mixtures of philosophy, value systems and socialization expectations of these systems.

Research Questions

The following questions outline the areas of concern in the study.

1. What are the cultural assumptions and historical processes that characterize Western educational institutional practices?
2. How have the cultural characteristics of Western educational structures and practices impacted indigenous peoples?
3. What strengths and benefits of Western educational structures are evident in cultural interfaces with indigenous peoples?
4. What weaknesses and drawbacks of Western educational structures are evident in cultural interfaces with indigenous peoples?
5. How do indigenous groups identify and address the strengths and weaknesses of Western educational structures in the design of their educational programs?

Interview questions were general, and most often had to do with how interviewees related to the mission. Without much prompting, interviewees who reflected a variety of roles at the mission discussed various perspectives on how the current structure of the school came about. They discussed who made decisions, and under what circumstances. Other issues discussed were, why were different choices made, and what were the results? What have been key events? How has religious and educational philosophy directed in decision-making, and how have the applications of these philosophies changed over time? How was the community involved in decision-making now? Who talked to whom, when, and how? Were there formal gate-ways and persons that could be talked to only at specific times, or were communication styles more relaxed and informal? How did the community use the school? How did the school use the community?

Many of the children were at risk because of poverty, drugs, violence, and related issues, and had not been successful at other schools. Most of the children boarded at the school and went home on weekends. How did the school communicate with parents from these different circumstances? What barriers existed, and what means were used to overcome these barriers? How were the home and school cultural values different, and how did the school approach these differences? How did the children relate to these differences?

Research Procedures

Site and Sample Selection.

Creswell (1994) suggests that ethnographers select sites in which the group studied is an intact, culture-sharing group, with similar values, beliefs and assumptions. The site in this study was a mission school with religious affiliations, though it was independently owned and operated. This site was purposefully determined because unique characteristics of this school

lend themselves to the study of the interfaces of formal and informal structures of the school and community that are not necessarily owned or determined by outside forces. This school was founded by a tribal leader, but it is not owned or operated by the tribe, a church or nation-state. It is in the process of seeking accreditation by an accrediting agency for self-supporting schools, but the agency holds its license from another state.

The school had a 40-year-old history of operation within a variety of modes, and this history was of particular interest in examining how and why various structural and operational choices have been made. At the time of the study, the school appeared to be strongly committed to cultural and philosophical values that differed in some ways from the dominant Western culture of the nation.

Participants.

Using snowball or chain sampling described by Patton (2002), participants were purposefully selected who could offer the most information about the history of the school and present leadership choices regarding the structures and operational practices. These participants included members of the school board, administrators, present and past teachers, present and past students, and present and past parents, community members and tribal authorities.

Procedures.

In *Quick Ethnography*, Handwerker (2001) recognizes that modern ethnographic researchers often need fast results with a minimum outlay of resources. Rapid assessment requires a more effective, efficient study in which explicit methods are used to create a clear vision of where the researcher wants to go, how she will get there without getting lost, and how she can use personal time in the field to greatest advantage in 30-90 days or less (p. 3-6). This study was conducted during 72 days on site at the mission school.

The procedures used to conduct this study included informal personal interviews to create and build personal relationships and collect names of expert informants in a snowball fashion. Observation, participation, apprenticeships helped accomplish cultural immersion for the researcher. These were methods that aided in the initial, descriptive stage of the study.

Consent Forms

Participants were provided with informed consent forms (See Appendix.) While most interviewees signed the consent forms, one of the native participants, while orally giving permission to be quoted in the study, refused to sign a consent form. Other doctoral students have faced similar difficulties in native communities (Davison, Brown, Moffitt, 2006).

Confidentiality

The name of the mission, the nearby trading post, Bureau of Indian Education school and cities and towns, and the names of all participants in the study, have been changed. The names are consistent throughout the study, however, in order to provide continuity of voice.

Field Notes

The researcher kept a notebook of experiences and reactions as part of the research process.

Analysis

Analysis as a mind-set in ethnography is a means of systematically collecting data, as well as subjecting this data to a variety of processes whereby some logically substantiated results can be identified with some certainty (Miles & Huberman, 1994). It also affects how data is interpreted, of course. But not only does analysis affect what data is collected, data that is collected influences what analysis procedures would best transform the data into identifiable results (Wolcott, 1994, pp. 26-27, 176; Fetterman, 1989, p. 103). Transcripts of semi-structured

interviews and focus groups were used to investigate deeper themes and patterns that emerge as data collection proceeded. Material documents were also collected. Time-series (historical) data were collected and plotted to identify relationships between institutional developments and the changing cultural milieu affected by local and national key events (Handwerker, 2001, p. 145). A variety of levels of patterns and themes from a variety of sources were compared and verified using triangulation (Fetterman, 1989, pp. 96, 89).

Reflexive journaling by the researcher aided in examining the underside of the research process from the researcher's point of view, as well as provide an outlet for expression of more intuitive aspects of the research as suggested by Foley (2002).

Role of Researcher

While it is important to recognize the efficiency and quality that technical approaches to research strive to ensure, it is also important to remember that the complexity of many techniques may drown the very reason for the research in the first place: to understand and express what it is to be human. As a researcher coming from a Western structure of research, it is important that the investigator not only acknowledges and values those ways of knowing that are respectful of indigenous knowledge and expression, but reflect these values in the study. E. Valentine Daniel (1996) recognizes that culture is "no longer something out there to be discovered, described, and explained, but rather something into which the ethnographer, as interpreter, enter[s]" (p. 198).

Ethnography has most often operated within a "logocentric tradition that, to a greater or lesser extent, privileges words over actions" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002, p. 123). In order to break out of the Western logocentric privileging traditions of words, other ways of knowing and expressing meaning such as storytelling, the arts, connections to place and community,

spirituality, and other ways of knowing are important in expressing meaning as it evolves through this study. These ways of knowing will be an integral part of this study, as the attempt is made to experience and convey the structures and ways of knowing in this ethnography.

The researcher, though coming from a Western tradition both in education and culture, was born in Burma, and has lived in the Philippines and has taught in Indonesia as part of the Seventh-day Adventist world mission work. She also taught in several Native American colleges. She has been a Fulbright scholar to Peru, Guatemala, and Nepal.

Known biases that pertain to this study include the fact that the researcher is Caucasian, and has been born, raised and educated in Western ways, although many of her early years were spent with her missionary parents in other countries. She is a Seventh-day Adventist, and her first 16 years of schooling were undertaken in Seventh-day Adventist educational institutions. She has also taught in a one-room Seventh-day Adventist church school, and organized a home school program for several Adventist families in Michigan where home schools must be taught by state-licensed teachers. Although the researcher has an interest in the success in Adventist education and mission schools, she also homeschooled her own children through the first eight grades while teaching at a tribal college.

Ethical Dimensions

In order to protect confidentiality of the participants in this study, only pseudonyms were used for the sites and participants in the interviews. The research study was granted approval from the University of Montana Institutional Research Board, as well as the IRB of the Navajo nation. Participants in the research were offered an informed consent form which outlined any risks or discomfort which might have been experienced as part of the process, and options to opt

out of any discussion at any time. These forms included descriptions of the possible use of the interviews in the future and the researcher's right to publish the interviews in part or whole. Limitations that may exist in regard to confidentiality were included on the form, as well as who would have access to the transcribed field notes and transcripts of conversations.

Delimitations

This critical ethnography will be conducted at one site, and the findings deal only with this site. The site consists of a private school on the outskirts of an American Indian reservation in the southwest, and the community which exists around the school and has participated in the program, as well as been impacted by it.

Limitations

While there may be some findings may be transferred to other settings, this research does not attempt to make any universal applications of findings. However, an important aspect of this study includes a literature review that puts this critical ethnography in the context of an examination of cultural characteristics of Western structures and an extensive examination of a variety of indigenous cultural ways of knowing. While the school examined within this critical ethnography will have a unique fit within the broader context of history, the histories, philosophies and other cultural aspects of this study will bear some transferability, but only from a deeply personal point of view, as each reader connects meaning with the cultural and moral findings of this study.

It must be acknowledged that in organizing and summarizing the data, there will be some editing effect on the data itself. Simply by positioning quotations, the researcher inevitably

interprets the data for the reader, though every effort has been made to allow the data to speak for itself.

Reflexivity and Philosophy of Research

In attempting to explore the living spaces that lay between the boundaries of Western and indigenous ways of knowing, not only was it important to follow traditional Western ways of knowing such as a review of the literature and an ethnographic study, but it was also important to practice as much as possible, a wide variety of ways of knowing.

Because all research can only be perceived, recorded and communicated through human terms, the human boundedness of the researcher and the research question must be acknowledged (Davies, 2008). Reflexivity, an important aspect of qualitative research, is included in the following description of the anatomy of intuition, as described by Claxton (2000):

. . . the ability to function fluently and flexibly in complex domains without being able to describe or theorize one's expertise; to extract intricate patterns of information that are embedded in a range of seemingly disparate experiences ("implicit learning"); to make subtle and accurate judgments based on experience without accompanying justification; to detect and extract the significance of small, incidental details of a situation that others may overlook, to take time to mull over problems in order to arrive at more insightful or creative solutions; and to apply this perceptive, ruminative, inquisitive attitude to one's own perceptions and reactions—'reflection'. (p. 50)

Claxton (2000) further notes that valuing intuitive ways of knowing includes a recognition that "aesthetic, physical, environmental and emotional sensitivity are *forms of cognition*: they are valid ways of knowing that, properly understood and well developed, do not

subvert rational thought but complement it” (p. 47). In describing native ways of knowing, the importance of aesthetic, physical, environmental and emotional ways of knowing has already been described. It is apparent that there are ways of knowing that many peoples share, regardless of ethnicity, though some ethnicities may be more fluent in some ways of knowing than others.

Rather than mutually exclusive ways of knowing, the wide range of native, intuitive ways of knowing can be viewed as complementary to linear ways of knowing. Mathematician Henri Poincaré has put it this way: “It is through logic we prove; it is through intuition we discover” (As cited in Ghiselin, 1952, p. 41).

Reflexivity was present in a variety of ways in this research project. It was reflected in field notes as the researcher recorded perceptions of events and the development of friendships. The researcher’s husband, a Chippewa Métis, provided an important sounding board, as did other family members and various friends who have native backgrounds and have worked and taught in various native communities. Using sounding boards to explore meaning has been recognized as important in doing borderland indigenous studies (Saavedra & Nymark, 2008, p. 273).

In order to place the discussions in context, themes that evolved out of the analysis process were introduced through the voice of Norla Chee, a poet and one of the teachers at Valley Grove. The freshness of her language and her connection to the land, weather, people and events helped create connections to the real place and people from a native perspective and aesthetic.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS

How the Study was Conducted

Following Handwerker's (2001) suggestions for doing research in *Quick Ethnography*, the researcher undertook data collection in several stages. Information was gathered from a variety of sources. She was a participant/observer in numerous roles and activities at the mission. Key informants were identified and utilized throughout the study that outlined, elaborated upon, and authenticated data and important events; and material documents were collected from a variety of sources (Handwerker, 2001).

Field Work Dates and Site

The field work was conducted from January 25, to April 5, 2008. The mission is situated on 180 acres of privately owned land edged on the north by a wash, where a seasonal river flows. A airplane runway, barn and corrals, several greenhouses in various states of repair, shop and thrift store and community well are on the lower flat some 400 yards south of the wash. From there, a road rises up the hillside to the east, flanked by a double-story home, three duplexes, a large storage shed and a several smaller sheds where foods and grains are stored. At the top of the hill, two large water tanks overflow in a small stream that meanders past a small orchard, under the road and down a gully. As the road turns to the West, three children's homes and a guest house are situated on either side. This road turns to pass behind the clinic, but another lane in front of the clinic turns down toward the church and bottom flats. The road behind the clinic passes behind the gym and school before turning down the hill to the West of the large building which houses the cafeteria, dorms and office complex. A playground is also nestled in this

curve, to the north of the school and east of the cafeteria. The church is situated partway down the hill; to the east of the church the two roads join and travel down to the flat. Only a short portion of the eastern section of the road is paved as it goes up the steepest part of the hill toward the housing. The whole circle is about a mile.

The researcher and her husband were housed in a three-bedroom home in one of the duplexes for the duration of their stay. Many of the mission facilities were in need of repair; swamp coolers had leaked into some homes, rotting ceilings and destroying drywall. Equipment wasn't working in the maintenance shop and water pipes were frozen in the gym and church. Wind and weather were wreaking havoc on the gym and school roofs. Despite paying monthly bills of \$6,000 for propane, somehow fuel had run out. Some furnaces weren't working. The researcher's husband joined the maintenance team, while she began the study.

Meetings, Interviews, and Other Data Collection

It was required to solicit approval from the community for the research process from the Chapter House before applying to the Navajo Nation IRB in Window Rock. To do this, the researcher attended a planning meeting and a monthly meeting at the Chapter House, and a Navajo Nation IRB meeting in Window Rock. Meetings at the mission included daily devotions/staff meetings, a visioning or re-visioning meeting called by the principal, a staff meeting in which the plans for the research study was presented and participants signed consent forms, and an interim oral report at the end of the field work. In addition, there were several chapel sessions for the children, church services at Valley Grove Mission, Parks, and Orion, and an evangelistic meeting in a nearby community. Other informal meetings included "afterglow" evening programs at neighbors' homes and in the researcher's home.

The researcher spent six Wednesdays working as a clerk at the Dorcus, a thrift store which sold items and clothing that had been donated to the mission and couldn't be used otherwise. The Dorcus was also open on Sundays; the Navajo school teacher was in charge of the program, and had been for some years. The items for sale ranged from a dime to \$10.00 for new boots or a quilt, but most of the items were a dime or a quarter. Some ten to twelve community members visited the store each Wednesday.

Forty people were interviewed for this study, not including informal discussions and visits and repeated interviews with key informants. Eight of those interviewed were serving or had served on the overseeing board for the mission; sixteen were current staff members; seventeen were past staff members or had contributed to work at Valley Grove in some formal fashion; eight had been parents of students; six were from the community or not otherwise connected with Valley Grove; fourteen were native, eleven of these Navajo, and three of these previous students. Some of the interviewees had several roles connected with Valley Grove; one had been on the staff, was on the board, and had been a parent. This person was married to someone who had been not only a previous student, but was a previous staff member, a parent, and was native. Figure 4.1 charts the various roles the interviewees played in Valley Grove's story.

Figure 4.1

Contact Chart

Former student	Staff	Former staff	Parent (past or present)	Board (past or present)	Navajo -- x Non-Navajo Native --n
		x	x	x	
x		x	x		x
	x				x
	x			x	
	x				
	x			x	n
	x				n
	x				
	x				
	x				
	x			x	
	x				
	x				
		x	x		x
		x	x		x
		x			
					x
		x	x		x
		x	x		x
		x			x
		x			n
x					x
		x			
		x		x	
		x		x	
	x				
		x		x	
x					x
		x	x		x
	x				
	x				
		x		x	
		x	x		
		x			
	x				
	x				

Most of the interviews were relatively open and informal. The initial question was “What have been your experiences with the mission?” Other questions were used to clarify responses. After a number of initial interviews with native staff, however, the researcher also began asking administrative staff to describe their experiences with native workers. Several of the interviewees were key informants because of their position and longevity at the mission. They were queried several times regarding the veracity of some stories and were asked to identify the correctness of dates. Some participants directed the researcher to other participants, but most of the interviewees were at the mission, close at hand, or living near Orion, Parks, or Bonner. Some were workers who had been involved at Valley Grove, but now were working further away at Eagle Rock or Butte Point.

Sources other than interviews included newsletters that the mission had published at varying intervals, starting from 1975. The researcher also had access to mission board minutes. There were few other records available. The school had no official records of enrollment numbers. There were some yearbooks in the school library, but not all the years were represented. There was at least one instance where records were known to have been destroyed by an administrator. The current office manager had not been able to find the records even from the previous director’s administration. The church had records available of church members and baptisms, however, as these were recorded at the Rocky Mountain Seventh-day Adventist Conference office, which had oversight over the church work in the territory in which the mission was located. One of the long-time staff members had written a manuscript documenting stories of Valley Grove and the Lake Grove Mission at Smith Lake, and a partial copy was available for perusal.

Data Analysis

After the interviews were transcribed, an initial coding process via the software NVIVO was used. A code was assigned to every paragraph or topic covered in each interview by some phrase that seemed to summarize the nature of the comment. Little effort was made to predetermine what wording each phrase should take or force the comments to fit into some predetermined code, so there are phrases that are very similar but not exactly the same. Some are more descriptive than others. The codes were clustered in a tree format, using the same software. There were a total of 273 items accounted for in the trees. The first order list of codes and the initial code branches are outlined in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2
First Order Codes and Code Branches

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Values</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children's values Different values Class differences—welfare Cultural differences in expectations Educational values Family values Working versus family values Technology changing people School values Should Navajo assimilate Results of dental care in students Navajo ways and values Navajo culture Importance of culture Navajo way of praying Navajo worship style Prayer offending someone in community Modern versus old ways--welfare <p>2. Navajo Nation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> US government Politics in the BIA Honor vets Navajo women leaders Navajo school structure <p>3. Volunteer Experiences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Volunteer work Volunteer labor Mission volunteers Loma Linda students <p>4. Professional Support</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Professionals fly in—write off expenses Professional support Professional support for Valley Grove Professional support for mission <p>5. Facility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical structure hap-hazard Difficulty with phone service Facility concerns Difficulty getting electricity Facility versus reaching people Funding Donations Donors Raising funds <p>6. Navajo Leadership</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Need interpreter to preach at Valley Grove Training for Navajo leadership Navajo workers Navajo leadership Evangelist wasn't seminary trained | <p>12. Challenges for Native Work</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sometimes you think Indians are dumb Navajos don't like treatment at mission SDA versus other denominations Native converts Valley Grove not doing its job Mission is improving Valley Grove's reach—appeal around the nation Improving aspects at the mission <p>13. Chapter House</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Navajo style of meeting Relationship with Chapter House Chapter House politics <p>14. Student Attitudes</p> <p>15. Food</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vegetarian food <p>16. Administration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rigid administration Re-visioning Need to cooperation with other Navajo <p>17. Conference Leadership</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interaction Conference educational jurisdiction Conference leadership Conference relationship Church leadership in planning Conference has offered support Relationship with conference Old folks would say, we have our project Need for conference, union leadership <p>18. Director Leadership</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Director leadership Director versus team Director relationship to continuity Directors are volunteers too Change of directors---loss of records Issues with directors White leadership <p>19. Board Administration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Board values Board decision making Boards discard people too easily Board governance Board leadership Board relationship Board-director relationship Perception of mission by board Quality of board members |
|---|---|

- 7. Navajo Language
 - Navajo language
 - Stories
 - Navajo language—reading style
- 8. School
 - Discipline
 - Accreditation
 - School enrollment
 - Relationship with parents of students
 - Values
 - Boarding school pros
 - Smith Rock
 - Navajo middle school, high school
 - Vocational training
 - 10-4 schedule
- 9. Changes in Community—Mission
 - Social changes in community
 - Change in mission needs
 - Changing needs of school
 - Change in needs for mission in community
 - Shift in medical needs of community
 - Need for mission historically
- 10. History
 - History of church
 - History of Valley Grove
 - History of Valley Grove clinical work
 - History of Navajo
 - History of trading post
 - History of Valley Grove 2
 - History of mission
 - The wash
- 11. Staff
 - Staff turnover
 - Staff—dedicated, work ethic
 - Staff working conditions
 - Being a house parent
 - Valley Grove a sanctuary
 - Reason for coming to Valley Grove
 - I'm glad I live off campus
 - SDA's don't think they have to abide
 - Results of dental work
- 20. Church
 - Mission relationship
 - Attendance at church
 - Church-mission relationship
 - Impact of visiting on church attendance
- 21. Leadership fight with Navajo teacher
- 22. Community
 - Church work
 - Community needs
 - Community perception of mission
 - Community perceptions
 - Community perceptions of Valley Grove
 - Community perceptions –grudges
 - Community relationship
 - Community responses
 - Community service
 - Community re-visioning
 - Community services
 - Serving the community
 - Valley Grove and community expectations
 - Importance of continuity
 - By doing things for people
 - Valley Grove relationship with community
 - Problems with community service
 - Need for trust, consistency
 - ALERT
 - Need professional sign
 - Trouble with drinking in the family
 - Prevention versus intervention
 - Eastern agency has highest statistics
- 23. Lay Control
 - Self-supporting ministries
 - Lay ownership
 - Lay operations
 - Lay controlled
 - Lay control
 - Hazards of lay control
- 24. White Leadership
 - White leadership
 - Concerns with white leadership
 - Problems with white leadership

Because of difficulties in printing the coded text documents from the NVIVO software, and problems with displaying the tree/branch formatting, the coded text was reordered by cutting and pasting the texts into twenty four documents that were named by the titles for the clustered codes. However, though the initial coding and clustering exercise had some benefit in helping identify initial themes, some of these themes were potentially misleading. For example, the

collection of coded text under “Community” was large, and dealt with all aspects of the mission. Instead of creating one theme dealing with community, the narrative moved more smoothly when the community’s perceptions were included at every point of the description of the mission. The coded text in the cluster titled “values” also covered too many areas to be identified as a theme; this material worked better in the various areas such as part of the history of the area and life style, or discussions of differences among native values and the school, church or leadership.

Identification of Themes

Serviceable themes began to emerge from this list of first order codes as a means of describing a linear narrative of the mission. The most obvious place to begin was a theme that emerged from the discussions of community members about the history of the area. This theme came to be titled “Memories of the Chaskesi Area,” and included descriptions of the old roads and difficulties of crossing the wash without a bridge, and the differences that improvements in the roads made in the demographics of the area. It included memories of what family and community life had been like, what Valley Grove School had been like in its earlier days, and differences that being educated there had brought to their lives. Subtopics for this theme were not derived from titles of first order codes. The subtopics include: a) Location, b) The Wash and Road Conditions, c) Early Days at Valley Grove, d) Smith Rock School, e) Changes in Life Style, f) Memories of the Qualities of Academics, and g) The Chaskesi Reputation. This theme is informed by First Order Codes # 10, History, and # 1, Values.

The second theme, “Mission Development and Leadership,” relates more specifically to the history of how the Valley Grove School, clinic and church came to be organized. Because of the closure of an earlier church-supported mission in the area, and the commitment of

professionals and other Seventh-day Adventist church members in a nearby city to purchase and solicit support for the mission nation-wide, Valley Grove became a lay-supported institution. However, the mission still kept ties with the Seventh-day Adventist church leadership at the conference and union levels while remaining a self-supporting mission. How these ties were maintained and how mission leadership at the board and director levels was organized are parts of this theme, as well as discussions related to the staff and volunteers who worked at the mission. The subtopics of the theme evolved in part from the first order code titles, but were not restricted to them. These subtopics are titled a) Early Founders and Supporters of Valley Grove Mission, b) Advantages and Disadvantages of Being Self-Supporting, c) Seventh-day Adventist Conference, Union and Division Leadership, d) Board Leadership, e) Mission Directors, f) Constituency Meetings, and g) Staff. The first order codes informing this theme include the following: # 3. Volunteers Experiences; # 4. Professional Support; #11. Staff; #16. Administration; #17. Conference Leadership; #18. Director Leadership; #19. Board Administration; #23. Lay Control; #21. Leadership fight with Navajo teacher; and #24. White Leadership

The third theme, “Mission Purpose” is concerned with the three programs which the mission operates, the school, the clinic, and the church, discussions of how the mission’s work should proceed, and for what purpose. How the community perceived each aspect of the mission is addressed in this theme. Several of the titles for the subtopics for this theme were drawn from the first order codes, but a number of the first order codes actually became lesser divisions of the subtopics. This is a large theme with 24 subtopics. In order to facilitate conceptualization of this theme, these subtopics fall under the following categories: a) Defining Mission Purpose, b) The School, c) The Clinic, and d) The Church. The first order codes from which this theme was

drawn include # 5. Facility; #7. Navajo Language; #8. School; #9. Changes in Community—Mission; # 12. Challenges for Native Work; # 20. Church; #22. Community. No first order code for the clinic was created; the community seemed to have little to say about the clinic, though the mission staff and mission leadership described the clinic as an integral part of the mission. Discussion items relating to the clinic were found within codes relating to staff and mission purpose.

The fourth theme, “Native Leadership,” evolved as the researcher interviewed natives connected with the mission. Issues of the mission were eclipsed by the work that many of the native workers longed to do for their own people. The researcher included questions that explored this theme in the interviews. White leadership discussed why they felt native people weren’t in leadership, and native workers discussed the barriers they had faced. First order codes relating to this theme include #1. Values; #6. Navajo Leadership; #13. Chapter House, and #2. Navajo Nation. The subtopics for this theme include: a) Desires for Service, b) Cultural Differences and Barriers in Training and Worship, c) Reasons for Few Navajos in Leadership, d) Western versus Native Preferences in Training.

The four themes and subtopics are outlined in the “Concept Map of the Themes of the Study” (Figure 4.3) below.

Figure 4.3

Concept Map of the Themes of the Study



Fine-tuning the Themes as Narratives

In the development of the themes as narratives, it eventually became noticeable that the coded documents were limiting. The texts separated into coded documents were out of context to some degree, and some seemed to be missing nuances that were present in the original transcripts. In the clustering process, some texts had been identified as belonging to one category when they worked better in another for a variety of reasons. Sometimes one quote that fit one category needed to be moved into another because it helped the flow of the narrative move more smoothly. As a narrative style developed, it became important to work from the individual transcripts themselves, though this was tedious and involved multiple readings of the more than forty transcripts.

The texts were used in different ways. Some texts had “shock” value; they made a striking point as a short quote. Others were more valuable when clumped together; they had weight because of the multiple voices. Some comments were lengthy, but they were valuable because they showed progression of thought by the individual. Voice was given to these individuals by giving appropriate space to these comments, and focus was offered by interrupting the quotes by narrative in order to highlight important points.

Because only two of the forty texts were audio-taped, the transcriptions of the interviews had to be made from hastily scribed hand-written notes. Sometimes in the process of writing notes during the interview, the researcher missed words, and sometimes the speaker dropped a thought and moved onto another without completing a sentence. When it was important for meaning, the researcher filled in estimations of the missed words in the quoted material, identifying any additions to the transcribed notes with brackets. The data was presented in such a fashion as to let the voices of the various participants speak for themselves as much as possible,

but acknowledgement must be made that any organization and summary of the data will have some editing effect on the data itself.

Theme 1: Memories of the Chaskesi Area

*When the People rode the day had the sharp sound
Of wagon wheels across white rock.
It smelled like sweaty horses, and
Salted fat wrapped in a cold tortilla.
From these rides, my father says,
They named the last hill,
Before it was a power station, Where Coyote Sits.
(Chee, 2001, p. 38)*

The history of the area and how the community perceived the history of the area, the mission, and the school was largely documented in the first order code, #10. History, as well as part of #1. Values. As interviewees discussed memories of how they grew up in the area, how things used to be in the community, and how the schools and changing road conditions and job opportunities affected life styles in the community, it became evident that these discussions comparing the past to the present constituted not only a theme, but portrayed the background for the study. These memories present an introduction to the community cultural milieu and value systems against which the bigger elements of modern development were played out; the changing environment, developing transportation and roads, the effects of schooling on jobs and local economics and life style, and formal and informal leadership and community organization.

Accordingly, this theme is described by participants through the seven topics: a) Location, b) The Wash and Road Conditions, c) Early Days at Valley Grove, d) Smith Rock School, e) Changes in Life Style, f) Memories of the quality of Academics, and g) The Chaskesi Reputation.

4.01 Location.

The Chaskesi area is to the east of the Navajo reservation proper, in what is called the checkerboard region, because parcels of land are owned by the U.S. government, the Navajo tribe, and private individuals. Navajo land is divided into five agencies and a 102 chapter houses. The Valley Grove School is located in the Eastern Agency, and is close to two chapter houses.

4.02 History of the Chaskesi Area

Back in the 1800s, a trading post was set up where the wash crosses the road heading north and south. Jack, grandson of the Mormon trader who took over several of the trading posts in the area in the early 1900's and is now owner of the local store, noted

This was one of the oldest, most remote trading posts off the reservation. It's roughly over 100 years old. (Jack, community member, interview, primary source)

Over the years, the original trading post on the north side of the wash, changed hands and sites several times, but it has remained in the hands of one family for nearly seventy years. Through the years, the trading post has operated at the heart of the local economy, despite changes in conditions.

They [people in the community] used to come in here to buy groceries, and dad would put it on the account, and when spring came and they sheared the sheep, they would pay off the account with wool. Dad and granddad had sheep. They'd buy 10,000 head of lambs at 80 lbs a lamb, and drive them into town. There was lot more grass and feed then. The top of the grass used to be up to the stirrups around here. When they had the big drought out here, they cut back to 4,000 head of lambs, at 40 lbs, because of the drought, and it's never really come back.

The Navajo were pretty much a self-supporting people, and when that happened, the welfare came in. They used to sell their wool and pay off their bills. There wasn't much money out here, it was more rugs and trading. (Jack, community member, interview, primary source)

Another trading post known as the Tanner trading post, had been located close to the wash on the south side of the wash, and this became the eventual site of the Valley Grove Mission.

4.03 The Lake Grove Mission

In the early 1900s, a young Seventh-day Adventist family, Ortno Follet and his wife, wanted to join a foreign mission. However, because of his health, Follet was not allowed to go overseas. Follet became interested in the Navajo, and tried for several years to interest the General Conference, the organizational body of the Seventh-day Adventist church, to begin a mission among the Navajo. In 1916, the Texico conference purchased some 600 acres at Smith Lake, 20 miles north of Thoreau. The Follet family moved to the site and began the Lake Grove mission school and dispensary in 1916. In 1917, Lilikai Julian became the first Navajo Seventh-day Adventist to be baptized.

The following year, 1918, was to see the opening of a school at Lake Grove. Unfortunately, the influenza epidemic was raging, and the first teacher to arrive at Lake Grove Mission, Oscar Nystal, died within three weeks. The second teacher, a Mr. Lowry, and his wife arrived in November. Mrs. Lowry succumbed to the flu within two weeks of her arrival. Despite these tragedies, the school carried on until 1927. A clinic had also been opened, and this work continued until Orno's health failed and he and his family had to leave. The mission closed

its doors for lack of help in the late 1930's, and the property was sold. (Starrett, personal interview, March 5, 2008)

Lilikai Julian eventually married a trader, Mr. Neil, and became the first woman elected to the Tribal Council. As a Council woman, Lilikai Neil noted that the Navajos were looking to be “self supporting, self reliant, well educated citizens, not dependent on the ones who neglect us the most” (As quoted in Ivorson, 2002, p. 192). One night, Lilikai had a vision of a smiling Jesus, who stood in a circle of light. Many moccasins moved past outside the circle of light but didn't enter, until some small pairs of moccasins came dancing into the circle, close to Jesus, who welcomed them. Lilikai believed that the dream was leading her to work to establish a school for the Navajo children. She worked with other native leaders at the local chapter house to establish a Seventh-day Adventist mission and school once again in the area where she had been born and raised (Cummings, 1964; Starrett, unpublished manuscript). In its acceptance of the plans for the mission, the chapter house asked that there would never be a bar or dance hall at Valley Grove School, and that the school would teach practical things like how to repair a car, build a house, and be better farmers (Navajo News, September, 1978). In 1960, property was purchased in the Chaskesi area. The wash bordered the property on the north.

There were some in the community that still remembered the Lake Grove mission, and were glad to see another Seventh-day Adventist mission come to the area. Veda Schroder, one of Valley Grove's founders, wrote this story about an elderly man she met on her travels and his memories of the Lake Grove mission.

About the time the land for Valley Grove had been purchased but as yet was not functioning as a mission my interpreter and I went on a mission trip about sixty five miles south of Orion. We always were very careful never to pick up a hitchhiker—but this time

we gave an elderly man a ride. He asked my interpreter who we were and when she said Seventh-day Adventists, he leaned over the front seat and spoke to her for a long time in Navajo. After he had finished she told me this story; “When I was a small boy I went to a Seven Day Mission for two years. The mission was at Smith Lake, about forty miles south of Valley Grove, and the missionary had to go away and there was no more Seven Day Mission. I always remembered the things I learned there. I went to other missions but they didn’t seem right according to what the Bible says. They never told us about Jesus coming to take us to His home in heaven. They didn’t go to church on the right day. But I am so glad I learned to pray to God in heaven. Many times I would go out at night, look at all the stars, and wonder where Jesus was up there. When would He come and take me to heaven. I would pray to Him and ask Him to help me and to please send the Seven Day missionary again. Then I grew up and I had my children. I taught them the things I had learned. I always hoped you would come—and now you are here, my prayers are answered. My grandchildren can go to a Seven Day mission and learn all about God and how to be ready for Him when He comes.” Two short years in a mission school brought hope and courage to John all his life. (Schroder, 1979)

4.04 The Wash and Road Conditions

The wash has played an important part in the changing demographics of the area. Usually the wash is dry, but during winter and spring rains when the wash is running, pockets of quicksand form, and it is dangerous for vehicles or animals to cross. Before bridges crossed the wash, travelers who had to wait for the wash to subside would often stay with the traders. Helping each other cope with the challenges of the weather and the terrain were a way of life for

the traders, the community folk, and the mission. Sometimes travelers would get impatient and try to cross the wash anyway.

Before the mission was here, the Navajo were already living with the traders where they traded rugs, pelts, livestock. They lived together, and to this day people talk about them. My dad's always talking about "Little Bear." People would stop by, he'd feed them supper, they'd sleep under his roof, he'd feed them breakfast, feed them hay, and they'd be on their way. They'd leave a rug for him to sell. They'd help each other that way. (José, native previous student, interview, primary source)

For years the Navajo stayed up here and never were bothered. The roads were bad, the wash couldn't be crossed. A D-9 cat, many trucks, 18-wheelers, tow-trucks got in [the wash]. Once it starts to go down, there's no way you're going to get it up. They had an old army 6 x 6 truck at the mission. That wash didn't have any bridges, and there was a road down near the mission that went across the wash. People would get stuck in the wash and we'd get them out with that 6 x 6. (Jack, community member, interview, primary source)

When the wash got flooded over, people would get distributed with the faculty and they would live with us—the same on the other side [of the wash]. (José, native previous student, interview, primary source)

It is 50 miles to the nearest city, and before the road was paved and a bridge built over the wash, trips to and from the city were daunting. In the days of horses and wagons, which some

families in the community still used when the mission was started in the 1960's, travel was arduous.

By wagon, it was a two or three day's trip to [the city]. You would buy a brand new vehicle, and in two or three years it's shaken apart, the roads were so bad. (Jack, community member, interview, primary source)

One doctor who was one of the founders of the clinic and mission recalled the days before the bridge:

Things have really changed. It was quite a drive out to Valley Grove. It took two hours. There was no bridge. Many days you couldn't cross Chaco wash at all. We'd spend a lot of time pulling cars out of the wash for people who tried to cross anyway. (Grey, interview, primary source)

Because of the isolation, providing health care and education, even food, was a challenge. *Boarding schools were the traditional way to have school. People used horses and wagons and cast-off vehicles, and transportation was a problem. The road was a problem .*

Before 1980, there wasn't much variety in the meals. It was hard to get food over the bad roads, and there was lack of a bridge. They would have to wait for several days if the water was high, in order to cross the wash. Some places in the wash, there was quick sand. Doctors flew in until the early 90's. The road was completed in 1985. (John, staff/board, interview, primary source)

4.05 Early Days at Valley Grove

When the Valley Grove School opened on the south side of the wash in 1962, the old 24' x 24' two-room stone building which had been part of the old trading post property, was pressed into service as a home for the missionary couple, a dormitory for three little boys, and a school for 13 children (Vida Scholder, 1979 Navajo News). A well drilled near the old trading post became an important source of water to the entire community; even today, it serves some 200 families. Just as the state of the roads and bridge affected the way of life for the community, they also had considerable effect on school enrollment.

In 1962, before the bridge, the kids [at Valley Grove] were mainly from this area. One hundred percent of the students were members of the surrounding community. After 1978, Stonelake and Orion students were able to come consistently. Numbers increased as they got kids from outlying areas. Now, few kids are from here. There are three kids from Crown Point, and the rest are from Orion. (John, staff/board, interview, primary source)

After the bridge was built in 1978, more students from further away on both sides of the wash were able to come to Valley Grove. However, as transportation and roads became better, and schooling improved, jobs in the city changed the family lifestyles and brought a drop in enrollment.

4.06 Smith Rock School

The Smith Rock School, a Bureau of Indian Education school, is located just over a small butte to the south east of Valley Grove. Started in 1935, it has always boarded students, though few of the students board today due to better roads and busing. The same demographics that have affected Valley Grove have affected Smith Rock school enrollment.

The situation is similar in Smith Rock [School]. There were 120-130 kids in the late 70's and 80's, now it's down to 50-65 kids. Many families are living in Orion where there are jobs. (John, staff/board, interview, primary source)

4.07 Changes in Life Style

With the introduction of Western-styled boarding schools and jobs in the city, there have developed changes in family and life-style. James' father had been a chapter house official that had helped support the development of the Valley Grove School in the area. James had been sent to school at Valley Grove, and he now lived and ranched in the area on his family's ancestral lands. He had worked at Valley Grove, had married one of the white teachers there, and they had a blended family. Their children had also gone to Valley Grove, but now were attending other schools. When James talked about how he grew up, he compared the past to conditions today.

I remember back in the old days, those full-blooded Indians. We all sat together and ate. We don't even know what our kids eat. They run in and grab something. If we ate, we all sat down and talked, and everyone heard what we were going to do. Now they grab their food, run to their rooms. We have to go out and earn something to put in their bellies. A dollar isn't a dollar anymore. You can't get something under 10 dollars. If you're not working, and you're not getting something decent for your kids, they start running the streets to find that thing.

We started getting luxury things like light switches, facets. We got everything. Where do you think I got my bell [y]? Thirty, forty years ago we had to chop wood. We didn't have a chainsaw. We had to chop wood, dragging armfuls in at a time. There was exercise

carrying buckets of water a quarter of a mile to the [house]. Now, everything is right here at our fingertips.

This is a whole new world. We have to work, and TV is the only thing that raises our kids. We don't really know our own kids. We don't know about what's going on with our kids. The government is trying to raise kids. We can't discipline our kids so we ship them off to school. We don't intermingle with our kids. When its time to talk we don't know what to do. We're so busy trying to make buck. When we get back from work they are in bed. Gas has gone up, and trying to make ends meet is hard.

My own mother and father weren't educated, but they knew what was coming. How did they know? They said that money was going to be the main thing. People would start killing for money. (James, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

4.08 *Memories of Discipline at Valley Grove*

Grown community members who attended Valley Grove when they were children had mixed memories of the school. Value systems were different between home and school life. There were memories were of the punitive discipline.

At the mission, we got whipped, slashed with whatever they could find. (James, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

I started school at Valley Grove in 1973 or 74. It was really different. It was lonely, isolated. We weren't allowed to have outside contact—you'd see relatives coming by. We were brought up to greet them, and suddenly you weren't supposed to. Sudden

dictatorship was brought upon us. Each classroom had a bag of soap bars. If you said something in Navajo—"Come on, you have to bite this." If someone was too shy to pray, the whole table couldn't eat. Some were too scared because they were always in trouble for speaking Navajo. Made us nervous as a cat. You could get into trouble for saying "I love you," in Navajo. The soap they made you eat killed your taste buds. You couldn't eat, but you were forced to eat the whole plate. I learned to by-pass my tongue. (José, native previous student, interview, primary source)

Several people remembered running away. One man, now in his thirties, was six or seven at the time he ran away. He remembered how he hadn't wanted to be there, how he had been punished all the time, and how he had run twenty miles to get home. "I ran hard all day and kept out of sight of the road," he said. "But they knew right where to come to get me, and they took me back." Directions for dealing with situations in which children are suspected of running away are still posted on Valley Grove's bulletin boards.

The discipline philosophy changed with the times, however. A retired teacher visiting the mission recalled:

We had fifty or sixty kids. Both the dorms were full, both little houses. . . It was a lot better than now—we had a more strict program, more older experienced teachers. We had deans, too, to gang up on kids. Kids had to line up, have the blessing. They had assigned seats and asked me if they could get up, it wasn't loose as it is now. The whole staff was more strict, but it's that way everywhere—my sister,[a teacher] in Florida, says kids just want to play. (Patrik, previous staff, interview, primary source)

A more recent student recalls:

If you did something wrong at Valley Grove they would exclude you from recess, or you couldn't take a hike. (Victor, native previous student, interview, primary source)

4.09 Positive Memories of Valley Grove

Previous students also had positive memories of conditions at the school and staff.

It was nice to stay in the dorm. At home we had no running water, it was cold all the time. So I felt more at home. I had my own bed, I had a little cubicle. I had a friend, a classmate, who joined the army the same time I did—he's in Romania, we still keep in touch. (Victor, native previous student, interview, primary source)

When I was seven, I ran away, not because I didn't like it here, but because I had been the youngest, and mother had my little sister, and I wanted to see what she looked like. . . I snuck up to the house around the corral. I couldn't find my mom in any of the rooms. My dad was working on the pickup. My grandfather rode up and asked me what I was doing there. "Hiding from my dad. I couldn't find my mom." My dad explained that mom was at the hospital. The dean came, and I was hiding behind my dad. My dad explained what happened, and he would bring me back after supper.

Academically the school was good. They were very clear on how they taught you. The four years I had here I learned a lot. I don't want to talk down other schools, but when I went to the government school, it was all easy. They wanted me to skip a grade, but I didn't skip, I was always studying one grade ahead. I was winning the speech contests, the math contests. I credit that a lot to what I was taught here.

I think what really did it was our deans were really helpful. As mean as some were, if we approached them right they'd help us, set us down on their laps. Our teachers would bring us to their homes, tutor us, we'd have dinner with them, then tutor some more. We got a lot of attention from them. (José, native previous student, interview, primary source)

4.10 Memories of the Quality of Academics

The memories of the quality of academics offered in the past years of Valley Grove varied. Some felt that the higher academic standards and more disciplined program at Valley Grove resulted in graduates who were more likely to get jobs.

Most kids that went to Valley Grove finished high school. At the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] school, they just went to put in time. They would finish eighth grade, get married, sign up for benefits. Valley Grove kids did chores—they helped keep the dorms clean, worked in the kitchen. If they were in trouble in the dorm, they lost privileges in school, and vice versa. Kids that I see who have gone to Valley Grove are working, have jobs, they aren't on welfare or relief. Kids in the BIA have a better percentage of finishing high school now. Twelve years ago, 8th grade was the end of it, [there was] no middle school or high school here. (Alice, board, interview, primary source)

But though some adults who had been students at Valley Grove felt that the school offered a high level of academic program over the years, others did not. James had a pet peeve; he felt that the “little Bible teachers” at Valley Grove had never actually taught him to read and write (James, native, interview, primary source).

4.11 The Chaskesi Reputation

The Chaskesi area had a reputation for holding onto the old ways.

Anglo people that I work with in the Bureau, [say that] this valley, Smith Rock and White Rock hold on to the language more, hold on to anger more. They are at the tail-end to get electricity, tail-end to get water. It's not all bad--it made it easier to work at Valley Grove. It's not that no one ever left this valley, but very few did. Some went to Smith Rock School. . . [There are] a lot of fears and tradition. It's the worst place for witchery, witch craft, than on the other side of the reservation. (Alice, board, interview, primary source)

Not having water and electricity was not necessarily something the Navajo considered backward, however. An older woman who visited the office mentioned that she was glad she didn't have electricity or running water; her animals depended on her, and that kept her active. A staff member recalled a man standing up in church with praise to God for how he had been raised:

One church member mentioned, when our water went down, and the furnace went down and had been fixed, that he had a praise that he had learned not to rely on white things like propane, water. He learned a better way, and didn't depend on white technology. (Will, administration, interview, primary source)

The administrator recounting this incident, however, didn't see this as a positive lifestyle. *How does packing water and burning stinking coal benefit your family? The power line runs past this person's house. He doesn't work, and any of those things would cost money. (Will, administration, interview, primary source)*

Theme 1: Summary and Reflection

The Chaskesi area and the families growing up there have been changed by the development of roads, bridges, modern medicine, and Western educational practices. Initially the community was quite isolated physically, especially when the wash was flowing. At least one trading post was established in the area sometime in the 1800's, and a BIA school was built in the 1930s. Thirty-five miles to the south, a Seventh-day Adventist school and clinic was built in 1918 at Lake Grove, but the school closed after ten years, and the clinic another ten years later. Some in the community cherished what they were taught at Lake Grove, however. They raised their families with these beliefs, and prayed for another Seventh-day Adventist mission to be built in the area.

Due in part to the efforts of Lilikai Neil, a Navajo Tribal Council woman who believed that education was a critical need for her people, and local chapter house officials who supported the development of the mission, the Valley Grove School and clinic was started in 1962. Health care and Christian education were pressing needs at the time. However, as roads and a bridge over the wash were built, it has increasingly become easier for Chaskesi community residents to go to school, get jobs in town, and receive health care from Indian Health Service facilities in Stonelake and Arrowpoint. This has caused enrollments to drop both in the Valley Grove School, and the nearby Bureau of Indian Education school.

Memories of Valley Grove students often revolved around punishment. Students were punished for speaking the Navajo language, among other things, and many attempted to run away. Like other schools of the times, and following methods which had the support of native tribal council members, the early Valley Grove School emphasized discipline and learning English in order to help native students develop the skills that would enable them become self-

sufficient workers. The strong discipline of the school program, in the viewpoint of some in the community, resulted in graduates who were successful in the job force.

Not all memories were of punishment, however. Several graduates of the school had good memories of a warm, comfortable place to live, teachers who cared enough to insist on high standards of academic excellence and help students reach them, and long-term friendships that had been built with peers.

The area still has a reputation for being isolated and somewhat “backward,” according to some evaluations. Many homes are still without electricity, and most don’t have running water. Today there are few large herds of domestic sheep and cattle, but many of those who have stayed on the land and chosen to raise animals here, value traditional lifestyles. The land is semi-arid: hot in the summers, and cold in the winters. Some 200 households in the area come to the mission for water, and burn coal for heat. Back roads are still rough and hard on cars. But the advantages of being self-sufficient and not relying on “white technology” that can fail are important to those who value more traditional ways.

There is tension among the traditional values of family, community, connections to the land, and raising animals, and the modern values of technology and money. Those who have become educated and have sought work in town have either had to leave their homes to live in the city, or have faced long commutes between town where their work lies and their ancestral home sites. They feel disconnected from their children, and worry about the government educating them. Their parents warned them that money would become all-important; and while they now have many of the modern conveniences that money can provide, they also mourn the loss of such family activities as just eating around the table together, talking about the events of the day and staying abreast of the developing interests and needs of their children. The effects of

modernization has changed value systems and disrupted critical connections of family and community life.

Theme 2: Mission Development and Leadership

*Silver mother, Pretty Woman
Comes from across the water carrying her pottery
For sell to tourists on Bright Angel Point.
Her traveling song ripples, carried on the current
Along the river ahead.*

(Chee, 2001, p. 17)

This theme continues the history of the development of the mission with a more specific examination, largely in terms of participant's recollections, about the early founders of the mission, and how and why the organization developed its decision-making bodies the way it has. This theme examines the mission's historic relationship to the Seventh-day Adventist church leadership as well discussions of how participants feel about church leadership, as well as reflections on relationships between board, directors, staff, and community in decision-making. Perceptions of how and why directors and staff have come on board at the mission, and how the community feels about mission personnel, are included. The topics in this theme include a) Early Founders and Supporters of Valley Grove Mission, b) Advantages and Disadvantages of Being Self-Supporting, c) Seventh-day Adventist Conference, Union and Division Leadership, d) Board Leadership, e) Mission Directors, f) Constituency Meetings, and g) Staff.

4.12 Early Founders and Supporters of Valley Grove Mission

While Lake Grove Mission at Smith Lake was purchased by the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, Valley Grove was purchased by lay people and professionals who worked in Orion. Dr. Grey came to Orion in 1958. Scholder, Grey, and a number of other church members

and professionals joined resources to make the first down-payment for the 180 acres of property in the Chaskesi area, and sought donations to complete the purchase. Dr. Grey reminisces:

I had lived in Gallup, and had the idea I'd like to come back and work with the Navajo. The reason I lived in Orion was it was on the edge of the reservation, yet I could make a good living in town. . . I noticed that many church members had adopted native children. In those days there were lots of cases of meningitis. The natives left the children with the white people because they knew if they kept them they would die. And the white people would get them to the right place at the right time. Unfortunately sometimes they'd show up several years later to pick them up. People were saying we needed a mission. We'd spend weekends taking blankets and food and things. I began to go out once a week and established a free clinic. In those days, many people came in wagons, some had cars. As years went by, I became more involved. We began a kind of building program. We built a school and clinic and houses for people to live in. (Grey, interview, primary source)

The group of professionals who started the mission was also active in its long-term support. Several of those who were active for many years in providing health care in the Chaskesi area spoke about the early challenges, and how the close-knit core of professional health-care providers for Valley Grove developed.

The North American Association of Seventh-Day Adventists gave us new dental clinic—right after the clinic was built they gave us the equipment. When I started going out there, there was a little stone building about a quarter the size of this room. That's where we started out—all we could do was extract bad teeth. Most of the time we had a wood arm chair, and I'd take it outside so I could see. (Erikson, previous board, interview, primary source)

When we first started the mission, it was the professional people who were the real support for it. Grey, Erikson, Evans. I brought two of my classmates with me, so has Spears. I've personally gone out there for thirty years. (Watson, previous board, interview, primary source)

4.13 Advantages and Disadvantages of Being Self-Supporting

The Lake Grove Mission at Smith Lake had been purchased by the Texico Seventh-day Adventist Conference. When it closed, the property had been sold. Valley Grove Mission was established as a self-supporting endeavor. There were several reasons for this: founding members of the new mission were concerned that the mission could be closed down again if it were church-run and it didn't do well. It was easier to get national support and donations if it wasn't owned and operated by a single conference. And with local support came local control, from people who personally were involved with what was going on at the mission.

There were disadvantages as well, however; professionals on the board put in a lot of personal time and effort in dealing with problems. On at least one occasion, one of the dentists in town gave the money for the mission payroll for several months until donations caught up.

4.14 Seventh-day Adventist Conference, Union, and Division Leadership

The Navajo reservation is a large one, with territory in New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah. Navajo territory falls in the jurisdiction of four Seventh-day Adventist conferences, which in turn were members of three different union conferences. One retired administrator who had worked 38 years at the conference level noted some of the leadership challenges the mission had made for the church.

Native work has had its ups and downs. The [Rocky Mountain] conference hasn't put a lot of money into Valley Grove—with money comes control. Valley Grove hasn't wanted them to. The conference has offered some oversight; the department of education has helped... Church leadership in planning for work on Navajo land has been spasmodic. The administration of the church has had difficulty in keeping things running. It depends a lot on conference administration, differences in personal leadership styles...The squeaking wheel gets the grease. It depends where leadership is. You have to have a conference president who has an interest in that [native work.] (Mannie, retired administration, interview, primary source)

A number of people wished for more cooperation and communication in the work for the Navajo and other Native Americans in order to make the work more intentional.

We ought to have a Native American Union. Native Americans wherever they are, are disconnected or broken up into reservations. That could be part of our trouble--funding is broken up. Missions are very independent of the bigger work. (Frank, board, interview, primary source)

There was some feeling of abandonment by the conference and North American Division leadership.

I've never seen [the person in charge of Native Ministries from the North American Division]—whoever it is—who we are dealing with—none of us know, we've never seen him. They say they're going to dissolve these conferences and we're going to have some help, but I've never seen it. (Watson, previous board, interview, primary source)

4.15 Board Leadership

For many years, the board that oversaw Valley Grove had been made up primarily of professionals from Orion.

The board involvement was the greatest up to the early 90's. In 1962 through the 70's and 80's, the board had high interest. The dentists and doctors were highly involved.

There was a different dentist each week, doctors every two weeks, an eye doctor very six weeks. (John, staff/board, interview, primary source)

The board that had been involved for so long began to tire, however. They began to feel that the need for their involvement at the mission was not as great as it had been.

The doctors and dentists were mostly from Orion. They were on the board, but as they got older and older, they wouldn't come out here, weren't active running things. . . At first it had a dedicated group, but some have pulled off. They don't really have the interest. (Yvette, previous staff, interview, primary source)

With better roads and new established dental and medical clinics in Stonelake, Arrowpoint, Gallup, they can go get medical services. Our help isn't as much needed as it used to be. (Watson, previous board, interview, primary source)

The board didn't want to deal with problems—they wanted the director to deal with problems, and they wanted to hear smooth things. (John, staff/board, interview, primary source)

The board was reconstituted in 2003 with diverse members from around the nation as well as Navaho, and represented expertise in business as well as education. However, the new board didn't have local knowledge of issues or the experience with Indian work that the doctors and dentists who had worked so long at the mission had.

The biggest challenge the board has is coming here on a weekend and trying to make an educated decision. . . They don't know the people, what's really happening. [The board] is a well rounded group, but its hard to make a decision. You come in Saturday night, sit around talking to people, come in Sunday morning and try to make a decision. If you have to come out as a board member and you don't know the staff, it's hard to march out and make a decision. There's always a different administration, new staff, new students, the dynamics change. (Tom, staff/board, interview, primary source)

4.16 The Executive Board

Because the board only met quarterly and its members were wide-spread, the mission had an executive committee of two or three board members including the director, and it was this committee that made many of the decisions for the mission. There were concerns expressed about the decision-making processes.

The executive committee ends up outside the [board] making decisions. The board hasn't made any goals—they stay with the mission statement. In terms of structure—the mission doesn't have an in-house structure or operating team. (Phil, staff, interview, primary source)

Sometimes there's an incomplete picture. The board should make their decisions in board meeting, not in private meetings before hand, which has happened numerous times. (Rick, previous administration, interview, primary source)

4.17 The Executive Board Decision Regarding the 10-4 School Schedule

Several critical decisions about the school schedule that were made with the executive board caused concern both at the full board level and in the community. One decision was to go

from a 10-4 schedule, in which the school children spent ten days at the mission and four at home, to five days at the mission school, and two days of the weekend at home. There was also a decision made to allow students who lived close by in the community to live at home and attend school as day students rather than board at the school, that came about because community parents wanted their children at home in the evenings.

About a year or two ago the executive board met to accept day students. For a long time supporters didn't feel comfortable with it because it was new. Some parents said it would be great, we could get local families involved. There's been some resistance to adopt this. The huge outcry from the board was—we were keeping kids every other weekend—when you switch it to day, a lot of non-Adventist kids would have the option of being home on the weekend. The board say it's not a good thing because we are losing some influence. Maybe we should be more willing to adjust, to be there for the local community. That vote happened with the executive board without the whole board seeing it. (Frank, board, interview, primary source)

Native parents who had also been teachers at Valley Grove, recalled,

We had a big fight—they wouldn't let my kids be day kids, but why did I have to let my kids be in the dorm? Now, it's only if they are in the community they can be day kids.

I think the school was good when it was a 10-day thing—but now Sabbath is not there. I think that was the main reason for the 10-days of school—two Sabbaths in the month they are here, and two Sabbaths a month they are home. But it's a big day for them. It's strange that now the teachers don't want to teach children in Sabbath School class.

(Jillian, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

These previous staff members felt that Sabbaths at the mission were a beneficial experience for the children. But they also wanted their children at home in the evenings.

4.18 The Closure of the Parks School

There was another issue in the history of the mission in which the board and community disagreed, and this issue still seems to be producing residual tensions. In the early 1980's, the conference purchased the Parks property on the highway between Orion and Arrowpoint. The jurisdiction for the Parks Christian Center belonged mainly with the conference since it owned the property, but the mission board and director of Valley Grove were responsible for board oversight, as they shared pastors and eventually started up a school at Parks in 1987, employing Jillian, a Navajo teacher who had been working at Valley Grove.

In 1989, Jillian wrote to the board, outlining several incidents that had happened to make her feel that she was not trusted to carry out her professional duties. The only available phone was in a (white) neighbor's house; when their family moved into the trailer on the property, the phone in their trailer had been removed. The school copy machine was in the same neighbor's home; when these neighbors moved, the keys and coil wire were removed from the mission vehicle. She closed her letter with this comment:

I have great dreams already for the next year but many times I do not know how to share them or with whom. I'm afraid my dreams will be chopped to pieces or someone else will take it away for their benefit. I have seen it happen with the quality leaders among my people in the church. I am not trying to separate but work in unity with the rest of God's people who love and fear him. Thank you for hearing what is on my heart. (Jillian, letter to the board, 1989)

Soon after this letter was written, within two months of the new school year opening, the Parks school was closed. The board minutes for November 2, 1989 noted “Due to low student enrollment, lack of church involvement, and economics, it was voted to close the school at Parks November 17.” Jillian was offered employment at Valley Grove again. However, repercussions from this decision reverberated in the community. Concerning the closure, a parent wrote the following in a letter to the board dated November 13, 1989:

I was never informed that the Parks Mission School will be closed on Friday, November 17, 1989 until November 7 through the letter that was sent by [the director.] There was no verbal and/or written warning was made by him. The reasons for closing the school were never mentioned or explained to me. I would like to know why I was the last to know until the decision was made. . . I expect some respect and consideration from him to be honest and communicating with us parents on specific problem that the school has and to involve us with making decisions regarding the school's problem for our student's education, spiritually, morally and well being.

I feel that the Board Members are abusing their power by making irresponsible quick decision of closing the Parks Mission School without the parents, students, teacher, Parks Board Members, and church members knowledge and consent.

I like to know the policies and procedures of Parks Mission School and Orion Church Board Members, too. What are the students and parents rights in relation the operation of the school? Do we have one? If not, we need to establish one to avoid future chaos such as a sudden school closure, elimination and/or transfer of employers. (November 13, 1989 letter to the board)

A board member recalled that during this time, board meetings were moved to a different location because of fear of community response. Nearly twenty years later, a recently-retired board member referred to the incident:

There's a love-hate relationship with the mission. When workers change out, they get involved in petty politics—there was a teacher at Parks, because of a lack of students we couldn't keep it going. That made her angry. (Watson, previous board, interview, primary source)

4.19 Mission Directors

The directors of the mission hold responsibility for the clinic, the school, the church, the infrastructure, fund-raising, and hiring and firing of the staff, though they have the support of an executive board, and may consult by e-mail or phone with other members of the board. Long tenures and community-oriented programs were associated with more successful directorships, according to John, school historian and long-time staff member.

Louis Nash—director for six years—provided lots of continuity to the program. There was a clear sense of mission. It was stable, steady upwards growth, education oriented. He built the four children's houses, made new additions to the school all geared towards the kids, and the school saw a steady increase in enrollment.

Vic Doone continued in the same vein, and added to it. The horse program was started. . The green houses were built. He built the stone hogan for crafts. He was into solar energy—passive projects, the stone walls fronting some duplexes.

Director Ivorsten was here for five years. He was more of a penny pincher. He was into vehicles, not into school programs for the kids. The horse program went out—there were no horses on campus, though they still rented horses off campus, across the wash. He wasn't into camping—there was some, but you had to find your own funding. Enrollment started falling off. (John, staff/board, interview, primary source)

After 1999 there was a lot of turnover in directors, and school enrollment dropped. Enrollment had been at 45 in 1999, but dropped to 18 by 2002.

Between 1980 and 1999 there were few directors: in 1999 to 2008 there were twice that number or more in the second ten years. The directors are a revolving door. Roan Holland started in the middle of the year and ended in the middle of the year. One director was here for a summer. (John, staff/board, interview, primary source)

Board members noted problems with directors:

Unfortunately we've had some hostile situations. The director has misappropriated funds. We've had a run of bad luck with directors. (Tom, staff/board, interview, primary source)

No one could get water, mail, he put up fences, gates, he wanted to turn off the water at sundown [on Friday]. . . His son hated Native people—he wanted to turn off the community water. (Alice, board, interview, previous staff)

There were problems with program continuity when directors changed, and the community was sensitive to the lack of connection with their needs. It was difficult to maintain continuity of vision between boards, directors and staff and community.

When directors change, programs change. People come from out-of-state. They don't see what our children need. They don't see, they don't ask. "Oh, we are working with native children, they are coming from single parents, broken homes." They don't see the progress. They say they are missionaries, but I don't know. It's not a mission anymore.
(Edward, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

4.20 Accreditation

The issue of accreditation of the Valley Grove School is an example of how differences in vision affected the director and staff at Valley Grove. While school staff valued the accountability involved in accreditation, the director of 10 months canceled the five-year plan to obtain accreditation that was in its second year. Community parents didn't seem to care one way or the other.

The Navajo people don't seem to pay much attention to the school accreditation issues, but it is useful to the school and to staff. . . There is an enormous amount of flexibility. The administration sees accountability in different ways—since no one is calling for accountability, the directors don't see the need for transparency or accountability. They see a need, but in their own limited vision. There seems to be some animosity—each new director seems to start over from scratch. There is no assistant-ship, or apprenticeship.
(Phil, staff, interview, primary source)

4.21 Need for Good Administration/Community Relationships

Some stressed the importance of the director and administration getting along well with the community.

We saw that the administration often don't have a way of getting along with the community. Louis Nash did. Doone had success building and raising money. They were

good in certain areas out in the world, but they weren't in tune with the Navajos. If there were any problems, the community would hear about them. The community would sit down and talk about them. You'd hear about the treatment the children received.

(Patricia, previous staff, interview, primary source)

Doone wanted to beautify the campus and give work to local artists. Doone did a lot of mistakes but did a lot of good things which have lasted. Someone who hangs back, doesn't want to invest, things go down. Directors who build on what the other has started really help the program. [You can see] examples from [what] Nash and Doone [did]: They were here, got out and helped the community, impacted the community in a more positive way. They had a heart for the community. It's important how the director comes across to the people in every day dealings—are they pleasant, or do they stand off at a distance? If he is not careful with his words, or blows off people with preemptory ways, [there is trouble]. (John, staff/board, interview, primary source)

4.22 Constituency Meetings and Chapter House Meetings

A major annual event in the relationship between the community and mission was the constituency meeting. In the Seventh-day Adventist church, each local church body of members meeting in business session has the final word on voting members in and out, voting in local church policy and church officers, and electing constituent members for conference meetings in which conference officials and conference policies are voted on. Biannual church business meetings for the international church are held in which conference constituents vote on similar matters for the church as a whole.

The constituency meetings at Valley Grove have some similarities and differences from other SDA church constituency meetings. Unlike regular church constituency meetings in which all church members are a part of the constituency, there was no clear body from which the Valley Grove mission constituency drew its members. The meetings were annual and were led by the chair of the board for the mission. Constituents voted on board members and constituent members, but unlike other church constituencies, they didn't vote on policy. The constituency was not involved in the decision to close the school at Parks. Nor was it involved in the 10-4 scheduling issue, or the acceptance of day students.

In the way of contrast, local chapter house meetings were held twice a month; there was a planning meeting, and a regular meeting, and everyone in the community was invited. Whole families showed up, and spent much of the day. Agendas were passed out to attendees who signed an attendance sheet. Agenda items included such things as breastfeeding in the tribal work place, slowing down speeding cars in local neighborhoods, and organizing a group who wanted to gather firewood from a tribal forest.

The meetings didn't start until there was a quorum, but starting times were flexible, anyway. Meetings often didn't start for several hours after the posted time. A meal was prepared by the young women, young men passed out the meal trays, and children wandered in and out of the room, raising their hands when votes were called for. The elderly made speeches on community concerns, and the chapter house officials gave long explanations with plenty of visual descriptions. Nearly all of the speeches and discussions were in Navajo.

4.23 Staff

The mission was supported and operated by volunteers. Volunteer labor kept expenses down, but created its own challenges, both in the facility and in the quality of workers.

The physical structure is half-hazard. Someone builds a piece, than volunteers build another piece. It's all been built in bits and pieces. There's no big overall plan. Volunteers didn't do it correctly. . . Lots of people can paint. [Volunteers] keep coming in and painting what's just been painted. But they should build things right the first time. (Tonya, staff, interview, primary source)

Many dedicated people come there because they don't fit anywhere else. That creates issues. (Will, administrator, interview, primary source)

The staff were paid a small stipend, and were provided with free medical, dental and eye care such as could be provided at the clinic, as well as housing. Staff could eat at the cafeteria during school days, and had access to donated food. However, their stipend didn't cover health insurance or retirement.

In the past, there had been a problem between Navajo staff and white staff over the amount of stipend that was paid to staff with degrees and those without. Now everyone was paid the same amount.

They are still militant about how our white people treated them. [That] you shouldn't get paid as much as a white person because you get free food, free help from the tribe. We've taken care of that. Twenty years ago, teachers made more than people who didn't have a college degree. But the Navajo maintenance workers were working as hard as anyone else. (Alice, board, interview, primary source)

4.24 Reasons for Working at Valley Grove

Those on the staff at Valley Grove mentioned a variety of reasons for coming, and these were not always self-less, though most spoke of how they believed they had been led by God to come to the mission. These are some of the stories of how and why staff came to Valley Grove.

When I came I was looking for a refuge. It was not an altruistic motive—I needed a retreat, a sanctuary. I knew it would fit me—I have outdoor interests, horses. We mouth these things—“we’re here for the children.” I’m here because it’s a sanctuary, and I can pass along what I have, what the Lord has blessed me with through His providence—not because I have a great vision to serve Navajo in some self-sacrificing way. It [the mission] is here for the staff—because the staff needs it. It provides a cloistered environment that has spiritual emphasis. So by default we end up leaving cities, away from glitter, glamour, enticement of sin. [Doctors] can fly to these places, use their expensive airplane, do what they want, and write it off. It isn’t all dedication and commitment. . . . But this place wouldn’t be here if people hadn’t been doing those sort of things. (Kevin, staff, interview, primary source).

I wanted to help someone learn about Jesus without leaving the country. This was the place. The Navajo still have grandmothers and grandfathers teaching traditions like you have to stay awake for two days straight, and are given peyote to keep them awake. They need something else besides culture and drugs. (Teri, staff, interview, primary source)

Everyone has a personal agenda when they come to the mission. These girls have allowed me to be a mom, a daughter and a woman, and I've been reliving my childhood over in a very positive atmosphere. (Lynn, staff, interview, primary source)

My daughter said, if you didn't have your mobile home, you could come be girl's dean. I knew the Lord was saying this is where I want you—even though I don't know anything about girls. The home went in three weeks. I didn't do a good job [as girl's dean]—the call was for me, not what I could do, since I didn't know what I was doing. (Cathy, staff, interview, primary source)

Some of the community recognized that those who came to the mission to serve as staff were not always just whom the mission needed.

Everyone's changing—they come and go. We get fools a lot of the time. I'm looking in from outside the fence. They're coming in for a lot of the same reasons the Indians come—they're here because they have a place to eat, sleep. (James, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

There were a number of workers who had devoted their lives to the mission. Dr. Grey offered his medical services from the early sixties till 2004, when he had to curtail his practice because of Parkinson's disease, and had served on the board for most of those years. In March of 2008, he retired and donated his office equipment to the mission.

Yvette, who arrived at the mission with her parents when she was sixteen just two years after the opening of the mission, lost her father several years later when he was killed by a drunken driver while on a road trip for the mission. She had devoted her life to the mission, and at one time or another, had done most of the jobs available at the mission. Single all her life, she

adopted and raised a Navajo infant born in California, and was caring for and schooling several of her grandchildren born to this Navajo woman.

Cathy, also in her seventies, had been at the mission for seven years, and had offered help to everyone who had come to her door. John, who had been at the mission for twenty eight years, had worked as an artist, teacher, baker and general errand runner, as well as mission historian. These people were especially recognized for their kindness and generosity in the community.

I don't think there is a family that doesn't know Yvette or John or Cathy. [Cathy has] adopted several families as her own. She has a kind heart and is always [ready to help]. In little meetings the community says, this person is a good person, this person helped me, yea, this person helped me, the whole community says, oh, that's a good person. (José, native previous student, interview, primary source)

4.25 Problems Faced by Staff

As in most organizations, there were differences in goals and in perceptions of how the mission should operate. There were differences in work ethics and expectations, and there were the normal frictions between people who work closely together due to personality and background differences.

Tonya, the only staff member to live off campus, expressed concerns over working conditions.

The staff work poorly at best. I'm glad I live off campus. I don't get involved in the sense that if you live here on campus, you aren't entitled to privacy. You have to be available at all hours. There is a lack of boundaries, a lack of hierarchy. If Sarah has a problem, she goes straight to Will, her husband. (Tonya, native, staff, interview, primary source)

There was a lot of turnover in the staff. Four or five of the fourteen staff members had been there over a year; the rest of the staff could count their tenure in months. There were a number of reasons offered for the transient tenures: the harsh climate, lack of long-term dedication, lack of salary and benefits to support families and retirement, wearing schedules, and tensions from living and working too closely together.

However, turnovers in staff had a great impact on the community. It was perhaps the most cited concern by the staff, previous staff, and community members.

To them, the Navajo, the mission is people. You can't do much with them until you gain their confidence. The biggest problem is turn over. Turn over, turn over, turn over, is death to the mission. Adam and Patricia want to get a Navajo Center going. They were let go—somebody found some little something. They discard people too easily. They need to get a mediator, work through things. It seems like just when someone seems to start making inroads, something happens and they get shipped off. The board voted—we aren't going to work with anyone who doesn't go along with the administration, so they kick them out. They make mountains out of mole hills. . . They need to recognize the need for continuity. (Yvette, previous staff, interview, primary source)

The first thing [community members] want to know is how long have you been here, how long are you going to stay. The movement of staff is too fast. When they asked me and I said a year and a half, they said oh, we never saw you, how long will you be staying—oh, a couple of years—oh, then we might be able to work with you. (Angela, staff, interview, primary source)

In the beginning we wanted the Navajo to accept the Lord, become active participants right away. They don't work that way. They take a long time to make up their mind. They become attached to particular people who work at the mission. If he leaves in two or three years, everything he's done goes down the drain. If they come, they need to stay. Like John—he's been there for years and years. (Grey, previous board, interview, primary source)

Consistency is what Navajos want and look for. You guys, we come to love you and then you get up and leave. They come to trust you, they want you to stay, because after they get to know you, and trust you, that takes time and then you learn. (Patricia, previous staff, interview, primary source)

In 1980, in the summer, I went to Juan City. He had a lot of kids, grandkids. They were as poor as church mice, and didn't have any transportation, so I asked if they wanted a ride to church. He told me, "You white guys at the mission come and go." Ten to twelve years later he says, "You're still here! Wow, that's great." It's nothing I did—I just stayed. I've tried to be helpful. But what they do notice is when you stick around. "Wow, you're still here. You're always here." (John, staff/board/, interview, primary source)

Theme 2: Summary and Reflections

Valley Grove Mission came into being because of a number of people. Lillial Niel's dream and work among her people, Veda Schroder's friendships and work with the Navajo people, supporting local leaders at the Chapter House, and various medical and dental

professionals who came to work in Orion and surrounding areas, all were important in the start of the mission. Both professional and non-professional church members in Orion joined forces to establish a self-supporting, non-profit corporation that purchased the land, provided medical care at the mission, and provided leadership on its board.

While the mission was self-supporting, it was affiliated with the Seventh-day Adventist church, and was supported by donations from around the nation. While there have been varying degrees of leadership and support offered by the Rocky Mountain SDA Conference, in general, there has been a lack of oversight and coordination from the church at the conference, union and division levels, and lack of coordination with native work not only on the Navajo land, but native work around the nation.

The board met quarterly or less. It originally had been composed of medical professionals from Orion, but presently was composed of a variety of persons with various areas of expertise, from diverse areas of the country. Because the members of the board were so distant and far flung, however, an executive board and the director of the mission made many of the decisions for the mission operation.

The mission has suffered from a high level of turnover in directors as well as staff. The director especially carried a great deal of control, and because directors came and went so often, continuity of the program had greatly suffered. There were times when community access to water had been curtailed, other services to the community had been stopped, and fights between the staff and community had occurred. Relationships had been damaged, and various mission policies and procedures had resulted in distrust, ill-will and anger in the community. The staff and community expressed a need for more team administration and community involvement on the part of the director and administration.

Those who worked at the mission faced a variety of challenges. The site was isolated, and the weather extreme. Though housing, food and a small stipend were provided, there were no health or retirement benefits. It was evident that the staff were dedicated to God and service at the mission and the mission had survived great odds, but it was also evident that there were problems with leadership. The strong leadership provided by knowledgeable professionals who began the work had tired. Change outs at the board level provided diversity, but the new board members did not have much experience or knowledge of what was actually going on at the local level. Board meetings were few and not always effective. Much of the decision-making had been made by directors and executive boards, but with limited input from staff or community who were affected.

Constituency meetings where much of this communication could take place were annual, with limited membership, and no jurisdiction over policy. In contrast, local chapter house meetings were held twice a month, and were a forum where community policies could be thoroughly discussed and voted on, with some limited control of outcomes.

Theme 3: Mission Purpose

*The spirit of returning from a long journey
was all around.
I brought with me then good intentions and prayer visions.
But the ladder is long.
(Chee, 2001, p. 35)*

The third theme is an examination of how the participants, both at the mission and in the community, perceive the mission purpose, and how they relate to the three programs which support work toward this purpose: the school, the clinic, and the church. The subtopics of this theme are a) Defining Mission Purpose, b) The School, c) The Clinic, and d) The Church.

4.26 Defining Mission Purpose

In a visioning process in 2003, the board settled on a mission statement: to bring the Word of God to the Navajo. How to go about this, however, was viewed differently by many at the mission and in the community. The mission had three programs: the school, the clinic and the church. All three were facing challenges; student enrollment had dropped from 26 at the beginning of the 2007-2008 school year to 14, and church attendance was low. Money was being plowed into facilities when there were as many students as there were staff. It was also evident that the community felt anger toward the mission.

We are having a hard time bridging anger. They are using us. They are mad but they'll come get water, use the washers. There's superstitions, anger, the attitude that we are the enemy. . . Yes, I get upset when we are taken advantage of—Herbert taking an hour a [concrete hollow] block to build the mail room. (Field notes, February, 11, 2008)

The mission offered a number of services to the community for free, or nearly free. Besides the well, the mission had a food bank for needy community members. The showers had recently been reopened to the public, available any hour of the day, as well as a washer and dryer. A Dorcas, along the lines of a Goodwill, was opened for four hours a day twice a week; clothing, food and other items that had been donated to the mission were available for mostly low prices, though very nice items such as a beautiful new pair of snow boots was priced at \$10, to keep the richer folk from buying up everything before the folk who needed more help had a chance to get what they needed. The store keeper knew who couldn't afford the high prices, and would drop the price for them. The mission made two runs a week into Orion for mail, and sorted and delivered it to mailboxes for the community. Office services such as telephone, fax

and copying were available during office hours. Some staff could be contacted any time for help:

People see I'm willing to help, so they come to my house and ask for help, take me here, take me there. . . Bob does coal runs, wash, shower, changes tires, and people come to plug their batteries into Bob's outside outlet to charge their battery enough to watch TV. . . I buy a lot of crafts, because they need the money. (Cathy, staff, interview, primary source)

Others saw the mission as being used, that some people only came to the mission because of what they could get from it, in a fashion similar to dependency on the government.

An allotment is given out from monies earned from uranium, the coal plant. They're going back to the treaty. They depend on these monies to take care of them. They think that the government owes them a living forever. They ask the mission to drive them to Stonelake for commodities monthly. We offered one vehicle to a family for \$300, but they didn't want to buy the vehicle and pay for gas. (Will, administration, interview, primary source)

One native community member noticed the difference in the willingness of the mission to help those abusing the mission services, yet they refused to help him, because he had resources.

The reason why they dump their kids off at Valley Grove is because it's a place for them to sleep, three squares, baby sitting. The same people that use that, abuse it over and over. I'm middle class, but they won't help me get coal because I have a vehicle—even when I have to be somewhere else. The mission gave them down payment for their house, things for their house. They were in church a few months, then they were gone. They

need to learn to help themselves. But they give me the run-around—go see so-and-so—but the lazy guy gets the help. (James, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

Some felt that the mission was wasn't meeting its potential: that 14 staff to serve 14 children was a waste of resources, and there should be ways of increasing enrollment, improving retention, offering other services that would be more widely utilized, running the program more efficiently.

The outlay of finances should be balanced with community usage. There are things like adult literacy and other proactive things we can be doing to utilize the facility more. (Phil, staff, interview, primary source)

This place has a terrible reputation because it's totally inefficient. We would have been closed long ago if it had been under the auspices of the conference. It goes through thousands and thousands and thousands of dollars a year. . . The infrastructure is gone. (Kevin, staff, interview, primary source)

There were concerns that few local children were enrolled at Valley Grove, and no children from Seventh-day Adventist families were attending.

Seven students have parents in the church but they are not coming to school here. There are sports in Smith Rock. Last year there was a work program in the afternoon [at Valley Grove], and the parents wanted their children home at 3:00 or 3:30. The community and other schools must look at that and make an evaluation—your own people aren't sending children there, so that sends a negative connotation. (Phil, staff, interview, primary source)

Some felt the mission had outlived its original purpose, and should be closed or moved or redesigned for some other use.

With better roads and new established dental and medical clinics in Stonelake, Arrowpoint, Gallup, they can go get medical services. Our help isn't as much needed as it used to be. Even Smith Rock is down to less students, they talk about shutting it down—they don't have the students to fill the school. I don't have any idea why we as Adventists still have a mission there. Methodists, Church of Christ, several missions within a radius of thirty miles, at least half a dozen missions have gone defunct, so the Lord must have some reason for Valley Grove. I kind of think eventually it might be a place to specialize—a Diabetes clinic. . . It may be that if a big donor came along and wanted to buy the place, we might move to a more central place like Parks. (Watson, previous board, interview, primary source)

4.27 The School

Providing Christian education was the predominant focus of the mission. There were three full-time teachers for grades K-3, 4-6, and 7-8. House parents cared for the children in their homes during the school week, and the children went home on the weekends. The slogan on the side of the mission van and printed on the web site reads, “Providing a safe haven for Navajo children for over 40 years.”

4.28 Why Children Were Enrolled at Valley Grove

There were a variety of reasons suggested for why parents sent their children to the mission.

Some parents are struggling single moms who have to work, and are glad to send their kids to a place where all their needs are met—clothing, food, boarding, and health care.

One has to question why the students come from so far—Orion—some come from three and a half hours away. They initially bring them here, but employment factors shift. We're not being chosen for excellence, we're chosen for convenience. Some have expressed interest in Christian education. There is concern over drugs in schools. Those are the ones we keep long term. (Phil, staff, interview, primary source)

For a lot of people who wanted to see [the mission] going, a Christian education was important. There were second generation kids who were coming to school, parents who didn't want to send them to public school. Now it's an important part of their culture. (Frank, board, interview, primary source)

Kids who aren't making it in other schools come here. (John, staff/board, interview, primary source)

Now many of the ones who come are kids whose parents are having family problems or parents who are alcoholic, and kids come for shelter. (Grey, previous board, interview, primary source)

Sometimes I think parents figure it's just a place to get the kids off their hands. Most feel the school is a good school, that kids are getting the help they need. The kids we end up getting are behind—and wouldn't get that attention at other schools. Now there are families in town who don't want them in public school—and this school is free. Schools in town cost money. (Tonya, native staff, interview, primary source)

4.29 Concerns Regarding the Acceptance of Children With Problems

Some staff noted that they had heard that if there was an incorrigible child, the parents or caregivers were encouraged to send him or her to the mission by the chapter houses. There were a number of challenges related to accepting these children,

If we accept the dropouts, kids that get kicked out of schools, we aren't likely to raise leaders. . . Until we can raise our standards, we aren't going to be able to train leaders. Not that we want to shun the others. It's a mission field. . . To be able to attract the best of the best to educate is tough. (Frank, board, interview, primary source)

One child lasted for three days. His dad begged for him to come here. But he broke into the clinic, stole \$100, was preparing some arson-related stuff, and was sent home. (John, staff/board, interview, primary source)

Jillian recalled, "They always need students, so they get special ed kids, and they're always throwing them in my room." Having children with special needs and behavioral problems created difficulties for Adventist children who were at the school. One parent who had worked for many years building up native churches in various communities around the reservation and in northWest reservations, anguished that her own children were not in the church. One of her sons had gotten his first drugs at the mission school.

There were kids there who were trouble-makers, and they put our kids among those kids. I used to tell people to send their kids to the mission. I tell them now to keep their kids at home, not send them to the mission. (Marie, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

A houseparent told the story of a good boy who was teased by the other children. One day he did something uncharacteristic of his normal good behavior, and when he was asked why he had done such a thing, he said the other boys were going to hurt him if he didn't. His parents took him out of school soon after that.

4.30 Retention

Children tended to drop out of school for various reasons; homesickness, the strict regime, the vegetarian diet. Four children were taken out of school just before we arrived at the mission when their father came home from jail and didn't want his kids in a Christian school. Another child was taken out when the mission school reported several allegations of abuse in regard to her family situation to the authorities. A 13-year-old boy was taken out of school in order to help his mother with a new baby.

4.31 Vegetarian Diet

There were a variety of cultural differences between life at the mission and life as the Navajo children who attended the mission school were accustomed to. Diet was one of them. Because health is an important aspect of the Seventh-day Adventist lifestyle, the food served at the cafeteria is vegetarian. For a culture that places high value on sheep and more recently cattle, however, the vegetarianism lifestyle that is associated with the Seventh-day Adventist religion is difficult to understand and adjust to. Some community members were understanding of the differences:

We'd teach them how to shear sheep—they'd break bread with us. Now people here are vegetarians, but if they didn't want to eat meat we didn't look down on them—we knew it wasn't that they were too good to eat our food. (José, previous student, interview, primary source)

Others, especially the children who boarded at the school, found the diet difficult to adjust to.

There is a very abrupt transition from the mutton and beef diet at home to the vegetarian one at the mission. Food has always come up. We need to make the transition slow, gradual. We need to include some of the foods from home.(Phil, staff, interview, primary source)

The Health fair, felt by most at the mission to be a rousing success, brought some 150 community members to the campus, including 60 children and staff from nearby Smith Rock School. The fair was a cooperative effort by a number of health services on the reservation and the mission. A vegetarian meal was offered, as it is to any visitor to the mission. However, most of the vegetables and vegeburgers that were on the visiting children's plates went in the trash. The cook was upset, and it showed. A staff member commented,

We're bringing people from the community, feeding them, our leaders were saying, look how they are wasting the food. The kids from the community were hearing this. (Hal, staff, interview, primary source)

However, the emphasis on a healthy diet was not completely lost on the community. Diabetes and high blood pressure are some of the serious health concerns on the reservation. Staff members reported that some older people who attended the fair noted that there were adjustments they needed to make in their diets for health reasons, and were interested in a more plant-based diet.

One of the house parents discussed what the children faced at home if and when they accepted the fundamental beliefs of the church regarding diet and were baptized into the church.

Vegetarianism is not a doctrine of faith for Seventh-day Adventists, but refraining from eating unclean meat (such as pork) is.

If I was back in any other church and said or did what I did, I would be drummed out of the church. I asked Rob [after he had spent a weekend at home], what did you eat [today]? Potatoes and a pork chop. And he was still hungry. I told him to bless it and eat it. I think we have to look at this situation very differently. He's in a position where he's not wanted. His grandfather doesn't want to feed him anyway. He's a child. He can't buy the food.

My number one priority is taking care of the children and not abusing our faith, and you have a little boy who's just been baptized say he's had potatoes and a pork chop and he's still very hungry, I'll tell him to bless the food and eat. I'm not going to put him in a position where they'll be disrespectful and defiant of their elders. But at the same time I want to teach them that when they do have a choice, there are good things. (Will, administration, interview, primary source)

4.32 Differences in Values

There were a number of differences in cultural values and behavioral expectations.

Sarah, who was a house parent as well as a teacher, said:

Personal property doesn't mean anything to these children. . . To Hoss, it doesn't mean a thing—if he sees it and wants it he takes it. . . Time has no meaning. There are no books in the home. (Sarah, staff, interview, primary source)

Most of the children had rough, unstable family backgrounds.

We have managed to get vulgarity stopped. [Six-year-old] Hoss freely discussed sex, drugs. Three, four weeks ago he wanted to bomb me, wanted to kill Lily. What he had seen that weekend, I don't know. Ortel discusses the drug use of his brother. [When I ask] what do you want to do when you grow up? What do your parents do? [They tell me,]"Drink and fight." A majority of these parents have gone to college.

We don't have one single family that is solid—there are half sisters, half brothers, some homes there is no food, water, electricity—that's the home that the four kids came from [who had to return home when their father got out of jail.]

Values are totally different from ours. [In] one family, parents use the smallest children as a decoy while the parents shoplift. (Sarah, staff, interview, primary source)

Another telling difference for native parents, one staff member noted, was that education was second to social and family values. For some families, a child's needs for a consistent education seemed to be less important than family needs or convenience.

4.33 *Quandaries about the Children's Levels of Motivation*

The principal said he wished he could just sit down with the elders and ask them what they would like to see him teach their children. What was their philosophy in life? He felt he could teach the kids to read and write and do math, but these were only tools to accomplish other things in life, and it seemed that there were no desires to do anything with their lives, much less accomplish goals.

The tribe and federal government give them monies from uranium and oil deposits that are currently being exploited on the reservation, and though these monies provide for a very low standard of living, there doesn't seem to be a drive to work toward a career.

The Navaho feel that they need to live between the four sacred mountains, and they can feel outcast if they don't follow these traditional values. So they live here where there aren't jobs or much hope of any. . . They are coming to the mission but the philosophies are different. It's another world we can't understand, or if we can understand it, we can't address it. (Phil, staff, interview, primary source)

The apathy that's here is hard to deal with. They don't seem to want to better themselves. It just seems like that's the jist. There's no eagerness to see what's out there, not ever go to college. I'm not saying forget their heritage, I have Indian heritage. (Tom, staff/board, interview, primary source)

The practical aspects of education were critical to the future success of the Navajo children in native teacher Tonya's perception.

We need technical training. These kids aren't going to make it through high school. They need trades. They need hands-on-science lab, mechanics. They want to get out there and do it but we can't get past bureaucracy. To save these kids it's what we need to do. They can get just as far with basic reading, math and trade skills. If we wait until they get to high school, and find an alternative high school, it will be too late. Most drop out by 10th grade. If we started now, we can help them realize they can be successful without school—the basic education, but not necessarily having to go through high school, college. (Tonya, native staff, interview, primary source)

4.34 Yelling Staff and Silent Children

The philosophical differences on how to handle the children's behavior was one of the most controversial topics at the mission. One staff member commented that he yelled at the

children about not wanting to learn. In another instance observed during chapel, the children seemed to want to respond, but were uncomfortable about answering questions.

He asked an older boy if he was glad and the boy couldn't come up with anything. None of the other children volunteered with anything that made them happy. . . Mr. Will asked the children what they had faith in. None of them could come up with an answer. . . They seemed anxious to get something down on their 3x5 index cards, but they didn't seem free to respond verbally to the questions. (Field notes, January 28, 2008)

This situation of silent children resonated with a story in a 1978 "Navajo News" letter, a new teacher described the first day of class, comparing the children to a silent bell:

Inside the classroom the children were more silent than our reluctant bell. No matter what question I asked or how it was phrased or rephrased, silence prevailed. The shy students sat politely, looking attentive, and giving no indication that my voice was being heard. There was not even a response to my questioning them as to their desire to go out for recess. I was getting desperate for some feedback or even noise. At last I said, "Since you've left the question of recess up to me, you will all stay in except for those who ask me if they can go out." One by one their hands went up. The silence was broken. (Eugene O'Toole, 1978)

4.35 Determination

Though the children seemed apathetic or reticent to respond in some academic settings, in other settings, they demonstrated considerable determination and focused work. One father, a chapter house official and concerned about his son losing interest in academics as he reached middle school years, encouraged the school's horse program when it was operational, and helped finance it. For the boys especially, basket ball and archery were important skills that they

enjoyed practicing. The children enjoyed actually getting outside and digging in the dirt in agriculture class. Even the very young seemed to be able to focus with determination on developing skills that interested them; a telling incident occurred at the health fair involving a baby who had a pen.

I saw this baby throwing the pen and toddling after it. For many minutes, he would throw the pen, it would skitter across the smooth concrete floor, and he would go after it. . . At the end of the program, the baby was throwing several key chains hooked together—I saw no pen. But the game hadn't gotten old yet. Such gumption! No fussing, just determined direction in this baby's play. I never heard him make a sound. (Field Notes, January 30)

At the cafeteria meal after the health fair, there was an incident where staff yelled at several children.

Some of the kids were horsing round and one of the guys in the cafeteria hollered at them from behind the counter in the kitchen. Del said one of the older women glared at him. Del said, they should never shame a kid in public. They should have come out and gone over to the kid and talked to him quietly. (Field Notes, January 30, 2008)

The director, Will, who had been a military drill sergeant, and the principal, Phil, who had a Masters in Educational Psychology, eventually parted ways over their differences in disciplinary philosophy. The principal was reassigned as a teacher, and instead of accepting this position, he resigned in the summer of 2008.

4.36 School/Parent Relationships

Some parents were very involved in their children's education. Several lived in the chapterhouse housing nearby, and came over often. Lynn tells this story of how she met one parent:

I have a good relationship with Windy. She had a difficult relationship with her husband. She came in and took my clothes out of the washer and was putting hers in. "Who are you?" I asked her. You aren't going to take my clothes out of the washing machine." "I'm Windy, and Cathy isn't here. I have to wash my clothes, so I came here."

Now we have a good relationship. She's afraid of skinwalkers. Her fight with her husband had her really upset, and he was in jail, so I told her she could stay here any time she wanted. And sometimes when I get up, here she is on the couch. (Lynn, staff, interview)

One of the fathers faithfully made sure his son caught his rides to school, and just as faithfully, attended parent conferences, even when he had to hitch a ride for over 50 miles in a blizzard. Other relationships were more strained. Sarah described this situation:

Rob lives with his grandparents. She's not very friendly. She sends a clear message with her body language, don't come closer. There's conflict in the home. It doesn't feel like they would appreciate a visit. (Angela, staff, interview, primary source)

4.37 Parent Participation in Conferences

A shared concern by both Valley Grove and Smith Rock schools was how to encourage more parent participation at parent/teacher conferences. A local principal commented that what worked best for her school was combining events.

We try to have several events at one time. We had a family meal, teacher conference and parent activity meeting. By scheduling all that at one time, we had a lot better turn out. . . . If you provide an opportunity where they can fulfill several components—school, family, community, social—you get more participants. Making visitors feel welcome, that they’re an important part of the success of the school. They’ve been most generous with our fund raisers. This is not that big of a community. (Joni, community member, interview, primary source)

Basketball was one of the activities that created bonds between Valley Grove and Smith Rock schools. Hal, who had college training in physical education, acted as coach. Phil, the school principal, and Hal spent several hours twice a week playing basketball on Wednesday evenings and Sundays with not only the Valley Grove School children but several of the older Adventist children in the community.

There are six [kids] from the community coming to play ball. . . . Phil’s trying to pick up kids—they have work to do at home, so we have to have a bus system, that’s fine. We’re not here to keep everything to ourselves. We’re trying to have an interaction with the community. (Hal, staff, interview, primary source)

4.38 Navajo Language and Other Cultural Studies

Like many other schools of the era, Valley Grove had a history of punishing children who spoke Navajo. Over time, generations have lost the ability to speak their language.

Now, few of the children are speakers. They can understand much of what their elders say, but can’t speak it. Some of the outreach activities involve taking kids to visit with the elders. However, these only speak Navaho, and the children can’t communicate with them. (Phil, staff, interview, primary source)

They punished students for speaking the language. It makes me angry. If you learn Navajo, it makes you Diné [Native term for Navajo]. (Edward, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

One kid wrote in his journal that his grandfather speaks Navajo and he can't understand him. He wants to learn Spanish so his grandfather can't understand him. (Tonya, native staff, interview, primary source)

That policy changed, and there had been a number of attempts at providing Navajo language instruction, though at the time of the study, there were no language classes being taught. The Navajo teacher didn't know the language, and teachers from the community who had taught the language at Valley Grove had not been asked to return.

4.39 The Clinic

Medical work had been a real need at both the earlier Lake Grove Mission and at Valley Grove. However, when the desperate need for medical care lessened with the provision of Indian Health Service hospitals and clinics around the reservation, the dentist visits eventually stopped from Orion and Colorado. Dr. Grey stopped coming in 2004 because of his health. The Indian Health Service eye doctor from Stonelake still visited Valley Grove every other Wednesday, Loma Linda dental students came several times a year, and a staff member kept the clinic organized and scheduled their visits. For the past year and a half, however, clinic had a new boost. A physician's assistant lived on campus and was available twenty-four hours a day any time he was at the mission, which usually was Sunday afternoon through Friday morning.

The PA was licensed to prescribe medications. Though lab facilities were limited, he had had experience in a wide variety of rural clinics in impoverished areas.

Previous to the physician assistant's arrival, the clinic had been open only on Wednesdays, and even then medical services had not been available for several years. It has taken time for the community to become aware that more extensive services were available now.

For 40 years we've sent people away from this practice—35 miles down the road is a free hospital. They are still coming because of optometry, dental work. Why? Because here they don't have huge lines to contend with. (Kevin, staff, interview, primary source)

One patient at the Valley Grove clinic recalled driving all the way to Stonelake and waiting in the clinic lobby until closing hours without a chance to be seen. Though there were free hospitals and clinics available at Stonelake, it was still some distance to go, the lines were a deterrent, and most preferred getting medical help from people they knew.

4.40 The Church

At the heart of the mission was the vision of sharing the gospel with the Navajo, acknowledged in the mission vision statement. As one participant in a visioning meeting noted, "The church is the reason we are here—to bring the gospel to the Navajo nation." Just how to bring the gospel to the Navajo nation, however, was a challenge.

4.41 Church in Limbo

The Valley Grove church was begun in 1978 by a volunteer group called Maranatha, who volunteer their services to build churches and other buildings for missions. Since the church was on mission land and was owned by the mission, it wasn't really the responsibility of the conference to provide a pastor. The present director didn't feel qualified to oversee the church.

A church board was set up, but without conference or director leadership, there was a sense that the church was in limbo.

Imagine, they are saying that there wasn't a communion service for eight years. There is no pastor. The one from Parks and Orion comes once a quarter, for a Wednesday night service. (Beth, staff, interview, primary source)

Because the school had been the center of attention, of funding, and of staffing, the church has been in the background, and this concerned some people.

We get so busy with the school, our church has gone down hill. (Watson, previous board, interview, primary source)

What's been happening over the past forty years is not working. Is our purpose to win souls or keep a school going? (Patricia, previous staff, interview, primary source)

4.42 Low Attendance

The church was not well attended when we first arrived at the end of January. Six or seven of the mission staff and four or five from the community were in attendance in a church that could seat between 150 and 200. Two teams alternated taking on the church responsibilities for each week so that there was someone to play the piano, others to lead in the services and teach the children, youth, Navajo Bible study and Anglo Bible study groups, and take care of the noon meal. The idea of the teams was to give staff a break and allow them to leave campus every other weekend.

Pastors Beth and Donnie had been church administrators most of their adult lives. Though their actual responsibilities at the mission were as house parents and office staff, they also took on growing the church.

It was one of our burdens; church services was dull and gloomy, not so inspiring, just a few staff, few members. Not all staff attend because they are on their break. We plan on visiting members, and we see them coming to church now. There has been a long history of abuses, white people taking their lands. Because we are the same colors, same features, they are more comfortable with us. We would tell the people, we would like to come visit you. They would say, oh, they used to do that before, now they don't.

Some students used to visit homes with the staff—sing songs, pray with the community. I was trying to compare the dates of the baptisms—maybe they are related to the time when there was more visiting. In the 70's, 80's, early 90's, those were the good days—the peak. Most of the baptisms happened during these times. There are 122 members in the rolls. (Beth, staff, interview, primary source)

4.43 Earlier Memories of a Healthier Church

A number of community members had good memories of past church activities, the visits that used to take place out in the community, and the enthusiasm of the children who were involved.

We would have week-long seminars, like camp meetings. The basic thing would be baptism. They'd dig a big pool five feet deep, run the hose out there, fill it up overnight. Everyone who wanted to be baptized would empty their pockets and step into the water. It was neat to see that, a lot of people come to Christ through this mission here. (José, native previous student, interview, primary source)

I worked at Valley Grove for eight years. We used to have Sabbath School classes out there in the community. They would be so excited, “Oh, it’s going to be my turn, we’ll have it at my house! Yeah!” . . . We’d sit down and visit on Sabbath the same way. We’d visit until 4:00, and we’d say, just stay and have supper with us. That church was full of Navajo. . . We’d have camp meeting church service in the shade between the Hogan and the church. We’d have church in the mountains, camp out. We’d take the kids from home to home, go this way, that way, we’d sing songs, they loved it. (Fannie, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

Missionaries come and ask where’s all the Navajos and shed tears. The membership will climb when we visit. You have to visit a family, a person, a home—that’s the only way you will draw them. That’s what Jesus did. That’s what I did. When I was single, I took four students, visited four or five homes. I talked to my students, what do you want do? “I want to pray.” Then, listen to them, pray for what they ask for. We’d learn memory verses in Navajo, sing in Navajo, pray in English—that’s the only way they knew. They would be excited and say, it’s my turn. They would say, I made banana bread when I went home. When we visit people in their homes, they make an effort to come to church. They would have a testimony- - when you prayed for us, these little ones are powerful. When they pray, it happens. (Jillian, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

Visitation and warm community relationships were essential to church growth.

Visiting with the Navajo is really important. They have to have contact. They don’t seem to have the initiative to come on their own. When we’ve had workers out visiting, there

were a lot of people coming to church, but without visiting, they don't last. (Watson, previous board, interview, primary source)

I'd like to see people stay long enough to live with the community. . . It's strange to see people who move all the way out here and isolate themselves. Why don't they open up, break the ice, ask us who we are, even if they don't want us to know them. (José, native previous student, interview, primary source)

They ask me, how are we going to bring the Navajo back. I said, put yourself there. Visit them. Pray. I've heard them say the Navajo stink, the Navajo steal, they'd steal their curtains. They ask me why, I said talk to the director. It used to be they would greet the Navajo. Now when you say something, they just walk off. I think, oh, I must have not said it loud enough. I went to Valley Grove to ask for prayer . It was like all new staff, they didn't want to see me there. I asked my uncle, he said it was because I didn't go to church. (Fannie, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

4.44 Baptisms

In the early spring of 2008, there were eight baptisms—six school children, and two mothers who wanted to be baptized with their children. The children had taken a number of weeks of baptismal classes, held twice a week in the evenings, in the children's homes on the mission.

The mothers' requests just days before the event came as a surprise. This was cause of great rejoicing, but it also required some careful handling. It is unusual in the Seventh-day Adventist church to simply ask for baptism and be baptized. Usually there is a time of study such

as the children undertook. In this case, Pastor Donnie made an exception because of the long-term relationships the mothers had with the mission, and the fact that mothers could be baptized with their children. He made some inquiries into their Christian beliefs, but he also had plans for longer term studies.

Pastor wants to have Bible studies with the moms that were baptized. He baptized them as Christian, not necessarily as Seventh-day Adventist. The Bible criteria is very simple—believe, repent. Wanda has come to church. Julia—the way she has been treated by the mission has been a great example. Wanda has been here for years and seen the example of the mission. In the newsletter that I wrote this morning, I said that if we could bottle what happened Friday [the moms' requests for baptism], that would be the essence of this mission. It was so overwhelming I haven't comprehended the situation. I believe that the Holy Spirit has dealt with the mothers through their children. (Will, administration, interview, primary source)

Jean's mother called almost a week before. We talked together. I called her about what made her decide. I requested Tina come early so we could talk. Windy received Bible studies before. . . After reviewing their fundamental beliefs, I asked if she accepted the fundamental beliefs. If after they reviewed those and she had a question, I wouldn't have baptized her. But I don't want to control their decisions. (Donnie, staff, interview, primary source)

The pastor acknowledged the need for connection in order to keep strong relationships with the newly baptized.

Last Saturday I heard this from Candy when she came. “Mr. Donnie said to be ready and he’d come to pick us up.” Candy’s mom said, “Why, where are you going?”

“We’re going to church. We’re baptized already, so we need to go to church.” The mom said, “Oh, that’s right, I’ll come too.” “But mom, Mr. Donnie is here already.” “That’s alright; I’ll come behind you in the car.” (Donnie, staff, interview, primary source)

There were some who felt that just baptisms in themselves did not serve the purpose of the mission. Historically, most of the baptisms have been of children who were attending school at Valley Grove, and few of these are still in attendance. Of the 122 members on the Valley Grove church books, 55 of these are still in the community, but fewer than 10 attend church regularly. Though we witnessed two families being baptized together, this has not usually been the case.

Some people’s idea is that if we win the children this will win the parents, but it doesn’t work that way. You aren’t going to reach parents, especially if the parents are so far away, and children are being baptized. (Patricia, previous staff, interview, primary source)

4.45 Cultural Differences in Understanding What it Meant to Be Christian

Even though Navajo have been baptized, their understanding of what it meant to be Christian was not necessarily what the missionaries thought it was.

They have difficulty understanding the depth of the gospel—what it’s all about. They say, yes, yes, we’ll be baptized, but you wonder what they really understand. Some stay solid through the years, they’ve hung in there. There’s an older lady who’s versed in the Bible. Others are not, but they come because the church has been helpful, it takes care of

the children. Some children have gone to Holbrook, they come back, but we never see them. (Weimer, interview, primary source)

The Navajo don't see our doctrines as solidly. Edward had to be at meetings on Sabbath. The jewelry thing is hard for them to accept. They're very sincere, but they don't see things as clearly. (Yvette, previous staff, interview, primary source)

Again, the importance of relationships and community figured in the picture of how the Navajo relate to religion.

It's difficult for one or two people to step out, know the whole gospel, living that way against opposition—many are baptized but they don't come to church. So many pretty good pastors and evangelists come and feel they have good contacts, but they don't stay in the church. (Weimer, interview, primary source)

The way to reach the Navajo is not individually. The bonds, the togetherness, the family, is important. When you want to convert the Navajo, the goal is to convert the whole family. This is why tradition is strong, family is strong, because the whole family is in the religion. When one Navajo comes to church, he doesn't know people in the church. His support is outside in the family. He or she may come to church for a few months, but he will see his family doing other things, and will go back to be with the family. (Billie, native, interview, primary source)

Pastor Bob described his methods of reaching the people:

One of the most important parts is visit, visit, visit. People just go to revival, tent meeting, they just go there. They don't go to church. First we have a series of meetings,

then I follow up with a couple [husband and wife]. We have a small group every Sabbath at their house. Branch Sabbath School. They like it this way. I spend a lot of time with them, give them Amazing Facts. I created some of my Bible study Branch Sabbath School in the homes.

I ask them if you want a church, how do you want to run it. What do you want to do. The home seems to be an answer—just meeting where they are. I get acquainted, make friends. They listen to you, after they get used to you. I introduce the little ones to Holbrook School. I guess that's the way I get into some of these villages. (Bob, native, interview, primary source)

There are cultural differences that make for different views of what being a Christian means.

A Navajo views Christianity differently than a traditional Adventist. [From their viewpoint] a native is too wild—they will never make a good Christian. The way they look at an Anglo, if you claim to be a Christian, you should be perfect. Any grey areas are not acceptable. They don't want to see any humanness in an Anglo Christian. (Alice, board, interview, primary source)

José, a church member at Valley Grove, mentioned his convictions as well as concerns when he was asked to pray at church:

I don't think I'm worthy enough. I do a lot of talking to Him when I'm out rounding up cattle. I haven't been a saint all my life, I've been labeled as a bad person in the community and people will ask who am I to pray. I'm confused. [I'm afraid] I'm going to offend someone. (José, native previous student, interview, primary source)

Alice related a recent sermon given the week before at a church in town about work in a Muslim country that parallels similar cultural concerns Christianity faces in Navajo land.

In church, a pastor from Frontier Missions in Africa was preaching exactly what we've been trying to get people to understand. There's a better way to do something that's not so offensive. His example: They were supposed to be planting churches, but the country was mostly Muslim—very traditional, respectful to elders, feed guests, let elders talk, if they want to borrow something, you give it to them. Some people were starting a business. They bought cable TV and were giving it to everyone else on their street, since it wasn't regulated.

There was a rise in rapes against non-native women—just from watching TV. Elders say, go to the Christians and learn it all—whatever they have to tell you—study the Bible—but don't become a Christian. Americans on TV were seen as smoking, drinking, immodest, that was all associated with Christianity. Study, learn, but don't be one—they don't practice what they preach.

That minister from Africa said, plan on two or three years [for church planting]. Use stories. Don't start with this verse and jump over to that—then people say, that's what the missionary said, they don't know it for themselves. Respect for elders is more highly regarded. Arguing the doctrine never worked in twenty years. For education of native people—you need to connect with what they know, their history, their culture, their religion. Then you see the curtain open and light comes in. (Alice, board, interview, primary source)

4.46 Native Community Concerns Regarding Church Work

Native community members mentioned sore points they had with how missionaries handled the church work at the mission.

I was hearing that there were [evangelistic] meetings in Stonelake. Why in Stonelake? We needed meetings here. What's wrong with us out in the community? That made me sad. It makes me feel like we're not worth it or something. That's another reason why, we don't have gas to pick you up. I asked for a ride [to church] a few times, but they never picked me up. They can go all the way to Stonelake just to pick up one person. (Fannie, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

There were regular “runs” on Sabbath morning to pick up those who needed transportation to church. One vehicle would go north, another south. But Will expressed the problem of being asked to pick up community people for church when they had vehicles and regularly drove them past the mission to work. “If they want to come to church, they should bring themselves,” was the sentiment. But some in the community saw this differently—especially since they had made runs themselves, when they were working for the mission. Failure to pick them up when they asked for a ride made them feel as if they weren’t “worth it.”

4.47 Navajo Values for Christianity and the Mission

Despite the cultural differences, however, many Navajo had deep convictions about Christianity, God, how to relate to Him, and how to pray.

When Anglos are talking to a Native American, they have God over here and other things there. I'm a Christian, and I don't put my religion aside and my culture over there. It's intertwined. I can pray anywhere, I don't have to go to a medicine man. In Navajo it's not taught to you how to pray. I don't have to go to anyone to say a prayer for me. I

want to teach young people , you don't have to pay someone to pray for you. (Edward, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

They come from a home that believes in Navajo religion. They talk about this in the dorm, but the missionaries don't have the slightest idea what to say. "Oh, they saw something walking." The missionaries don't understand. They say, "Oh, he's just seeing things. Oh, that's nothing, you watched a wild movie, you imagined it," instead of saying, "Let's pray about it. Give it to Jesus. That's of the devil. You don't have to have medicine man or a priest to do this—it's between you and God." They're scared to go to sleep. Sit with me, be with me. I tell them about angels, about God. "You don't need to fear. When you learn about Jesus, you know Jesus protects and keeps you. Then you don't fear those things. It's gone." (Jillian, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

Sometimes I study so much it's two or three in the morning, and I get a couple hours of sleep and straggle through a tired day and come home and pick up the Bible and there I go again. But I'm used to it from the military. . . I had a lot of problems that the Bible helped answer. . . It's almost a year that I've been sober. (José, native previous student, interview, primary source)

A number had good things to say about the mission and its spiritual impact on the community, even though they had experienced problems there.

If I hadn't come back to the church, I wouldn't feel like being helpful now. Reflecting back on the things I learned then are making sense now. It was a good idea the mission

was put here. I can't imagine what the community would be like if the mission wasn't here. (José, native previous student, interview, primary source)

When I'm working, traditional people come in and they say, Oh, I'm sick, I went to the medicine man and he wasn't there. I told my kids, I'm so glad I'm with the Lord. Jesus is always there. A lot of times some of the teenagers come here. The words come out of my mouth, Jesus loves you. I say, did those words come out of my mouth? Thank you, Lord. The teenagers ask why I treat them like that—at other places they tell them to get out. . . I don't know whoever started Valley Grove, but I'm thankful for that. I'm always comfortable there. That's where I was healed, that's where I learned. That's my home. (Fannie, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

4.48 *Blending Navajo Cultural Practices with Western Christian Practices*

There were some cultural aspects of their own life style, however, that the Navajo missed in the Western worship style. After one church service at Parks, Jamie, a Navajo college teacher, asked a church leader if they could get together and write out a prayer for his son in college. He wanted to plan the prayer, so it was an experience for his son. “Not one of those three-minute white-man prayers,” he said. “We don't have the kind of faith you have, for just a three-minute prayer.” He explained how in his family, medicine men would pray a prayer that encompassed every aspect of the person's past and present and would reach into the future. “When you are done, you look up, you look around you, like it's a different world.” He demonstrated, blinking, shaking his head a little as he looked around. To be a good prayer for the Navajo, it needed to take the mind on a visual journey.

I had this prayer for the child growing up. We prayed for the bone marrow, the tendons, the mind expanding, becoming a family lady, a family man someday, a contributing member to this family, this community, that's 25 years from now, but the prayer is that way. When a child shows happiness, the First Laughter, they celebrate, using salt of the earth. [We pray] he will be happy and positive and generous with his/her means, mentally, physically, becomes a leader. He won't be stingy with his or her means of knowledge or wisdom. In Navajo, this is the Blessing way.

They [traditional medicine men] pray when everything is asleep, so there is nothing to distract them. The church service is done in the middle of traffic. (Jamie, native previous parent, interview, primary source)

Yet this native teacher and leader also recognized that his own beliefs had a hope not present in the native religion. Out of respect, he didn't think that he should tell his uncle about his beliefs during the Blessing Way ceremony, but he wanted to later. He also wanted to help out his uncle, but he didn't want his money to go to support the Native religion.

Some religious groups go so far as to burn the religious paraphernalia, but [I wouldn't do that] out of respect. I may, in a different situation, I can say what I believe. What people believe in white man's religion, they go live in a beautiful place. But we don't have anything. We put down a horse so they have something to travel on. I'll tell my uncle, it's a beautiful place where there's no more death, sorrow. But I don't say this now when he's happy. We're just happy to support him. Maybe that support is in saying, "Hey, I'm important. These people love me, I should get well so I can work again." (Jamie, native previous parent, interview, primary source)

The power of God and the power of prayer were important to the Navajo Christian believer.

Another thing they [Anglo Christian church workers] need to understand—Navajo religion deals with supernatural power and the medicine man. Seventy percent of Navajo are in their Navajo religion, fifteen percent are in Christianity. They must see the Christian God is powerful; if they don't see that, they aren't interested. That's what Navajo are like. They see miracles taking place, so in the church they must see that too. Things like this we can teach, the culture, tradition. (Billie, native, interview, primary source)

During the church service at Parks, Jamie offered to tell a children's story. There weren't any children present, but it was part of the service. A general order of service was written on the back wall; there were no bulletins printed, and people in attendance volunteered to do each part of the service as we came to it.

Jamie's story had to do when he was a little boy, herding sheep. Someone invited him to a children's Bible program where he heard the story of the walls of Jericho. He went back to his sheep pondering this Bible story. It was amazing to him that there was a God who listened to people and answered them. He tried to imagine a huge wall made of stone, a big building, crashing down in answer to someone's prayer. He thought it was wonderful to be able to talk to Someone who would listen, and who had that kind of power.

4.49 The Blessing Way and Christianity

There were things our Seventh-day Adventist church didn't do, however, that concerned Jamie.

One other thing our church don't do or whatever. In this Blessing way, when you buy food, food is alive. It needs to be revived. It might not taste good. If you help with the ceremony, [food] will taste better again and nourish you. Same thing with money, if you donate it, it will buy things it wouldn't do before. They might already know [a song but they say] I want to renew my song. My great great grandmother taught me this song and I want to renew it, so they sing their song. Everyone is given an opportunity to do that. (Jamie, native previous parent, interview, primary source)

The Blessing Way song followed a pattern, logical steps that helped the thinking, problem-solving process. The four directions were related to aspects of these prayers.

The East is what you know, how to live. It is personal. The South is about how to provide for your family. The West is about how to relate to others, your family, how to use your clan in how to relate to others. The North is about spiritual things. (Jamie, native previous parent, interview, primary source)

There was a caring, a thoughtful consideration in the Navajo way when dealing with others. Dr. Grey remembered the politeness of a Navajo patient he had, in contrast to non-native patients:

They're very polite and courteous, and they don't like to look you in the eye. They don't like a strong hand-shake. One day I was standing outside the clinic looking across the wash. I watched a fellow coming on horse-back. As I watched, he crossed the wash. He seemed to be in a big hurry—the horse was sweaty. He wanted to visit. I knew something was bothering him, but he kept on visiting, drawing marks in the sand with his foot. Finally he told me he had a snake bite. I had anti-serum and was able to take care

of him, and he was alright. But other people would tell you they'd been snake-bit 300 yards before they got to you. (Grey, previous board, interview, primary source)

Jamie summed up the cultural differences between the Anglo Christianity and what he was longing to see in his church and religious practices from a native perspective this way:

You know the first commandment that Jesus mentioned, Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and body and soul, and love thy neighbor as thy self. The Navajo do this second one better than the white people, us Christians. That part we can learn from the Navajo. (Jamie, native previous parent, interview, primary source)

Theme 3: Summary and Reflections

One of the biggest concerns voiced by the staff and board and community dealt with the purpose of the mission. The formal mission statement centered on spreading the gospel to the Navajo people, but there was not much consensus as to how to do that. Some felt that the purpose of the mission was to provide services to the community. Others felt that their personal mission was to help wherever help was needed. Some felt that the mission was being underutilized; others, that it was outdated, and should be closed or moved. There were some in the community who were angry toward the mission because of past abuses in the school, and by directors.

The mission ran three programs: the school, the clinic, and the church. Most of the emphasis and energies of the mission were focused on education, though there was question if this was a good thing, because the church was suffering. The clinic had been languishing as well, but it was beginning to revive because of a staff addition.

Parents sent their children to Valley Grove school for a number of reasons. For some, it had been a tradition; they went to Valley Grove, and now they sent their children. Some parents

sent their children because it was safe, drug-free and Christian. Others found it convenient to send their children where they had every need provided. Some children were enrolled because it was their last chance; they had not succeeded at other schools, either because they were struggling academically, or they had behavioral problems.

Enrollment has been much higher; in the early 1990's, there were over 100 children. However, numbers had dropped for a number of reasons, including demographics. Current enrollment stood in the teens. There were concerns that of the seven Adventist children in the community, none were attending the school. In order to raise enrollment, church-supported Adventist schools often accepted children who have behavioral or academic problems in other school systems. Some Adventist children, in order to get a Christian education, had had to go to school with some of the most troubled children in the community.

Western schooling practices and long distances had required many native children to board when they went to school. However, as roads improved, more people were able to afford vehicles, bussing had become more feasible, and day schools had become more possible. Many parents wanted their children home after school, rather than let them board. This had reduced numbers at the mission, especially since nearby Smith Rock School provided day school and bussing. Others believed that boarding was still the best option.

Retention was another concern. The vegetarian diet that is part of the Seventh-day Adventist lifestyle was hard for the children to adapt to, and this was one reason given for why some children left. Changes in parents' employment and living arrangements were other reasons. Some native parents seemed to value family and other social concerns more than education. However, other parents and children deeply valued the environment provided at Valley Grove.

Discipline policies and philosophies about guidance of behavior were perhaps the most divisive issues at the mission. Discipline philosophy became a contentious point between the principle and director, and resulted in the principal leaving the mission. Several of the teachers felt frustrated because they felt that the children had no motivation to learn. Sometimes staff yelled at the children. They felt that the children had no interest or curiosity about other choices besides living as they did, where they did, and they felt at a loss in how to direct them. The children did exhibit motivation and determination, but not always in academic studies. Practical skills seemed to be more important.

Relationships with parents ranged from non-existent to very close. Some of the parents were absent, and the care-takers were resistant to communication overtures. Some parents were often on campus, doing laundry or sleeping at a houseparent's house for security's sake, and least one parent went to great lengths to attend parent/teacher conferences, even in a blizzard. Valley Grove had begun a practice of putting on several programs for the parents during parent/teacher conferences, and this seemed to encourage greater attendance. A similar practice increased parent attendance at conferences at Smith Rock.

The clinic had been an important early component of the mission. However, as IHS clinics became more available, there became less and less need for a clinic at Valley Grove. After some years of little medical work at the mission, the board and staff were glad to have a physician's assistant come to reside at Valley Grove, and the community was beginning to take advantage of this local access to health care.

Some of the staff and board saw the church as a critical aspect of the mission that had become eclipsed by the school. The church didn't have a pastor as such, though the pastors/couple on the mission staff undertook the revival of the church as part of their personal

mission, and were supported in this role by the director. Baptisms were concrete evidence that the mission was fulfilling its mission to spread the gospel, but keeping the membership of the church intact was a challenge. Nurture was a critical aspect of keeping baptized members in the church. Without visitation, native church attendance faded away.

Native people were drawn to several aspects of Christianity and the Seventh-day Adventist message. They believed in the historicity and power of the Bible stories. The power of God to change their lives was important, as was prayer and the protection God provided against evil forces. Biblical teachings such as what happened after a person died inspired a hope that Navajo Christians felt the traditional native religion didn't offer.

Several spoke nostalgically of the times when services were held from home to home, with impromptu singing, praying and testimony. The Navajo identified best with worship in small informal, family-based groups. Bringing individuals into the church rarely produced stable members; they needed the support that family offered. One member wondered why she wasn't picked up to attend services, or why meetings were held further away but not there in the local community. These local connections were important.

There were some aspects of Western worship that weren't as helpful, however. The more formal church programs in a large, Western-style setting weren't as personal as the worship in the hogans. Worship in a church on a noisy street in the daytime contrasted poorly with the reverence that was felt at the night-time ceremonies of the traditional Navajo religion. Sometimes the prayers of the white people seemed too short and abstract to mean much. The support offered by family and friends at the native ceremonies were valued, and when money, food and songs were shared in these ceremonies, it did something to revitalize these vital commodities of life. There was a meaning to this multilateral system of nurturance and

continuity, a deeper level of spirituality that seemed to be lacking in the Christian white way of worship. It seemed that the traditional Navajo understood better how to love each other than did Christians.

Theme 4: Navajo Leadership

*As a feather from the Eagle's wing
Falls and drifts,
And the drum rumbles
The dancer takes flight,
Becomes the Eagle.*
(Chee, 2001, p. 43)

The fourth theme evolved out of the study as it progressed. In examining many of the concerns the native participants had about the mission and work they desired to see at the mission, on the reservation and with native work around the nation, it became evident that the issue of Navajo leadership needed to be considered as a theme for the study. The subtopics for this theme include: a) Desires for Service, b) Cultural Differences and Barriers in Training and Worship, c) Reasons for Few Navajos in Leadership, d) Western versus Native Preferences in Training.

4.50 Desires for Service

Though church work began on the Navajo reservation in the early 1900's, there are only 300 Navajo Adventists on a reservation that numbers some 290,000 in population, according to one pastor's estimation (Iverson, 2002, p. 1). There were only two Navajo Adventist pastors working on the reservation, and two Navajo Adventist teachers working at Adventist schools on the reservation. The Valley Grove mission has had a number of Navajo workers in the past, including Navajo pastors, teachers, Bible workers, maintenance workers, craft workers, and

cooks. In 2008, one Navajo was on the staff as a teacher, and two of the staff were descendants of other native tribes. However, Navajo workers have faced challenges in working at the mission. One previous staff member who is native noted:

We were not accepted by the staff . . . I have had people yell at me in front of the kids. . . People spend a few years here and think they know the people. I know what's [going on], I know the culture. I was a Bible worker there [at Valley Grove], at Holbrook Mission. My own sons didn't like how they were treated, ugly things they've seen.
(Marie, native previous staff, interview, primary source)

Yvette recalled a native couple that had worked at the mission, but added, "People don't tolerate them if they do things differently."

How to carry forward the work of sharing the gospel was uppermost in the minds of many of the Adventist Navajos. There were a number of things they wanted to do for the church.

My idea was to go find former students of Holbrook, Navajo fluent speakers, get them to come, maybe one month. Financially, that's open. Get a retired minister, a retired colporteur, someone who can show them how to prepare lessons, how to reach people. Have intense training for a whole month for former students who have already been educated at the Adventist school. I've shared this with different people.

I thought after they go through this seminar, two or three months, they could go out on their own. One says, I'm from Chinle, so we set up a tent in Chinle. After they would be trained, they would take over. That's the best way to start on this reservation. They've been to Navajo schools, Holbrook. They have been taught how to design lessons, how to run the church by these retired ones who don't have to be paid. They would learn how

to read and write in Navajo, how to cook, how to teaching cooking, how to start work in their own communities. We could teach them silver-smithing. That's what I do. Teach them to be self-sufficient.

We could translate Doug Bachelor's work, record it, go to a flea market on the weekend, take this and give it out, listen to it, see what you think. (Jamie, native previous parent, interview, primary source)

Pastor Billie, one of two Seventh-day Adventist Navajo pastors working on the reservation, recognized the scarcity of Navajo leadership. As part of his doctoral work, he was developing a training center for Navajo leaders in Butte Point.

We're lacking Navajo leaders. The plan is to build a training center for Native Americans. Not only Navajos but other Native Americans trained to become Bible workers, give Bible studies, pastors and other ministries, planting other churches, small groups. . I made a proposal to do a special innovative evangelism. I wrote about it and sent it to the Union. They sent it to NAD [North American Division], it's approved at the union level. . .

We asked Maranatha Volunteers to help us build the building, and they accepted it. We are going to call it NADAET—Native American Disciple and Evangelism Institute. I'm trying to work with Andrews University to help me set up a curriculum—use retired pastors and teachers to do the training. (Billie, native, interview, primary source)

Adam and Patricia, working now at Parks, had done short trainings in the past, and believed that this was a good plan for the future.

We would meet one-on-one with people, give water seminars, cooking schools, do hydro therapy, take them to hospitals. Once they saw that we were here all the time and were interested, they were here a lot. There's a lot we can give them. But we really needed to give them on-to-one. To grow the church is the top priority. Adam's encouraging them to bring one person to church, pray for them, God will bring you the person you can help. There may be training going on too. (Patricia, previous staff, interview, primary source)

4.51 Cultural Differences and Barriers in Training and Worship

As part of his studies, Pastor Billie had been investigating why Adventists have so few Navajos becoming pastors.

The Lutherans have two hundred pastors where we have two. I asked why Lutherans who are Western, have more leaders. They believe that if they train Navajos, they will reach the people more effectively. If a young person is interested in ministry, or had a call, they pair them up with a seasoned pastor for one or two years. They go to training for several months, then they come back and they let them go, and they plant churches. I think with our denomination, we require them to go to school, college, seminary. It's a long process, four years

A [Lutheran] missionary comes in and trains Navajo potential leaders and establishes a native church. Everything is done according to the culture of the native people. There's more people coming to that church, they understand that culture, the language. That's why the Lutheran churches are growing and the Seventh-day Adventist church isn't.

The Lutheran get together, a trainer comes in trains them two or three times a year. They come back on the reservation. They constantly have meetings all over the reservation. They pitch tents, haul tents around to different places. I believe that's effective—more effective than a building because you're holding a meeting where people are at, rather than people driving miles to your meeting, because it's close to home.
(Billie, native, interview, primary source)

From what Pastor Billie understood of mission work in other countries, training native leaders overseas took a different route than in the United States.

Overseas, a missionary comes in and works with potential leaders, trains them. The native person who understands native language, cultures, forms a group. Young people become interested, a missionary comes again, trains them, and when the missionary leaves, a work is established. They tell us overseas there's more growth in membership and churches, than here in America. I feel that's what we need to do—give short training. (Billie, native, interview, primary source)

Pastor Billie felt that Navajo churches didn't grow because white missionaries brought in their white ways, and were reluctant to trust Navajos with leadership responsibilities.

There's a problem with trust here at Butte Point, and I'm sure at Valley Grove, too. I've found the trouble with our churches, why it's not growing.

Like here at Butte Point, they come in, establish a church. They establish a clinic, health facility, a hospital. Usually it's a white missionary. They come in with their white culture, everything is run according to their church. Only those employed in the denomination come to church because they are expected to come, because they are employed. So they are isolated from the community. I've seen in the past, the only work

responsibility given to the natives are teaching Sabbath School lessons, interpreting, that's about it. So there's no growth.

I've done some interviews. They tell me, one thing is, we can't relate to foreign cultures. We can't relate to the way church is being done. We don't feel comfortable wearing a shirt and tie. The food. We eat different. You come to the Adventist church and it's vegetarian. We don't feel comfortable. So they establish their own church. It used to be an Adventist, but now it's Lutheran. There's no trust in Navajos leading out. You have to have a white pastor overseeing everything. All these years, close to 50 years, you always had an Anglo pastor coming in every two years till just recently.

It's interesting, the Anglos were leading out in all responsibilities, the Navajo were just reserved, they'd sit back. When the hospital closed in 1996 there wasn't a lot of training in how to lead out. They'd say, "I don't know how to do this, how to lead out." But now we have Navajos leading out, taking responsibility. They are beginning to see that we have to reach our own people. (Billie, native, interview, primary source)

Another cultural factor that affected worship style was mentioned in a news letter from Valley Grove in March of 1985. A certain family was holding a church in their home, and had forty people attending. "Navajo don't really feel comfortable in large church buildings. That's why church attendance has been declining. They much prefer a smaller room like their traditional round hogans." Navajo News (Vol 26. No. 1)

Formal Western dress, too, was not part of the Navajo way to worship.

Navajo don't wear suits, shirt and tie. [Some people focus on] the way they dress, not the Lord. When I got out of college and came to my church, there was a white couple, the only ones there. I didn't wear a tie or suit when I came up front. They were bugging me about that. For Christmas they sent me these old-fashioned ties from Dorcus. I just threw them in the fire. Even though they were the only ones coming to church, I didn't wear a tie. (Billie, native, interview, primary source)

4.52 Reasons For Few Navajos in Leadership

When non-native professionals who had worked a number of years with Navajo staff were asked about why so few Navajo were in leadership, they mentioned such issues as differences in work ethics, cultural expectations, and drinking and drugs.

We've hired native community members—mechanics, substitute teachers with a generous salary—office workers. They don't show up or show up late, two hours late. One woman blew up because when she finally showed up she wasn't needed, and she criticized the qualifications of the woman doing the work. (Will, administrator, interview, primary source)

We've tried to keep Navajo workers through the years. Their work ethic is so different from ours. It just seems to clash. You work on a timed schedule, you do the work assignment. With Navajo, time doesn't seem to mean anything. If you have Navajo working with you, just ignore [time issues]. (Rick, previous administrator, interview, primary source)

People have their own culture. Older generations more than younger ones have difficulty with the language. . . . By going to school, having a more regimented use of time, [learning how to meet] demands—if they can handle that when they first go out, they will be more likely to succeed. It's especially true of girls and guys drinking and doing drugs—they have a hard time making a goal. We have a [Navajo] teacher here in the elementary school who has been here for five years. There's Mary—she got her RN. She's solid, but she has an alcoholic husband. There was a fellow we tried to encourage to take dentistry, but drinking got to him. (Weimar, interview, primary source)

Ben couldn't stay off the bottle. He was quite good at giving Bible Studies. They go on a bender, stay drunk for a week. We tried to keep him, tried to work with him. If we can help them in a physical way, it used to be that physical help was the way to their heart, but not now—they have more income than many people in San Juan county, so they don't need that help any more. (Erikson, previous board, interview, primary source)

There is still some resentment that white people are coming in to run their lives. Until we can hand it over to the Navajo to run it, there will be some resentment. You can kind of hear it from the Navajo— Ruby (Navajo board member) would like to see it happen some day. We need more educated Navajo accountants, it would fall apart if we just turned it over—there's not enough administrative expertise. (Frank, board, interview, primary source)

Some mentioned negative attitudes toward the mission.

Sometimes when you are close enough [to hear what's going on at Valley Grove] you start hearing rumor mills—sometimes they [native workers] are very supportive, sometimes they are disenchanted. That lends to the ups and downs of Valley Grove. Sometimes they are bringing the negative. We are reluctant to make them administratively involved. . . Some cultures we've moved into areas, built up leaders, and they take over running things. It's been really tough getting Navajo leaders. We try to get them involved in every level we can—at times I've thought, why don't we just encourage them to take over and see [what happens], but that might not be wise counsel. (Frank, board, interview, primary source)

One of the previous pastors that helped minister at Valley Grove commented that some of the Navajo seemed to value family and clan functions more than church functions, and this caused some reticence in church administrators giving church leadership into their hands (Ben Owen, interview, primary source). There were also trust issues. One doctor who had worked with Navajo for over fifty years said,

We'd like to see [Navajo take leadership]. I don't think it will ever happen. The Navajo require a lot of nurturing. And they don't trust one another. We had a little satellite church at Parks. I noticed this, not in our church—a woman was upset with her husband for keeping the money for tithe and spending it how he saw fit. If they're not doing it, they suspect others are doing it. They're glad to have—if we have a pastor in our church—a white pastor. They tend to trust him to do the right thing with the money, but they'll not trust each other. But yet they're very kind, and they would do anything they could to help one another. Strange. (Grey, previous board, interview, primary source)

There was mention of prejudice toward Anglos and members of other clans, and the tendency to hold grudges.

It's a yo-yo, up and down. There's a certain racism. We have had Navajo workers before. When you let them go, it angers the community. Navajos still hold hard feelings. (Watson, previous board, interview, primary source)

What I didn't know for so many years is that they've had little spats, little grudges. When I was trying to get families to work together, I'd find I was meddling in these spats.

One Adventist family had a child in Holbrook and wanted to borrow my car to bring her home. My car had its problems and I was wondering if they could work with the problems. Then I found out she had a ride home offered with someone else, but they wanted to go down and get her. When you understand the quarrels, disagreements, then you start to understand why things aren't happening. The pastor is trying to get them to lay aside their problems and forgive each other. (Weimer, interview, primary source)

They'll hold a grudge like you won't believe, Edward still had a major grudge from when he went to school here. They won't confront you, they'll just withdraw. Among themselves, they've developed that to a fine art. (Rick, previous administration, interview, primary source)

There are thirty-six different clans. That means a lot to them, to this day it means a lot. [There's these two families that] come from a clan. It's like there is a wall between them.

When a Navajo is out hitchhiking, if he's not from their clan, they won't pick him up. I'm wondering why, what's the matter with this person or that, and often find the underlying problem has to do with clans. (Watson, previous board, interview, primary source)

As Dr. Erikson noted, it wasn't easy to keep any staff at Valley Grove, much less Navajo staff. Better paying jobs other places beckoned talented native workers.

It's a big challenge to keep any kind of workers. Native workers can go many places and make more money. A couple of sisters were Navajo and were very good, but they went to school. Young people speak English so well. Tim Begay—smart, nice, goes to church at Valley Grove occasionally—did all the trim work in this house. Amy went to school at Valley Grove, Holbrook, Union College, now works for the tribe. She has a really good job that pays well and has good benefits. She does quite a bit of community service work. She sees people's needs, and tries to help them. (Erikson, previous board, interview, primary source)

Some felt that perhaps several generations were necessary before natives could function well in the work of the church and mission.

I think we have to look at the native work on a scale of 1-10. Navajo are at 0 as far as knowing Christ. If you can bring them up a couple steps in one generation, they can pass it on to another generation, and take them a couple more steps. They get involved in their Native American activities, and it's hard for them to see the need of Sabbath keeping, things like that. (Erikson, previous board, interview, primary source)

In the beginning we wanted the Navajo to accept the Lord, become active participants right away. They don't work that way. They take a long time to make up their mind. (Grey, previous board, interview, primary source)

Yvette, who had spent most of her life at the mission, believed that being able to accept differences was an important aspect of keeping native people on the staff.

Indian people have such a different way of doing things. They are easily upset but they have a lot to offer. Too many people say we can't have them on the staff. They don't go by the clock. They come to church late. The type of program they like is unstructured, impromptu, informal. They get up, sing a song. They like to get together and study the Bible and let their children run around out of church.

Not everyone will accept these differences. But you can't make a white man out of a Navajo. Jillian and Edward are just about all we have to show for our work, but they do think differently. (Yvette, previous staff, interview, primary source)

There were those who felt that the answer to Navajo leadership was for Navajo students to go to white schools in order to become leaders in their own schools—yet they recognized the reluctance of the Navajo to assimilate into white culture.

Navajo are a people, a nation who see themselves as a separate people. The vast majority don't want to [assimilate]. If they joined our schools, we could train up leaders to take over their own churches and schools. (Frank, board, interview, primary source)

I've found the native people to be warm and loving. They respond, but they are a little hesitant about letting you get close because from experience they're afraid you'll try to make them like you, in stead of respecting who they are (Rick, previous administration, interview, primary source)

The neighboring school was not suffering for native staff, however. According to the principal at nearby Smith Rock School, her staff was mostly native and highly qualified, and at that date, there didn't appear to be any turnover for the following year.

All our staff is highly qualified. We do have some people who grew up in the area—employees whose parents worked here, who went to school here. Some are Native American, but from tribes other than Navajo. Most of our employees are Native—15 out of 19 are Native American. Sometimes when people come here to teach who are not Navajo, they marry into the community and stay. As of now, everybody signed their letter of intent for next year—in the fall we'll hit the ground running. (Joni, interview, primary source)

4.53 Western versus Native Training Preferences

Western ways of educating the Navajo were viewed as not very successful for a number of reasons.

The teaching of the Navajo is different from the Western. Two hundred years after education is started, we only have a few lawyers and doctors. . . They're going through this training. By the time they're done they're burned out. (Jamie, native previous parent, interview, primary source)

Even in our denomination they're saying that if you send young pastors to the seminary it just destroys them. What I've been hearing, they get so busy they don't have time for Jesus, so busy with education to impress with your language, you want to show people your education, you forget to reach people. (Billie, native, interview, primary source)

The apprentice-style, short-term training was viewed as more likely to produce success.

This is the way the Navajo used to teach, and maybe that's how we should teach this curriculum. . . A retired pastor comes and says, I've been successful in teaching the Bible this way, we see how he's been doing it, evaluate his style in giving the sermon, this is what works for me. He can give this to Navajo students. At the end, this is how the Navajo used to do it. (Jamie, native previous parent, interview, primary source)

The training will be outside the way we do things—it won't be a seminary or college setting. [It will be] based on culture, openness, they will feel welcome. Anyone could come who's serious about their calling, conversion, if they can read and write in Navajo or English. The most important thing—we don't want to hinder anyone from serving the Lord that is called by the Lord.

I know one, maybe two or three [who would be good workers]—but they have to go to college. That's the only way. [In our church they are told] they shouldn't be holding meetings without that training, that's the only way you'll be identified as a pastor. [I know one--] he's still struggling to meet the qualifications. He's very talented in speaking, but he lacks that degree.

We want to work with them, give them more tools to be effective in reaching people. I'm sure there are those who won't agree with me, but I'd rather make a mistake doing what is best for the people. I'd rather train people here locally than sending them to college or a seminary—train them here and then let them go, plant churches, reach people. (Billie, native, interview, primary source)

A preacher, Doug Bachelor, who now has a world- wide satellite ministry with Amazing Facts, led one of his first evangelistic programs among the Navajo near Arrowpoint and Parks in the mid-eighties. He has had a year or two of college training, and holds several honorary degrees, but no college or seminary diploma to this day. He was well liked and accepted among the Navajo; many would travel 70 miles around trip to listen to him nightly, according to an associate who worked with Doug Bachelor during those years. However, despite his success, he didn't have a college degree, so he wasn't allowed to stay on and minister to the Navajo.

Doug Bachelor doesn't have a degree. He had to go. I talked to the conference president for an hour trying to keep Doug. He didn't listen, so [Doug] left. I told Elder Howe, he can talk to us on this level. Lots of Navajo could relate to him. (Jamie, native previous parent, interview, primary source)

Mike Aven, a church official in Native Ministries at the union level, spoke of meetings where the conference ministry secretaries would gather to look for prospective pastors. Andrews University, where the Seventh-Day Adventist seminary is located, would present their list of graduates. The conferences are pressured into supporting the seminary and hiring its graduates, because the church has sunk so many resources into the program. But seminary graduates come with an \$80,000 price tag, when all the benefits are added up. And they have to get paid big salaries, because they have a lot of debt from going to school. According to Mike, a man stood up at the table at the meeting and said, "I have a list of people who have won 100 souls to Christ this year. They are proven workers. What am I going to do with this list, if we have to hire the people coming out of the seminary?" After the meeting everybody would gather around the man with the list, wanting to see it. There were concerns that the folk coming out of the seminary

were managers, not soul winners, and the conferences wanted to hire soul winners. (Mike, personal interview, April 23, 2008)

On the other hand, Pastor Billie recognized that graduate training at Andrews University had given him an edge he otherwise didn't believe he would have had.

For me it helped me—it gave me more tools to use. Like I took evangelism classes, it gave me ideas of how I can reach the Navajo, strategize and understand. If I didn't go to seminary, it would have been different—it has given me more options, tools to use. If I didn't go to seminary, I wouldn't have this dream of training young people, wouldn't have this project going. (Billie, native, interview, primary source)

Theme 4: Summary and Reflections

The many years of training at Valley Grove, Holbrook, and Seventh-day Adventist colleges, has produced few Seventh-day Adventist workers. Actually, Western styled educational programs have produced few Navajo professionals of any kind. The schooling is often distant from family, it takes a long time, and especially in the case of Seventh-day Adventist college education, it is expensive. A number of local Adventists who do have college degrees are not working for the church for one reason or another. Some have found better paying jobs in the vicinity, and others are self-supporting, though doing church work as well.

Native workers at Valley Grove have not lasted long on the staff. Some spoke of being yelled at, or of other poor treatment. Turnover rates have been high for all staff, but administrators and board members spoke of specific concerns in regard to native workers. Cultural differences in how they viewed time, poor work ethics, not showing up for a commitment when conflicting family functions were held, feelings that were easily hurt,

negativity, holding grudges, barriers between clans, drinking, and lack of training, were quoted as reasons why more Navajo weren't in leadership at the mission. However, many of the Navajo were recognized as good workers, and a number held leadership positions in a variety of settings. They demonstrated loyalty to the church and its work, despite hurt feelings.

Differences in cultural expectations and worship styles were noted as a reason for the slow rate of growth among Adventist churches. The Navajo appreciated more informal services in smaller, round spaces, such as in a hogan. The vegetarian diet was a concern. Such a different way of eating often created barriers rather than a sense of community when meals were shared. The lack of trust exhibited by white leaders was especially harmful. Few white leaders had allowed the Navajo into leadership positions in the past, and when the white people left after the hospital in Butte Point closed, the Navajo didn't know how to be leaders in the church.

A number of Navajo church members as well as other church leaders spoke of the value of short-term, apprentice-style training in practical subjects such as giving Bible studies, holding Vacation Bible Schools and small group meetings, and bringing people to Christ. Such training seemed to fit the needs of native workers, because it was personal, one-on-one work with a mentor, close to home. Rather than training in a professional career, this kind of training was more short-term, in practical leadership skills in the fields where prospective church workers felt the call to labor. Such skills could be quickly put to use in the field. One such training program was being planned in Butte Point where the facility was yet to be constructed.

Other plans for spreading the gospel on the reservation included creating CDs of sermons in the Navajo language to give away. One young man dreamed of developing a youth group around baseball. These were practical, personal, evangelistically oriented activities that anyone who felt a call to do could be trained in with a minimum of outside support. Such realistic,

broad-based, localized training programs could equip a people who value and are skilled at providing high levels of personal contact and community support, to care for their own. And this labor could be carried on by self-supporting workers with support from, but not reliance on, outside leadership.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The following general research questions formed the basis for this study. This chapter will seek to answer these questions based on the data gathered in the on-site observations, interviews and document searches.

1. What are the cultural assumptions and historical processes that characterize Western educational institutional practices?
2. How have the cultural characteristics of Western educational structures and practices impacted indigenous peoples?
3. What strengths and benefits of Western educational structures are evident in cultural interfaces with indigenous peoples?
4. What weaknesses and drawbacks of Western educational structures are evident in cultural interfaces with indigenous peoples?
5. How do indigenous groups identify and address the strengths and weaknesses of Western educational structures in the design of their educational programs?

How the Themes Relate to the Research Questions

The four themes of the study were Memories of Chaskesi Area, Mission Development and Leadership, Mission Purpose, and Navajo Leadership. These themes related to the research questions in the following ways. The first research question was addressed largely by the literature review. However, the first theme in chapter four's analysis examined the history of the Valley Grove area, cultural expectations, and demographic changes to the area related to schooling. The second theme, which examined Western leadership styles and issues, and the

third theme, which examined aspects of Valley Grove's school, clinic and church programs, also contained related information on cultural characteristics of Valley Grove as a Western educational institution.

The first theme also addressed the second research question, as participants described their memories of the early Lake Grove and Valley Grove missions and schools, and how these missions affected their lives. The second research question was addressed in the second theme regarding leadership, as the community participants reflected on the leadership and staff of the mission and school, and problems that have affected the community in regard to decision-making processes in the past. The third theme on mission purpose and programs included the community's reflections on school, clinic and church issues, and how these practices have affected their lives. The fourth theme dealt with how Western educational structures have affected indigenous leadership, thereby offering answers posed by the second research question, as well.

The third research question required an examination of the strengths and benefits of the Western educational structures as valued by indigenous peoples. How the indigenous community has depended on Western educational structures and administrative models was illustrated in each of the four themes. The value of the mission school and its offerings in improving accessibility to education was addressed in the first theme and third theme; the native community's dependence upon the Western educational structures in addressing administrative concerns and community needs was evident in the second and third theme; and the acknowledgement of strengths of Western educational models was made in the fourth theme, as it addressed indigenous leadership.

The fourth research question required an examination of the weaknesses of the Western educational structures as interpreted by the native community. Weaknesses of Western leadership were noted in the second theme, and problems with cultural differences experienced by the native community were described in the third theme. The fourth theme was especially helpful in examining the deficits felt by the native community as they have attempted to be self-determining in leadership roles.

Finally, the fifth question was most helpfully addressed by the fourth theme, as native workers and leaders examined what they liked about Western educational and related structures, and what they didn't like, and how they planned to address these concerns.

Research Question #1: What are the cultural assumptions and historical processes that characterize Western educational institutional practices?

Conclusions Regarding Question #1: Cultural Characteristics of Western Educational Structures

The cultural characteristics of the West that have shaped Western educational institutions and practices have their origin in various Judeo-Christian traditions that have evolved into a contradictory world view. Public education was introduced into Western society for moral purposes; it was touted as providing a unifying and civilizing influence in the place of state regulated religion (Fraser, 1999; Marsden, 1994; Nord, 1995). The Industrial Revolution was coming on the scene at the time, and in its wake, wide-spread changes in not just how work was done, but the political, moral, physical and social aspects of every society were touched by it. Because of a concern over the effect on society from what upper classes considered unstable and poorly raised children from the masses of lower society, education was provided at the public

expense in order to train workers from the masses to be disciplined and capable of taking their proper place as support for the elite in their governance of society (Katz, 1987).

The Great Awakening that was, in part, a Victorian moral counterrevolution in response to the materialism of the Industrial Revolution, included a missionary movement that tackled civil as well as moral reforms not only overseas, but with the Native Americans on the North American continent (Andrews, 1992). The mission instincts of the Western Christian mindset has developed both a worldview that embraces service around the globe as well as the colonial instincts in which paternalism has assumed Western superiority in all aspects of culture. This combination has not only carried Western education and religion and health into underdeveloped societies, but Western economics and politics as well. The secularization of the West has tended to blur the boundary lines of mission work into secular humanitarianism, but the paternalism is still evident. While service-oriented organizations have humanitarian concerns at heart, the cultural ethnocentrism of the West has made itself felt especially in assumptions that the formally organized, science-based bureaucracies of the Western educational institutions (as well as all other things Western) are superior to the informal family and community-based institutions and practices that they seek to replace. Most cultures tend to be ethnocentric. But the West has used its colonialist methods to force its assumptions on many of the world's peoples, and has been baffled by those societies that receive its overtures with less than open arms (Reed, 1996; Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 1999).

Other contradictions in the Western world-view are notable. While individuality, free choice, and good work ethics are valued, and are fundamental to the development of free markets necessary for capitalism, they also contribute to the development of inequalities that come from a class system based on meritocracy (Counts, 1932; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). The bureaucratic

organizations that require universality and homogeneity to function efficiently, such as the enforcement of national testing programs, may seem to support equality on the surface. In actuality, however, these standardizing processes tend to be hegemonic in the suppression of the personal differences that are important for diversity, and reduce a system's flexibility to adjust to the varieties of the human experience (Nekhwevha, 1999; Spretnak, 1991). The literature review documents numerous contradictions that are especially highlighted in the interfaces between Western and native ways.

At Valley Grove, the introduction of a mission-oriented Western educational institution with its cultural biases into the Native community, brought with it assumptions of capitalism, professionalism, universality and work ethics that effected wide changes in the community, as we shall see in the conclusions for research question #2.

Research Question #2: How have the cultural characteristics of Western educational structures and practices impacted indigenous peoples?

Conclusions Regarding Question #2 : Interfaces of Western and Native Cultural Educational Traditions and their Effects on Native Communities

The interfaces between the ethics and value systems of Western and non-Western cultures have produced a variety of tensions. In the West, emphasis is placed on becoming educated in order to take up professional jobs, and working hard to keep up with modern developments. The protestant Western work ethic demands that time is kept sharp, that working relationships be structured in a formalized bureaucracy, and that school and work are prioritized over family or clan concerns. In contrast, contentment within the bounds of what one has,

reluctance to rise above others in society, and emphasis placed on informal personal, family and community relationships, are values that underlie the subsistent living prevalent in many non-Western cultures (Berry, 1990; Prakash & Esteva, 1998). The differences between Native and Western socialization expectations were illustrated in the study at Valley Grove.

At the mission school, children who received a Christian education that emphasized discipline and hard work and graduated were more likely to attend high school and then seek jobs which their education had prepared them for. Since these jobs were mostly available in the nearby cities, the population around Valley Grove shrank. Those who valued animal husbandry and caring for their ancestral lands either faced long commutes and loss of family life, or chose subsistent living, getting by without electricity or running water, and often living on commodities.

Western societies tend to use merit based on wealth, birth, intelligence or other abilities, and levels of education, as a means to evaluate worth. While the West claims to value individuality and espouse a sense of humanism that places worth on every person, its class systems belie these claims (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). At Valley Grove mission, middle-class persons in the community who now had jobs and a steady income, were expected to stand on their own feet. Help from the mission was reserved for those who didn't have a job or vehicle. This attitude sparked misunderstanding and scorn from a native community that valued generosity and equality.

Schooling programs can only operate within a culture and ethic (Giroux,1981). In the case of Valley Grove, that culture and ethic was particularly Seventh-day Adventist, couched within a Western school structure. The educational program, offered as a gift to a community, was inextricably connected with the belief system that impelled the offering of service by the

mission staff, board and supporters of the program to the community. A Seventh-day Adventist school promotes, because of the doctrinal beliefs of its supporters, basic lifestyle components as well as a doctrinal system of belief. Many of those in the community who attended Valley Grove through the years attested to the value of the doctrines they grew to believe in. However, there were philosophical differences between a Seventh-day Adventist life-style of the mission staff and the local Navajo life-styles of the school children and their families that were not easily to interface.

While a vegetarian diet was not a doctrinal issue (except for the eating of unclean meats), it was definitely a lifestyle concern that was influenced by belief in the efficacy of good health for holistic development. The vegetarian diet prepared in the children's homes on the mission campus as well as in the cafeteria, was not easily accepted by the children. However, some of the older Navajo with life-style related health issues such as diabetes were interested in learning more about the diet that the mission cafeteria prepared.

Keeping Saturday as the Sabbath was a doctrinal issue, and one that affected the decision-making processes that influenced the schedules of when the children were kept at school, and when they were allowed to go home. Parents as well as staff wanted the children home on the weekends; but they both also valued the seventh-day Sabbath as it was kept at the mission. For a number of Seventh-day Adventist Natives, the Sabbath day atmosphere and activities at the mission created an important environment not only for the school children to experience, but was one they enjoyed as well, as evidenced by their preferences to stay all day and/or attend Friday evening and Sabbath evening devotional programs. Not only is such Sabbath observance a matter of doctrine and belief, but there appears to be health benefits

associated with this practice. Dan Buettner, who has partnered with scientists to study longevity in four countries, examined Loma Linda, California Seventh-day Adventists and concluded

Look what they do on Saturday—they stop everything; they focus on their god; they cut the stress out of what they need to do; they all go to luncheons with really good friends, and then they're off on the nature walk. And the payoff is six extra years of life for an Adventist female and nearly ten extra years for an Adventist male. (As Quoted in Dean, 2009)

Despite the benefits, health and otherwise, of these lifestyle practices, however, there were tensions that resulted from the institutionalization of such practices at Valley Grove. The challenges and misunderstandings that arose as one culture attempted to socialize and acculturate the children from another culture at Valley Grove were a microcosm of the clashes between school and home cultures around the globe. Both Valley Grove educators and community members noted the difficulties surrounding Anglo teachers teaching Navajo children. Western teachers admitted they didn't understand how to motivate Navajo children. The community was angered by the strict and sometimes punitive Western-styled disciplinary methods. Native community members commented that Anglo teachers and caregivers didn't understand the spiritual concerns of Navajo children, and that Anglo teachers couldn't teach Navajo children their native language or how to understand their native customs. Loss of fluency in Navajo language and cultural traditions resulted in barriers between younger generations understanding their grandparents, and being schooled in their cultural traditions.

Visiting the community was something native staff recognized as critical to the survival and health of mission and community relationships, though many of the Anglo staff, especially those new to the community and program, tended to neglect the development of these vital

connections. Both Valley View and other local schools found that the more connections made, on several different levels, to interest and involve parents in community activities at the school, the more parents tended to support school functions and attend parent-child conferences. In cases where several community events such as sports and fund raisers had been planned to coincide with parent-child conferences, not only was parent participation high, but the native community demonstrated itself to be very generous in supporting their children and the school program.

The school had neither the controls and benefits of self-study and oversight provided by accreditation other evaluative processes, nor the freedom and flexibility to take advantage of serendipitous teaching opportunities. There was a groping among the staff, a feeling like they should be offering something more to fit the children for the life they wanted, in the place they wanted to live. There was the feeling that there was so much the mission had to offer, so much potential inherent in the national and international support for the program and the capabilities of the school, clinic, and church to share the gospel message of the church, that was being untapped by the community. It was almost as if the staff and short-term volunteers coming from around the state to serve and experience Indian culture were getting more benefit from the mission than the community itself.

Both staff and parents recognized that there was something inherently wrong with the scenario of taking children away from the family in order to school them. Parents were voting with their feet. They were sending their children to a school where they could be home at night, at least. And yet the importance of a Christian education was felt. Some of the parents in the community were hoping that Valley Grove could bus students; then they would send their children there. It was a difficult choice; to keep their children at home, or send them away to

have a Christian education. Many parents in the past had sacrificed the family unit to put their children in a Christian educational institution. But it hadn't been enough. A number of the Seventh-day Adventist parents were in anguish, because despite all their sacrifice, their children were out of the church. The church community wasn't growing. The mission school seemed to be doing little to develop church leaders for the next generations.

Research Question #3: What strengths and benefits of Western educational structures are evident in cultural interfaces with indigenous peoples?

Research Questions # 4: What weaknesses and drawbacks of Western educational structures are evident in cultural interfaces with indigenous peoples?

Conclusions Regarding Questions # 3 and #4: Strengths and Weaknesses of Western Educational Structures

As Mhone (2003) has indicated, the differences between formal and informal systems of social governance have created barriers in the interfaces between Western and non-Western societies. Mhone called for the identification of aspects of both systems that were counterproductive, as well as those that were useful in governance.

In Navajo land, government officials, tribal officials, and missionaries alike have historically advanced the school system as a means to the production of citizens who could compete successfully in the job markets of the nation. Western-styled, formally organized schooling and English language skills have been valued as stepping stones to job success in Western job markets. High standards, a strong work ethic and discipline in school seemed to produce students who were more likely to get jobs. However, in consequence, rural communities were shrinking, and family life seemed compromised. Parents who had full time

jobs had difficulty finding time to spend with their children, and were finding it harder to keep up with their growth and development.

Many of the technological advancements that accompany Western ways have been assimilated into native lifestyles. The sheep and horse, highly valued in Navajo culture, were not indigenous to the early natives, but were assimilated into the culture from Spanish invaders. Today, the pickup is as likely to be used to follow the flocks as a horse. Other Western traditions have been assimilated as well, including bureaucratic structures in tribal and local government, though these traditions have not been swallowed whole into the native culture. Often the culture has transformed the Western traditions to fill its own needs. For example, the Western-styled local chapter house meetings that require a quorum and have officers and agendas and call for votes, but they follow many native traditions as well. The day is devoted to the community process of meeting. Whole families attend, meals are served, and time is flexible.

Western organizations tend to have formal organizational structures that use hierarchy to delineate and distribute authority. At Valley Grove, both administrators and native community members seem to have assumed that such formal mechanisms of organization such as boards and policies were useful in producing fair and equitable decision-making. Community desire was voiced for the church to organize leadership that coordinated work across the reservation and among reservations in the nation. Concerns about the board decision-making process having to do with the closure of the Parks school illustrated the belief in members of the native community that proper board policies and board communication and cooperation with the community were important in responding to problems with the running of a school.

However, while the Native community had expectations for fair governance practices via white organizational structures, fair governance was not always forthcoming. Because of the

necessity for more local control, the board had granted a good deal of power to volunteer directors and executive boards, but few directors had had the discretion to carry this power well. A number of important decisions that affected the community were made by a few leaders without community input, or input from the staff or the board as a whole. The community was unhappy because of the turn-over in directors and staff, the lack of continuity in programs, the insensitivity to community ways and needs, and top-down leadership decisions. It was evident at Valley Grove, as has otherwise been noted in the literature (Riggs, 1996), that Western bureaucratic structures in themselves were not necessarily democratic.

Native community members had a long memory. They pointed out that good church organization and coordination for the Native work had not yet been provided, and the mission board had not always responded appropriately to community concerns. It was evident that the church organization as a bureaucracy, even though it had the label of “Christian,” did not operate as perfect a machine as might have been expected.

Those who had worked at Valley Grove pointed to a number of concerns, especially intolerance on the part of the administration to work with people with differences. It was easier to remove problem staff and hire new staff from the seemingly vast international resources of volunteer help. While increasing Native leadership from the community could possibly have addressed a number of concerns such as reducing turnover and being more knowledgeable and sensitive to community needs, present board members were concerned about differences in work ethics, sticky interpersonal relationships, and clan loyalties that at times seemed to take precedence over work and educational priorities important in Western organizations.

Native leaders pointed out the reluctance of white leaders to entrust the responsibility of running the mission and teaching in the school to native workers, even though a number of local

Native community members who had worked at the mission and still lived in the area had college degrees, had demonstrated leadership skills in the local chapter house and other educational and trade institutions in the area, and, despite hurt feelings, had demonstrated considerable loyalty to the church and mission program. Paternalism on the part of mission administration was a barrier to relinquishing control to native leaders who were more likely to understand how to bridge the barriers to understanding between the mission and the community, and who were better equipped to train future leaders to offer culturally relevant, practical, relationship-centered services that were critical for community health and growth.

Research Question #5: How do indigenous groups identify and address the strengths and weaknesses of Western educational structures in the design of their educational programs?

Conclusions Regarding Question #5: Native Preferences in Designing Educational Programs

The Valley Grove school was shrinking due to a number of factors, including demographics, busing available at other schools, and gripes the community had with the mission. Enrollment had dropped at Valley Grove until it was roughly the same as the number of the staff. While many Valley Grove graduates had gone on to high school, and a number to college, few graduates had stayed in the church, or become leaders in the church.

While cooperation and support of the hierarchy of the Seventh-day Adventist church organization was desired by many native leaders, they also pointed to the impracticality of the Western formal system of education in training native workers. Those native leaders in the church who had come back with college degrees emphasized how difficult receiving a college education was for many native students. They had to leave their communities for years at a time,

and it was expensive. There were few native leaders for the church as a result of many years of investment in educational programs.

The native leaders urged that it was important to make education as practical and hands-on as possible, as early as possible, even in the elementary years. Rather than shunting all students through a career-oriented, professional program, they believed that it was important to address individual needs and desires for service, and that reading, writing and arithmetic should be related to practical skills. These educators and church leaders advocated practical, short-term training that helped to link native workers with a mentor, working close to their home field.

Native educators and leaders also believed that teaching the language and culture was critical, and that native teachers and leaders were the best persons for the job. Those who spoke the language seemed to have a better understanding of social mores and expectations. They seemed better grounded in who they were, and where they should go. Native ways of knowing were rooted in connections with elders, which required knowledge of the language. As elders shared stories of the past, they helped children understand why cultural and social customs were the way they were, and how to work with the rest of the members of their family and community in building together for the future. They learned about the land, about how to value and work with the animals and plants in their environment.

Native people also had reason to believe that in some cases, their ethics and value systems were superior to Western values. While many in the Valley Grove community acknowledged the strengths of Bible doctrines in giving hope and power to their lives, they also were convinced that in practical religion, they knew how to treat people better than white people did. The generosity, acceptance of difference, compassion, patience, respect and courtesy that many native people were raised to bring to every relationship seemed to indicate a higher level of

morality than Western fixation on rules and order to the exclusion of relationships. The mission administration seemed more interested in improving their positions and building up the mission than in focusing on those practices that improved relationships with the community. Some administrators had restricted services and fought with community members, badly damaging community relations and the programs designed to serve the community. In consequence, Native leaders believed they were more qualified to understand and address community needs in an ethical manner, and in such a way that was culturally supportive.

Implications of the Study

It is evident from the history of education as it has developed in the West, that there are many contradictory aspects of Western education's goals and methods, due to contradictions in the Western worldview and conflicting moral systems. Individualism is highly valued, but not necessarily because of the basic worth of a human being; meritocracy bases the individual's value on what he or she can produce and how well he or she can compete for organizational and social rewards.

Homogenization improves bureaucratic efficiency and egalitarianism, but this leaves little room for individual differences. Egalitarianism does not combine well with elitism; the call for an educated public important for a democracy conflicts with the call for those with "expert knowledge" to take charge of educational decision-making. Elitism leads to hierarchy in educational bureaucracies, as well as centralization of decision-making power, which undermines local self-governance, another core value of democracy. Authoritarianism is the antithesis of democracy, but much of the West insists on making the world "safe for democracy" anyway—or at least, safe for Western capitalistic initiatives; and coercive compulsory attendance

and elaborate systems of rewards and punishments such as testing and grading are the norm in most Western educational systems world-wide.

The contradictory claims of compulsory schooling and family values, as illustrated in the Valley Grove community, have made it evident that compulsory education laws violate basic human rights in much the same way that having a state religion does. While it is important for societies to have educated persons as well as moral ones, it should not be the responsibility of the state to define what constitutes a well-educated person or how that person becomes well-educated any more than the state should dictate how people become moral.

By becoming involved in determining what education should be, nation-states undermine the cultural, moral and social fabric of families and communities. To a large degree, educational bureaucracies have become the servant of political and international corporate interests. Though individual educational bureaucrats may be conscientious educational leaders and teachers with the best interests of children and families at heart, it is not possible for educational institutions to undertake educational efforts that truly aim at disinterested human development for children. In actuality, these educational efforts supplant family socialization processes. Humanistic and democratic requirements of society are supplanted by the vested interests and higher priorities nation-state carry in economics and politics, and it is these concerns that shape society through nation-state owned educational programs (Nekhwevha, 1999).

It is evident that meritocracy, when used as an evaluation tool for determining academic success, increases unequal class advantages. Capitalistic marketing principles are also undemocratic and self-interested, leading to base criminal acts against the peoples of this planet as well as the environment. The modeling of education after these capitalistic principles in the name of free choice and individual freedoms has led to emphasis on technology as the answer to

poverty in the world and numerous educational reforms to address equality, while all the time neoliberal processes are widening class differences and increasing inequality (Harvey, 2005). Even missions such as Valley Grove, dedicated as they are to humanistic aid, often inadvertently increase class differences and inequality rather than lessen them.

Rationalism and science boast of being an ethic unto themselves; the faster and better their new improved technologies, the better, many assume, they are for the world. However, there are fatal flaws in the Western dream of development. We cannot all have a piece of the proverbial pie. Only the brightest and best (and the rich and lucky) can hope to have a piece, but what they get is never big enough. In order to keep competitive, winners always need more, and they can never stay still long enough to eat the piece of pie they have. What the West has termed development and progress has caused wide-spread dependence on international corporations and their capital, of which there is never enough. While on the surface modern development appears to raise living standards, these standards are precariously balanced, difficult to sustain, and easily lost. In actuality, modern development has precipitated the lack of confidence in public administration, environmental destruction, and loss of native knowledge bases (Riggs, 1996). While Valley Grove may have improved the employability of its graduates, it also must accept responsibility for its part in increasing loss of native knowledge bases in the community, as well as reducing the quality of family life.

Native ways of knowing are imbedded in the context of searching for spiritual meaning through connections to all elements in the world, both physical and metaphysical. These ways of knowing draw meaning intuitively through such things as storytelling and other conversations with elders, apprenticeships, observation and meditation in nature, dreams, participation in community events such as music and dancing, and visual and spatial relationships with sacred

geography. These ways of knowing are characterized by openness to new signs and information, and reluctance to move to closure. They tend to be informal and fluid in structure, and don't mix well with formal structures of Western education.

The effects of Western colonialism and global schooling practices have, for the most part, been detrimental to native cultures and social processes. Assumptions of Western superiority have accompanied Western institutional invasions of communities. Like other Native communities around the globe, the Native community at Valley Grove has had only a minimal voice in self-determination in the face of elites and bureaucracies that have taken over the traditional responsibilities of families and community leaders. Indigenous knowledge banks are threatened; either they are ignored as of little value since they are local and not generalizable outside the local community, or they are exploited for capitalistic ends (Swerdlow, 2000; Semali, 1999).

Numerous attempts have been made to include native cultural content and languages in formal schooling processes, but even when these endeavors have succeeded, as in New Zealand and Hawaii, the native languages and cultural content have become Westernized rather than influencing the school programs toward indigenous value systems. The results have been costly to the sense of dignity and status of native cultures in many indigenous communities. Schooling systems socialize children to value professionalism and the material lifestyle associated with capitalism. As the demographics of the Valley Grove community illustrate, children often end up leaving the community to find the jobs that their schooling has fitted them for, rather than supporting the communities in which they were raised (Wong, 1999; Hilton & Ahler, 1999) .

When Western and indigenous ways are compared and contrasted, it is evident that not only both have knowledge and technology, but both value them. In a paper prepared by Anthony

Judge for the 2000 conference on “Knowledge and East-West Traditions,” Judge notes the possibility that integration of Eastern and Western ways of knowing may complement both, and each provide for the other a “missing link” in their epistemologies. However, their value systems are vastly different. While the West seeks to build systems of technology and marketing that involve and control the whole world, indigenous people seek to retain local connections to each other and the environment around them. Rather than control, native peoples want to cooperate with the spiritual, environmental, and social aspects of their localities.

The West tends to propagate theories and practices of coercion, such as compulsory education, as the means to unity (Giroux, 1981). Indigenous peoples, by means of their diverse cultures, have been a deterrent to unity as defined by modern nation-states. Many native peoples do not cooperate well with those outside of their natural boundaries. Historically, this response has protected them from loss of the particular characteristics that make them unique. At the same time, it has caused high levels of inter- and intra-tribal rivalries and reduced abilities of clans to cooperate for mutual benefits, or to help each other (Friedman 2005). Some interchange of everything from genes to ideas strengthens not only the gene pool, but social development. Diversity is a major indicator of health in individuals and social systems, as well as in the biological environment. It is essential for nation-states to protect diversity and promote the autonomy of individuals and communities as they develop self-determination. True democracy supports, indeed requires, the sounding of every voice. However, it is also critical to seek methods of helping tribes reduce the misunderstandings and conflicts that keep them from cooperating within clans, between clans, and between tribal groups.

The Big Picture

Where does education belong in the big picture? Do Western educational structures have anything at all to offer indigenous peoples, or anyone else for that matter? Most would agree that the great theme of democracy, with its determination to respect every voice, is a worthy principle that the West promotes, though it may be difficult to practice. Also valuable are the words Cahill (1998) identifies as coming from Biblical traditions: new, adventure, surprise, unique, individual, person, vocation, time, history, future, freedom, progress, spirit; faith, hope, justice. Individualism, not based on meritocracy but on respect for human worth, is a healthy concept. Self-determination and autonomy are built on a qualified understanding of individualism. While universality and homogenization violate natural laws of diversity, community and cooperation are important, both for humanistic reasons, and for survival.

Bureaucracies and hierarchies are only as strong as the people and systems that run them. They have no merit in themselves as structures, and can prove illusionary when they are depended upon to order lives or provide moral boundaries. We cannot depend upon tradition or bureaucratic machinery to think for us. While the efficiency the West is well known for depends on smoothly running bureaucracies, healthy communication and community still rests on human interaction. As the decision-making processes of the Valley Grove mission have illustrated, bureaucracies can only remain good for people if people, rather than the machinery of organization, remain the center of value. Elitism and professionalism lend themselves to all the ills of class distinctions, and are anti-democratic.

Rationalism, science and technology have been demonstrated to rest on assumptions which are just as open to conjecture and shaky as those of any other philosophies. However, Western traditions of free inquiry and open discussion are especially critical in an age when knowledge and information are so available, yet so vulnerable to exploitation.

Neither the rules and standards of the West nor the relationships and connections that native communities prioritize, nor even a combination of the two approaches in our educational systems, are enough to move society past the materialistic excesses of capitalism or the cultural wars of ethnicity. The bottom line is concerned with the triumph of unity and social justice for humanity, over the fragmenting and destructive drives of human self-interest. Being able to support families spiritually provides an avenue unique to the church body which does, by voluntary membership, cross cultural and ethnic boundaries with a shared moral belief system.

Self-determination is a critical goal, not only for individuals, but also for families and communities and organizations. However, just as laissez-faire economic systems have recently been demonstrated to have major failing points when it comes to curbing greed and self-interest, so do other self-centered systems of regulation. The issue always comes back to the necessity of morality as the foundation of society. Self-determination cannot serve as a responsible goal unless it includes considerations for the good of society as a whole, which crosses all cultural, ethnic, philosophical or political boundaries.

Though compulsory education may have evolved out of an interest in creating some structure for moral unity in society and government, schools have proved singularly incapable of such a task. In actuality, they have increased the fragmentation and inequities present in society. Family units and ethnic clans, by definition, do not have the cross-cultural ties to create unity, though they are the basic units that instruct in, and support, moral systems. Whether these moral systems value unity, depends on the religious belief systems of the family and community culture; whether these belief systems actually influence behavior, depend on the individual.

On the other end of the spectrum, governmental institutions, while they may bind different ethnicities in political ties, have found it virtually impossible to legislate unity across

tribal boundaries, though governmental systems are necessary to some degree for oversight. Governments certainly have fallen foul when they have tried to legislate morality, but they are essential in creating an environment in which moral rights are protected. Morality cannot, and should not, be exorcised out of education; but any schooling system that undertakes education becomes entangled with questions of who determines what morality should be. Morality is essentially a community, family, and most importantly--an *individual* responsibility.

Where Do We Go From Here

The contradictions that Western ways bring to the global table tend to cloud and weaken the strengths that the West can offer. Before any program is designed to serve the diverse societies of the world in the field of education, it should be important to identify and avoid those Western methods and motives that are ethnocentric and paternalistic, and that serve Western interests while weakening non-Western cultures and societies (Mhone, 2003). Many hurtful actions may not be immediately obvious to Western educators due to the long and extensive history of Western tradition and Western cultural bias, but this makes it all the more imperative that educators are diligent in studying the impact of Western ways and methods on non-Western communities through the eyes of the minorities who have long born these Western ministrations.

The West has offered global humanitarian aid in education, as well as health, economics and governance, and many of these activities may have been a positive effort to cross cultural boundaries for the good of humankind. However, even when these institutions are requested and valued by non-Western communities, great effort should be made to incorporate native ways of knowing, communicating, governance, socializing, and leadership. The West has tended to believe themselves morally, economically, scientifically and bureaucratically superior to many native cultures, but there is much evidence to the contrary.

While many native peoples have adapted positive aspects of the West into their lives, some parts of native traditions are superior to Western ways and means. Some aspects of native ethics are more sophisticated in dealing with relationships than Western ethics tend to be. Native economics may be evaluated as simplistic and subsistent, but in the economic tsunami that has swept the globe, those with localized economies and the ability to live on a subsistent level have had some degree of advantage. Native science has, in many cases, been demonstrated to be more sustainable and eco-friendly than Western science. Even in Native adaptations of Western bureaucracy, as illustrated in Navajo chapter house meetings, native values for equality, democracy, open channels of communication, and holistic family and community processes, are very evident, and these values transform simple business meetings into neighborhood events where community is celebrated twice a month.

It may be difficult for Western educational leaders to trust others who come from different cultural traditions. They may feel challenged and threatened on a number of different levels as they are called upon to turn over responsibility to native leaders. But it seems evident that not only are native leaders capable, but that it is essential to the health of native families and communities that native leaders not only administer their own cultural traditions, but that they be the ones to interpret, transform, and incorporate whatever is appropriate and positive of the modern developments that come their way for the future good of the community.

Is one of the implications of this study that there are inherent faults with a mission or parochial school system, that schooling should not be couched within a religious philosophical position? Not at all. Western educational assumptions that have arisen from both papal, classical origins and protestant reform movements have deeply moral overtones. Though educational programs have become more secular, education is still a moral proposition; it has

just become more difficult to identify who has what moral authority in public schooling.

Mission and parochial school systems have a much more transparent moral basis upon which they operate. In Christian schools such as Valley Grove, mission and vision statements note that education is about allowing the power of gospel truth to transform the life; educational goals and objectives usually include preparing students for lives of unselfish service to humankind, rather than simply preparing students to land and succeed in jobs.

Noble as these objectives may be, however, parochial schools of any persuasion should not ignore basic principles of life and liberty. Individuals retain sovereignty in regard to the choices that direct their lives, and this power of the individual will should be protected and enhanced. Families and the communities in which individuals are raised also have an important sovereignty in that they determine the culture, the social values, rules and accepted behaviors by which the family and community bound their lives. Individual, family and community sovereignties have a critical responsibility to evaluate their standards of conduct in terms of morality—what is right and good for the individual as well as society as a whole. Education informs this evaluation, as well as prepares the individual to function skillfully and morally within his or her family and community. Only as individuals learn to do this well can they contribute to the world community.

There are many belief systems with much to offer. But no belief system arising from any society, religious system, or nation-state, is so true or so important that it overrides the native sovereign rights and responsibilities of individuals, families and communities to evaluate moral authorities and standards for themselves. All educational systems, and the societies, religious systems and nation-states that support them, should acknowledge these basic rights and liberties, and work to enhance, protect and cooperate with them.

It seems especially critical that Western educational institutions with native populations who live and operate within the nebulous boundaries between native traditions and modern Western ways should staff their programs as much as possible with native educators who are familiar with these challenges. A major goal of these institutions should be the development of young native leaders-to-be who are rooted in their own language, ethics and cultural ways before they are called upon to attempt the bridging that must be done into other ways of knowing.

Both Western and indigenous traditions value morality as the essential guide to meaning and all that is valuable. It is vital that morality be open to critical discussion. While morality is, at heart, a deeply individual and community issue, it is also fundamentally an educational issue. George O'Brien puts it this way:

If the university has some moral, cultural role, it is not to be realized by returning to a single dogma, presenting a jumble sale of ethical views, or delighting in the dance of diversity; it is to move students toward an (educated) attitude of mind toward all values—even and especially their most cherished values. Dogma, distribution, and diversity are all dead ends, half-truths, if they do not synthesize the givens of traditions of value using the rule that traditions are depositories of value *and* essentially open-ended to history.... Tradition is necessarily open to the potential challenge of alien traditions (O'Brien, 1998, p 190-192).

It seems apparent that simply accepting and participating in the dance of plurality is not enough. The great task of education is to open up, for the individual and community, critical discussions on what is dogma, what is belief, and what is assumption among all the cultural traditions at hand, and to examine not only how to determine what is valuable, but how to live by those values in a spiritually, socially and environmentally responsible way. And because

education is so fundamentally a moral endeavor, it must fundamentally be an individual and community responsibility, not to be dictated or infringed upon by the nation-state or any other power, but to be supported and protected as one of the most important of all personal freedoms.

Need For Further Research

While this study has noted important aspects of the interfaces between Western and native cultures, there is need for more research into both how Western and native cultures mix, and how native cultures can face the challenges that dominant, colonizing cultures have brought to the global table.

There are philosophical assumptions that still create traps for the educational community because of their very invisibility. There is need to examine further the progression of Western education away from a practical, hands-on education largely within the control of the individual that early educational reformers in the United States envisioned was critical for the development of intellectual freedom and originality of thought (Sutherland, 2005). Like the classical systems of education that these protestant reformers decried, the educational programs today have prioritized the development of professions, bounded and controlled by the elite and/or other regulatory systems, including the nation-state.

More study needs to be done to understand the extent that increasing professionalism in higher education has created steeper educational ladders, making not only education less accessible, but making the services of the professionals produced by longer and more expensive educational programs less and less affordable for those who must rely on these professionals' services. A related study needs to examine the degree to which political and economic aims of the nation-state affect state and national curriculums and texts. How has colonialism and

paternalism affected our own colleges and universities? How have professionally bounded curriculums hindered all students in efforts toward self-determination, not just minorities?

In the light of the new developments in neoliberalism and the economic crisis facing the globe, what role does education have in developing the independence and creativity of students to think outside the box? What do indigenous communities have to offer by way of philosophies, methodologies and technologies in meeting these crises?

If “outside the box” answers to global issues may be found in indigenous ways of knowing, how can these answers be found in such a way as to recognize, honor and protect the traditions they come from? How have alternative educational programs owned and operated by indigenous peoples for the purpose of addressing indigenous goals of self-determination, used native ways of knowing in these programs? How have Western educational practices been adapted to further these goals in ways that have proved valuable? What challenges do alternative programs in Western education face? How can these programs be strengthened?

On the other end of the spectrum, more needs to be learned about the interpersonal violence and barriers to cooperation that seem to be inherent in clan systems. In examining the relationship between workers’ relationships and class relationships, one has to wonder why higher classes might have more formalized relationships that repel and are repelled by, the lower classes, and that create barriers between what have been termed formal and informal organizations. Perhaps the terms “formal” and “informal” are misnomers. Native forums and communication patterns appear to be highly structured in order to meet traditional social and cultural expectations, yet seem informal to white bureaucracies which follow different rules relating to time, efficiency, and membership.

The literature has not addressed differences in moral development of communities, particularly differences between cultures. The study of moral development has tended to be along the lines of individual development, and assumptions have been made regarding the importance of helping “lower” classes relate to middle and upper-class values in school (Kohlberg, 1981; Payne, 2001). That lower-class values for relationships may be more advanced in terms of moral development than middle or upper-class values for relationships appears to contradict present literature, and should be examined further.

Though there are great challenges and crises in the global village this world has become, the wide varieties of ways of knowing offer many strengths inherent in diversity to the discerning student. How important that education serve as a vehicle toward examining these many traditions in the search for meaning and the means toward wise and compassionate service for the good of all.

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Appendix 1
Consent Form

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

TITLE: The Cultural Characteristics of Western Educational Structures and Their Effects on Local Ways of Knowing

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Cheryl Des Jarlais, University of Montana, Educational Leadership Department, Missoula, Montana

FACULTY ADVISOR: Dr. Don Robson, University of Montana Educational Leadership Department, 1-406-243-5586

This information and consent form offers information about a study project, and asks for your permission to be a part of this study. This form may contain words that are new to you. If you read any words that are not clear to you, please ask the person who gave you this form to explain them to you.

Purpose:

You are being asked to take part in a research study because you know something about this school. The purpose of this study is to learn about how this school has developed and been shaped by the history of this nation and state and the local culture, as well as how the community and school work together and relate to each other.

Procedures:

You may be asked some questions about what you think about the school, your school-related activities, and how you feel about them. Some of the things you say may be recorded on audio-tape if you agree to be recorded, but what you say will not be recorded, if you don't want to be.

Risks/Discomforts:

There are no risks associated with this study, but answering questions may cause you to think about feelings that make you sad or upset.

Benefits:

There is no promise that you will receive any benefit from taking part in this study. However, your help with study may help leaders in schools and communities learn how to help schools work better.

Confidentiality:

Your identity will be kept confidential. If the results of this study are written in a scientific journal or presented at a scientific meeting, your name will not be used. If any thing you say is taped, the tape will be transcribed without any information that could identify you. The tape will then be erased and a certificate of destruction will be presented to the Navajo Institutional Review Board.

Compensation for Injury

Although we do not foresee any risk in taking part in this study, the following liability statement is required in all University of Montana consent forms.

In the event that you are injured as a result of this research you should individually seek appropriate medical treatment. If the injury is caused by the negligence of the University or any of its employees, you may be entitled to reimbursement or compensation pursuant to the Comprehensive State Insurance Plan established by the Department of Administration under the authority of M.C.A., Title 2, Chapter 9. In the event of a claim for such injury, further information may be obtained from the University's Claims representative or University Legal Counsel. @ (Reviewed by University Legal Counsel, July 6, 1993)

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:

Your decision to take part in this research study is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to take part, or you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

Questions:

You may wish to discuss this with others before you agree to take part in this study.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research subject, you may contact Bea Boyd-Boeman at Navajo Division of Health, Navajo Research Office, Post Office Box 1390, Window Rock, Arizona 86515, (928) 871-6650

OR: contact the Chair of the IRB through The University of Montana Research Office at 1-406-243-6670

If you have any questions about the research now or during the study contact: Cheryl Des Jarlais, University of Montana Educational Leadership Department, 1-406-243-5586

OR: Faculty Advisor, Dr. Don Robson, University of Montana Educational Leadership Department, 1-406-243-5586

Subject's Statement of Consent:

I have read the above description of this research study. I have been informed of the risks and benefits involved, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. Furthermore, I have been assured that any future questions I may have will also be answered by a member of the research team. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. I understand I will receive a copy of this consent form.

Printed (Typed) Name of Subject

Subject's Signature

Date

You may choose to be a part of the study but not have your comments recorded. If you choose to allow your comments to be recorded, please sign the consent statement below.

Subject's Statement of Consent to be Recorded:

I agree to allow my comments to be recorded on audiotape.

Printed (Typed) Name of Subject

Subject's Signature

Date