

Toward a Redefinition of American Indian/Alaska Native Education

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Personal and Cultural Introduction

My name is Eber Hampton Jr. I was born in Talihina, Oklahoma and am a member of the Chickasaw nation as was my father Eber Hampton Sr. My mother Evelyn is white; her maiden name was Cowling. I have been educated in two cultural traditions. My white education was in public elementary and secondary schools, Westmont College, the University of California at Santa Barbara, and the Harvard Graduate School of Education. My Indian education was different in both structure and content. While some of it was explicitly taught, I mostly felt as if I were acquiring my own knowledge with the assurance of elders who taught me a little of what they know of plants, ceremonies, and healing.

This paper is an analysis of what I see as the problematic practice of so-called Indian education. One substantial purpose of the analysis was to clear away the underbrush in my own thoughts about Indian education. The interviews I conducted specifically for this paper were an attempt to think along with other Indians so that in the end my hope is to contribute in a reflective way to the conversation that Indian educators are carrying on as we attempt to define and implement an education worthy of our children and our ancestors.

This paper is written for both Indian and white educators, and I must request the patience of each as I belabor the obvious or drift into esoteric obscurity. I follow my impulse to interlace narrative vernacular with academic discourse. Brody in *Maps and Dreams* (1981) had a similar impulse and alternated chapters of social science discourse with chapters of narrative. Academic or personal, I use whatever tools I have in the attempt to understand and communicate. My hope is that the reader will think along with me and will take what is useful and leave the rest.

Even the most basic terms need explication. In the mail room at Mankato State University where I was the only Indian faculty member, a colleague in all seriousness asked if it would be better to say "Native American Summer" rather than "Indian Summer." I respected his question, naive and ludicrous as it may sound. The right of a people to define themselves and choose their own name is basic. I face a similar problem in referring to whites, sometimes referring to them as Anglos as is common in the southwest, non-Natives as is common in Alaska, or Caucasians. No name contains a people, and none is truly accurate. I hope the contest

shows respect whatever the term. For myself, I prefer the misnomer *Indian* to refer to myself and other indigenous people of North America even though *American Indian/Alaskan Native* is the more widely accepted term when correctness of expression is essential.

Since moving to Alaska, I more often use the term *Native*. In this paper I have avoided a spurious consistency in favor of an almost unconscious selection of the term whose connotation best conveys the message's feeling. Correctness is not nearly so important to me as accuracy in feeling as well as fact. Similarly, originality is subordinated to accuracy. I name sources when I can. But many of my words and thoughts were first spoken by my many teachers, and I cannot disentangle those that I now hear in my own voice. As I prepared to enter a sweat lodge ceremony in Minnesota, the leader of the sweat said, "Eber, I know you can't pray in Indian, but pray in Indian in English." So as much as I am able I have written in my vernacular hoping thus to speak person-to-person about this that I care so deeply about. I hope you will join the conversation and continue to do what you can to help Indian education along.

The structure of the paper is iterative rather than linear. It progresses in a spiral that adds a little with each repetition of a theme rather than building an Aristotelian argument step by step. Working with the other editors of the *Harvard Educational Review* on a special third world issue, I first became aware of how deeply ingrained this iterative structure is, not only in my own thoughts but in those of other third world writers. Almost all the pieces by third world authors were criticized by the other editors as repetitious whereas I found a new meaning in each turn of the spiral. An iterative structure is made explicit in the six-directions pattern of Heaven, Earth, East, South, West, and North that I use in this paper. It implies a circular movement in both the natural and spiritual world. I fear that it may seem exotic or needlessly esoteric, but in my culture it is both mundane and clarifying. As a 20th-century Native American, I worship and am comforted by the great mystery. There are many things I do not understand and many gaps that I have not filled. I thank you for your effort at understanding my attempt to communicate and ask you to read carefully not so much what I write as the way I write it, and especially what I do not write.

Role and Meaning in the Practice of Indian Education

The problem I address in this paper comes directly from my experience as an American Indian administrator. Barnhardt (1985) has analyzed the experience of Maori administrators as a problem in choice of roles. According to his analysis, the Native administrator can see his or her role as that of the mediator, explaining Native concerns to the non-Native institution and non-Native concerns to his or her Native constituency; the advocate, working for Native interests within the structure of the non-Native institution; or the bureaucrat, explaining and advocating the interests of

the non-Native institution and performing the task as defined by the non-Native institution. Barnhardt recognizes that the complexity of the actual situation goes beyond a simple adherence to any one of these roles, but the roles as he describes them are useful for summarizing the conflicts felt by Native administrators.

Certainly I have felt the pressure of these conflicting roles as a faculty member and administrator at several universities. The tension between bureaucratic and advocacy roles and the absolute necessity of mediating between Natives and non-Natives has been a primary factor throughout my professional life. Nowhere were the realities of these conflicting roles and constituencies more explicit than at Harvard. When I applied for the position of Director of the American Indian Program at the Graduate School of Education (AIP), I was interviewed separately by faculty, administrators, and Native students. During the first interview with Native students, I was asked, "If you get this job, will you be willing to put it and your professional career on the line to support Native students?" "Yes" was the only answer acceptable to the students. The personnel officer assumed a different answer. She interviewed me a few hours later and said, "One important thing for you to understand if you are selected is that the Director of the American Indian Program does not work for the Indian students; he or she works for Harvard."

The personnel officer folded her arms, turned her chair slightly away from me, and her face assumed a mask-like appearance as she heard my response. I said something like, "Yes, the Director of the American Indian Program is hired by the university as part of its attempt to meet the needs of Indian students; and the Director must implement university policies, mediate between the university and the students, and advocate for students in terms that are comprehensible to the university. I see it as helping the university and the students to meet their mutual goals."

The interview progressed in this stilted fashion until I told her, "I would like to show you something I received in the mail today. I have carried it through all my interviews and have been bursting to show it to someone. Since this is the last interview of the day, with your permission I'll show you." At her slight nod, I opened the long, narrow leather case and removed a large, beautiful wing feather of a golden eagle. It almost imperceptibly vibrated in my hand as I said, "I received this in the mail this morning. It's the nicest gift an Indian could receive." Her face softened and she said, "You know, my grandfather's name was Eber." Quickly, she recovered her poise as a personnel officer, but from that point on I knew she would help me to do a good job.

The tension between possible roles as bureaucrat, advocate, or mediator was part of the day-to-day challenge I felt as a Native administrator in a non-Native institution. It was inherent in the expectations that different individuals and groups had of me as well as an internal tension

created by my own priorities and values. Obviously the Native students felt that my proper role was that of an advocate for their interests. The administration on the other hand clearly defined the position as a bureaucratic one. I felt a need to perform both bureaucratic and advocacy roles, as well as a need to mediate between the conflicting expectations of Native students and the non-Native institution.

However, it is not this presence of conflicting roles and pressure groups that differentiates the Native American administrator from others. Any administrator, Native or not, may feel a conflict in roles and the pressure of different constituencies. It is the substance of the conflicts that is critical rather than the structural presence of conflict. For example, federal regulations require Indian preference in hiring for positions created by funding administered under the Indian Education Act. This regulation conflicts with provisions for equal opportunity and makes some non-Native administrators distinctly uneasy, if not obstructive. The substance of the conflict is specifically Indian and can quickly go to what is fair treatment of Indians versus whites and historical arguments for Indian entitlement versus Indian welfare. The fact that a Native administrator's two major constituencies are culturally and politically very different is a serious problem that, as in the example above, may have the effect of moving apparently simple conflicts to a deeper level.

Rather than list the cultural and political characteristics of Native American groups and attempt to analyze their impact on educational administration, I intend to use a simple question that I believe illuminates the central challenge to all Native American educators. I ask the question in two forms: "What is Indian education?" and "What is Indian about Indian education?"

I began to ask these questions when I found that my professional practice was based on two very different systems of education. One is my academic education at Harvard and the University of California. The other is a form of education that is traditionally Indian. By traditionally Indian education, I mean teaching and learning as it is patterned by an American Indian or Alaska Native culture. The personal and professional challenge that I share with other Indian educators is to make these two systems work together to the benefit of Indian students (Deloria, 1982). The status quo provides a starting point for answering the question.

The Current State of Indian Education

For the majority of Indian students, now as in the past 100 years, Indian education means the education of Indians by non-Indians using non-Indian methods (National Education Association, 1983). Numerous reports, including the Meriam Report and the Indian Policy Review Commission (Congress of the US, 1983), have documented the failure of this kind of "Indian education," and recent educational research and practice has begun to recognize the importance of cultural dimensions (US Depart-

ment of Justice, 1982). In order to increase the number of American Indian/Alaskan Native educators as well as to contribute to the development of distinctively Native approaches to education, many more Native educators are needed.

There is no question that one fundamental educational need of American Indians for the future is the training of Native persons as teachers and administrators. Although there are now some 3,500 native people who are teachers—over three times as many as all other types of professionals combined—there is a need for 5,600 more to achieve parity with the rest of the nation. Only some 7% of Indian students in 1975-1976 were studying science, math, and engineering (Chavers, 1982, p. 17).

According to the 1980 census, there are over 500,000 American Indian/Alaskan Native students. Far too few of these students have contact with Indian educators who are attuned to their culture and who might serve as models of educational achievement (Edwards & Smith, 1981). According to the American Association of School Administrators, the number of American Indian/Alaskan Native teachers would have to be quadrupled and the number of administrators doubled in order to reach parity with the general population. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission reports that the only educational department in which we have achieved equality is the maintenance department (EEOC, 1979). Out of 2,320 obstacles to Indian economic development, the President's Commission on Indian Reservation Economies found that an "unskilled Indian labor force" was mentioned a third most often as an obstacle to tribal governments (PCIRE, 1984).

Indian educators are needed to encourage Native children who want to go to college and to teach them once they get there (Ortiz, 1982). As it is, three quarters of Indian students want to go on to college, but only one of 10 of their non-Indian teachers and one of 35 non-Indian administrators mentioned academic achievement as an important goal for Indian students (Soto, 1983). One fourth of non-Indian elementary and secondary teachers are willing to admit that they do not want to teach Indian children (Ryan, 1982). No wonder research reported in the *Journal of American Indian Education* found that poor teacher-student relationships were the major cause of dropouts (Coladarci, 1983). In a recent study of 56 public schools, it was found that almost 25% of Native American students had been suspended in the past term (Hexter, 1984).

Indian educational leadership is needed to correct the errors in textbooks. A recent study (Ferguson & Fleming, 1984) that examined the treatment of Native Americans in 34 elementary textbooks adopted nationwide concluded that 80% of the texts ignored the differing views of land ownership, thus depriving the students of an understanding of the reason for conflict between Indians and European settlers. Only half the books mentioned the special relationship between the federal government

and Indians. Only 24% reported that most Indians desire to maintain their own culture as well as to be able to compete in the non-Indian society. In these nationally used texts, the portrayal of Indians at work found 21% in manual craft or farming activities, followed by hunting and fishing, with the majority depicted idle or at leisure. Native Americans were almost never depicted in an education-related activity.

In 1969, the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education reported that "only 3% of Indian students who enroll in college, graduate" compared with 32% for the general population, and that "only one of every 100 Indian college graduates will receive a Master's degree." A more recent study found the Indian college dropout rate to be between 75% and 95% (Falk & Aiken, 1984).

Non-Indian academicians often do not realize that for American Indian/Alaskan Native students (LaFramboise, 1979) university attendance is a situation of cross-cultural transition that is associated with severe psychological stress. In an interesting reversal of the usual case Barnhardt (1973) studied a college program located in an Indian environment with courses taught by Indian instructors. In that case, she found that the white students had a dropout rate that was more than double that of the Indian students.

Even though many American Indian/Alaskan Native students express the desire for a college education, many will fail to graduate unless adequate support services are provided. "Studies searching for reasons behind Indian students' academic failure commonly cite insufficient money, conflicts of values, poor academic preparation, lack of language fluency, and the college environment as causes" (LaFramboise, 1979). A study of 97 colleges showed that programs that included financial, academic, and support services were much more successful than programs that did not include all these elements (Rose & Glenn, 1977). The overall completion rate for Indian undergraduates is 18%, whereas the completion rate for students in some programs that include special services for Indian students varies between 63% and 98% (Ryan, 1982).

If Native nations are to have engineers, managers, business people, natural resource specialists, and all the other experts we need to meet non-Indians on equal terms, then we must have educational leadership that makes mathematics, science, and computers accessible to our students. We need to train our educators so that the next generation of students are more comfortable with these tools than the previous generation has been (Cheek, 1984).

Most Indian parents want their children to be taught the things necessary for success in both the white and the Native worlds (Bradley, 1980). We need educational leaders who can confidently deal with all aspects of modern society. American Indians/Alaskan Natives are most poorly represented among occupations in the natural sciences, the health sciences,

and mathematics. Many Native students report being "counseled out" of mathematics because it has been perceived as too difficult for them or as unnecessary for their future (Green, 1978). In this increasingly technological society, mathematics has become the "critical filter" that often prevents American Indians/Alaskan Natives from attaining careers in high income fields (Sells, 1980).

For the vast majority of Indian students, far from being an opportunity, education is a critical filter indeed, filtering out hope and self-esteem. The Native student who sees the "teacher as an enemy" (Wolcott, 1987) may have the more realistic and in some ways a more hopeful view than the student who fails to see past the apparently benign purposes of schooling. The failure of non-Native education of Natives could be read as the success of Native resistance to cultural, spiritual, and psychological genocide. In any case, for what ever reason, whoever is to blame, Indian education defined as non-Indian education of Indians has had a long and conclusive history of failure. Fortunately, other meanings are possible.

What is Indian Education?

No aspect of a culture is more vital to its integrity than its means of education. As I have been taught, nourished, and sustained by my culture, so it is my duty and privilege to transmit it.

I value aspects of my Anglo education and respect its necessity and power in this society, but my deepest values and my view of the world were formed within an Indian culture. Consequently, my goal is to contribute to what the former Director of the Penn State Indian Leadership Program calls the "redefinition of Indian education" (Noley, 1981).

As a first step toward a redefinition of "Indian education," it is necessary to look at various meanings that the term has had. To plan for the future one must begin by defining what one means by the term *Indian education*. Generally when that term was used in the past, it meant the education of American Indian/Alaskan Native students. Rarely did it define a style of education that could be termed Indian education. The models used, even in (BIA) boarding schools were invariably Anglo-American educational models. (National Education Association, 1983, p. 47).

The juxtaposition of the two words *Indian* and *education* has almost always been problematic in spite of the fact that American Indian parents and Anglo policy makers agree on the importance of education for Indians (Bradley, 1980). Part of the problem lies in the fact that Indian education is inherently a bicultural enterprise that has been directed at two sometimes competing and sometimes complementary goals: assimilation and self-determination.

In this century two diverse and competing approaches have affected the education of American Indians. One is the assimilation of Indians into Anglo society. The other is the self-determination by the separate Indian

tribes and communities of the education of their own children, based on tribal culture and tradition (Havighurst, 1981, p. 329).

The relationship between these goals and the structures of Western education have not been defined. Currently, each Indian-controlled school, project, parent committee, or program adopts, adapts, or invents those methods of techniques that they feel will best serve their children.

I believe that the term *Indian education* has been used with at least five different meanings: (a) traditional Indian education, (b) schooling for self-determination, (c) schooling for assimilation, (d) education by Indians, and (e) Indian education *sui generis*. These five meanings are like five currents in the Mississippi River. It is not always easy to identify the boundaries of the currents but some are stronger than others in a particular time or place.

Traditional Indian education. Both Native American and Anglo-American education have long histories and complex modern realizations. Prior to the influx of Europeans, each Indian nation had its own forms of education. Generally, these traditionally Indian forms of education can be characterized as oral histories, teaching stories, ceremonies, apprenticeships, learning games, formal instruction, tutoring, and tag-along teaching (Buffalohead, 1976; Noley, 1979).

Noley (1979) describes the Choctaw practice of having certain respected elders gather the children together each day for the purpose of teaching, a practice that has been common in many tribes. McLean (1981) describes the Inupiat educational methods that centered around the *quargi* (big house) in Inupiat villages. The oral histories and stories told to children have important moral and factual purposes. They help children learn history and how to be a respected person. They point out difficulties and dangers in both the social and the natural world and illustrate various ways of meeting them. For example, Auston Hammond a contemporary Tlingit elder, speaking of the central character in many of his people's stories said, "Raven makes mistakes so we don't have to."

All of the traditional Native methods took place within cultural settings that were characterized by subsistence economies, in-context learning, personal and kinship relationships between teachers and students, and ample opportunities for students to observe adult role models who provided good examples of the knowledge, skills, and values being taught. In an attenuated form, many Indian families and communities continue to use these methods to teach their children content from both Indian and Anglo cultures (Forbes & Adams, 1976). Indian methods and content have been largely ignored by the educational establishment, but with the current rapid increase in the number of American Indian/Alaskan Native educators (Chavers, 1982; Havighurst, 1981), there is a new interest in both Indian content and method (Noley, 1981; NEA, 1983).

Schooling for self-determination. The second phase of Native education was the establishment of schools for Native children. Although schools as institutions were non-Native in origin and character, the vast differences in the goals, methods, and outcomes make it possible to distinguish between two kinds of schools for Natives: schooling for self-determination and schooling for assimilation. Although neglected in standard histories of Native education, there have been many examples of highly successful Native-oriented schools. For example, schools established and controlled by the Chickasaw, Choctaw and Cherokee Nations, as well as Russian mission schools among the Yupik people, were characterized by the use of Native language, positive attitudes toward Native cultures, good school-community relations, and emphasis on self-determination rather than assimilation and high success rates in terms of literacy and educational attainment (Noley, 1979; Oleksa & Dauenhauer, 1982). Unfortunately, another factor that these schools have in common is that they were all closed by the unilateral action of United States federal or state governments.

Schooling for assimilation. Historically and in most contemporary situations, the education of Indians is carried out by Anglo-Americans using Anglo models to satisfy Anglo purposes (American Indian Policy Review Commission, 1976). In contrast to schooling for self-determination, these schools for assimilation have been characterized by high failure rates in literacy and educational attainment, assimilation rather than self-determination goals, poor school-community relations, negative attitudes toward Native cultures, and prohibition or non-use of Native languages (Oleksa & Dauenhauer, 1982). With the closing of Native-oriented schools supporting self-determination, Native education was left with schooling for assimilation: non-Native schools teaching non-Native content using non-Native methods and non-Native personnel and with non-Native goals.

Education by Indians. Since the passage of the Indian Education Act of 1972, rapid development has promised to change the term *Indian education* to mean education *by* Indians rather than simply the education *of* Indians (Chavers, 1982; Havighurst, 1981). In this phase, Native people began to take an active role in the schooling of Native children as board members, teachers, administrators, and resource people. Small numbers of Native personnel have been introduced into the non-Native structures, and some Native content is being provided under Native Studies, Elders in the School, and other programs. Most schools continue to have assimilation goals, lack of instruction in Native languages, and high failure rates.

Although this phase of education continues to the present, for the majority of Indian students the increase in the number of Indian educators along with other changes, such as the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1978, has prepared the way for a movement toward Indian control that is characterized by the establishment of Native-controlled schools, Native-

controlled colleges, and Native school boards. This phase seems to be a transition phase, because even with Native control the structures, methods, content, and faculty remain predominantly non-Native in all but a few instances. A century or more of cultural conflict, non-Native-oriented schools, and the fact of Native educators trained in non-Native schools have left a situation that places major obstacles in the way of Native-controlled schools. Native languages have declined, non-Native standards are usually used to evaluate Native schools and Native teachers, the development of Native curriculum and Native educational methods is an enormous task, and funding is uncertain and usually controlled by non-Natives.

In spite of these difficulties, encouraging trends can be seen in Native-controlled schools. The self-determination goals of Native education are being served in Indian-controlled schools and are at least strongly articulated by Native personnel in other schools; school-community relations have improved; Native curriculum has and is being developed in most Native communities; funding is available even though it is usually through the vagaries of proposal writing; the numbers of Native educators have increased dramatically; the values of Native cultures and languages are being actively promoted; and there is a perception of the need for Native approaches to the methods and structures of education. "What we ultimately need may not be a grafting of Indian content and personnel onto European structures, but a redefinition of education" (Noley, 1981, p. 198). It is the last point that leads toward what I see as phase five: the creation of Native education *sui generis*.

Indian education sui generis. Indian education *sui generis* is Indian education as "a thing of its own kind" (National Advisory Council on Indian Education, 1983), a self-determined Indian education using models of education structured by Indian cultures. The creation of Native education involves the development of Native methods and Native structures for education as well as Native content and Native personnel. It is the tension felt by Native educators, teachers, administrators, and curriculum developers as they attempt to fit their practice into non-Native structures that generates the creativity necessary for the development of the new Native education.

Too often Indian education continues to be schooling on the terms set by the Anglo-American or European sense of education (National Education Association, 1983). Only recently has Indian education begun to mean schooling on the terms set forth by American Indians and Alaska Natives. Indian education will not be truly Indian until we develop our own research, our own philosophies of education, our own structures, and our own methods. Much remains to be done, but we are making progress in the number of educational personnel and in the development of curriculum and supportive programs for American Indian/Alaskan Native

students. Turner (1984), for example, reports one tribe's success in lowering dropout rates from 40% to 3%.

The recognition of the uniqueness of Indian education and the contribution it has to make to society does not imply a kind of segregation. Most Native American cultures have tended toward inclusiveness and valued diversity (Deloria, 1970). Indian parents and educators want Indian children to learn everything that education has to offer, as well as their own cultures (Bradley, 1980). The recognition of Indian education as a thing of its own kind indicates a legitimate desire of Indian people to be self-defining, to have their ways of life respected, and to teach their children in a way that enhances consciousness of what it means to be an Indian and a fully participating citizen of the United States.

Methodology

The Need for Theory in Indian Education

The methods I have chosen for this analytic paper are a function of the purpose of the research (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). Chavers (1982) writes that an important "barrier which presently hampers American Indian education is the lack of research which has been conducted on the education of native people" (p. 17). My own experience as well as the fact that an average of 500 documents on Indian education per year are added to the ERIC data base (Benally & Hill, 1981) leads me to believe that it may not be a shortage of research that hampers but a shortage of research that is useful from Indian points of view (LaFramboise & Plake, 1983; Maynard, 1974; Trimble, Goddard, & Dinges, 1977). These authors criticize existing research for focusing on the testing of hypotheses that are of little concern or use to Indians. Indeed, there are no theories of Indian education from which to derive hypotheses to test. This lack of theory compels researchers to import hypotheses from other areas or to approach Indian educational research in a piecemeal, disorganized fashion.

The lack of a theory of Indian education not only hampers research, it also impedes the practice of Indian education. Currently, each Indian-controlled school, project, parent committee, or program adopts, adapts, or invents a model of education as it can. In many cases this has led to significant local improvement (National Film Board of Canada, 1983; Rough Rock Demonstration School, 1978; Turner, 1984). The strength of these individual efforts has been their reliance on local communities. Unfortunately, not all Indian education efforts have been so successful. In many instances, Indian education programs have expended human and financial resources with little success.

I believe that the limited success of programs designed to educate Indians, the prevalence of isolated research findings, and the tacit nature of Indian educational practice all point to the need of an articulated approach to Indian education. A theoretical articulation would serve to

organize research, guide practice, and serve as an explicit aid to discussion and clarification.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to articulate a comprehensive theory, but I hope to make explicit at least some of the themes that any such theory should address. The empirical base of this preliminary to theory construction is a series of interviews I conducted with American Indian/Alaskan Native graduate students at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. The exploratory and hypothesis generating purpose of these interviews led me to believe that grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), qualitative analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1984), and participant observation would be the most useful methodological approaches. Pelto and Pelto (1978) list the major criticisms of participant observation and key person interview data as lack of quantification, lack of representativeness, lack of specificity of research procedures, and lack of comparability of data. They go on to justify the use of participant observation and interview data for exploratory and hypothesis-generating studies such as this. I draw on interview data, the existing literature, and an analysis of my own experience to move toward a theory of Indian education.

According to Pelto and Pelto (1978), "the method of interviewing key people is used to best advantage when it is closely integrated with participant observation." When the researcher has observed and participated in the "event and has command over a considerable portion of the relevant information he or she is in a position to vastly improve the data by systematic checking" with key people. This, is in essence what I did. By reason of race, culture, profession, and inclination I have been a participant observer in Indian education. The interviews reported in the next section allowed me to vastly improve my data "by systematically checking" it with "respondents that are most involved" (Naroll & Cohen, 1970).

When researchers use questionnaires, surveys, structured interviews, or apparently more objective measures, individuals and groups often mask or distort crucial data (Smith, 1978). This is certainly a common practice in Indian country where research is often a bad word (La-Framboise, 1983). Smith (1978) points out that masking is more difficult to do with participant observers in proportion to the amount of time spent on site.

The generality of this study is restricted by the specificity of my own experience and my decision to interview only AIP participants. In the trade-off between depth and range of information, the primacy of personal experience and observation for Indian ways of knowing (Colorado, 1985) led me to choose depth. There are over 1,000 Indian parent committees working with school districts across the country, hundreds of tribal education programs, a few hundred college and university Indian programs, and several thousand members of the National Indian Education Associa-

tion. I believe that at this stage I can make the greatest contribution toward a theory of Indian education by careful work with what is close to me rather than by an attempt to gather all disparate tribes and communities into one grand model.

Working toward what I see as the central need for theory in Indian education is an example of a research process that "produces not information about something, as is the case with objective studies, but rather intimate knowledge that something is the case, knowledge of, or knowledge for some purpose" (Reinharz, 1984, p. 362). The method of experiential analysis described by Reinharz carries participant observation methodology toward a deeper engagement between researcher, subject, purpose, and method.

Experiential analysis has as its ideal a multidimensional research product. In contrast to advancing the understanding of a substantive problem, experiential analysis aims to deepen understanding and to change three levels simultaneously: the substantive issue, the research process, and the self of the researcher. Because experiential analysis compels critical self-awareness in the context of engagement with others to whom the researcher is accountable, experiential analysis is a form of praxis for the self and society (p. 368).

I agree with Reinharz (1984) that research must include an experiential analysis of the researcher's own process and have integrated personal narrative throughout the paper. However, a series of interviews that I conducted with participants in the Harvard Graduate School of Education AIP was crucial to the development of the approach to Indian education that I will present. I interviewed those Indian educators closest to me for substantive as well as practical reasons.

Research Participants

All research participants were American Indian/Alaska Native. Their tribes are Micmac, Skatokoche, Chippewa, Oneida, Tlinget, Menomini, Apache, Uchi, and Blackfeet. At the time of the interview all participants were enrolled in the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Three were in the master's program; three were completing work for a doctorate in administration, planning and social policy; three for a doctorate in teaching, curriculum, and learning environments; and one in counseling and consulting psychology.

One of the criteria for admission to the AIP is demonstrated commitment to Indian education. The interview participants had an average of six years of professional experience in Indian education holding positions including elementary teacher, secondary teacher, program administrator, community college teacher, and administrator. Not only had they worked as Indian educators in a wide variety of settings but their experience as students covered the range of Indian education: public, private, federal, and Indian controlled schools.

I use the term *participant* because this describes their role of not only defining what is important but actively engaging with the researcher in meaning making. Participants and the researcher worked together to define both the question and the answers (Heron, 1981; Torbert, 1981). Using the grounded theory model, the best participants are those who know most about what the researcher is hoping to learn about and are able to communicate this knowledge (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Spradley, 1979).

American Indian Program participants are among the most knowledgeable and articulate people possible concerning the contemporary status and practice of Indian education. My thinking about Indian education grows directly from my experience as Director of the American Indian Program of which they are a part. They are committed to Indian education, intelligent, articulate, and successful in both Native and non-Native contexts. These are the Indian educators with whom I work most closely and have the highest level of rapport.

Indian elders would be another natural group to speak with regarding the development of an Indian approach to education, but in the Indian groups that I know there seems to be a division of labor that encourages me to listen respectfully to my elders, discuss and implement what they tell me with my peers, and then approach them with well-thought-out questions. The implication of my own cultural process for this research is that I should interview (i.e., talk it over with) my peers first, and then when I have a better idea of what I mean by a theory of Indian education I should talk it over with or interview my elders.

Interview Process

The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed and I took written notes of what I took to be significant points raised in the interviews. I began each interview with a brief statement of the purpose of the research (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973). I explained that the interview would be recorded and transcribed and that using AIP as an example I was basically interested in the question of what is Indian about Indian education.

For the first two interviews I used a schedule that I had prepared ahead of time (Appendix). The interview schedule used two different theories (Katz, 1981; Halpern, 1977) as a framework for data collection. The people I was interviewing attempted to answer the questions, but it was apparent that most of the interview schedule was disrupting the process of learning together that the more open-ended questions seemed to facilitate.

One of the consistent criticisms that Native scholars have made of Indian educational research has been the fact that research is most often designed around non-Indian concerns, usually articulated as an academic theory (LaFramboise & Plake, 1983; Trimble, 1977). The interview schedule had exactly this problem. I was embarrassed to hear myself asking such questions as, "How do you see the American Indian Program

handling issues of change and continuity?" and "On a scale of 1-7 how characteristic of the American Indian Program is emphasis on performance rather than outcome?" The questions had originally interested me within their theoretical context but in the interview they seemed artificial, abstract, and incomprehensible without inordinate amounts of explanation.

The happy solution was to drop all but the first four questions from the interview schedule and to encourage the participant to elaborate by my active listening and co-participation (Spradley, 1979). The four questions I asked all participants were:

1. Will you please, in your own words, describe the American Indian Program as if you were describing it to someone who had not heard of it before. (I usually elaborated this question into, "Pretend that you had to catch a plane in a few minutes but someone who knew nothing about the American Indian Program asked you what it is.")
2. Are there any characteristics of AIP that are in your opinion specifically Indian? If so what?
3. If you were to pick out a typical AIP event, situation, or interaction in which you were involved what would it be? Would you please describe it?
4. How do you define Indian education and how do you think AIP relates to Indian education?

My introductory statements about the purpose of the research, exploring the question "What is Indian about Indian education?" seemed well understood by the participants as they answered the four questions and talked about their own experience. In addition to the four questions I discussed with the participants my interests in the questions, my own thoughts that had led to them, and I responded freely to their answers. I had revised the interview schedule and continued to conduct it on the basis of an intuitive ill-defined feeling of authentic engagement on the part of the participant and myself. Even though I enjoyed and was happy with the revised interview format in a way that I had missed in the first two interviews, I was uncomfortable (vulnerable in Katz's, 1985, sense) with the lack of explicit structure and my inability to describe the intuitive feeling that these interviews were good. The interviews seemed real in a way that was both exhilarating and frightening in that I felt that powerful learning was going on that I could not describe.

I reviewed my notes after each interview, but it was not until the eighth interview that I began to create a verbal understanding of the interview process. This verbal understanding gave me a label for the process, "reflective thinking," and allowed me to explain my feeling of vulnerability as openness to learning and growth as the participant and I explored topics that were of central importance. The eighth interview participant contrasted what he called critical thinking with reflective thinking. His con-

cept of reflective thinking described what I saw happening in the interviews. They were neither question and answer nor a critical discussion but a reflective discussion that enabled the participants, including me, to build our thoughts together in an additive or sometimes exponential way. Rather than focusing on achieving my original purpose of determining the degree to which Indian education fit theories derived from other areas, my focus had changed to using the interviews to gather our scattered thoughts and experiences to create a better understanding of Indian education.

The moments of shared insight that several of the participants and I reached were the most personally rewarding features of the research. In general the interview process was rewarding, motivating, intellectually stimulating, and helpful. As humans we always know more than we can say (Polanyi, 1964). The interviews helped to make some of this implicit knowledge explicit. The data analysis let me continue this work of moving toward what I see as the explication of implicit consensus.

A concrete example from an interview may be the best way to give you the flavor of the process. I chose the following interview example haphazardly; it is from an interview that was on the top of the stack that I had shuffled many times. I chose a few interchanges that I found particularly interesting and that are illustrative of the process.

Eber (E): Yeah, that historical responsibility or to generation after generation.

Participant (P): It's really neat to think about. It's really special. I believe that I really understand and appreciate the fact that I'm only here because back when, an ancestor of mine, they decided that ... even though it was going to cause them misery ... they decided to give up fighting and surrender, because if they didn't they would have been wiped out and there would have been no descendants. So, they went ahead and put their lives in such jeopardy and twisted everything around for them, and lived miserably, because they knew that in doing that, maybe ... maybe their children, etc. would have a better life.

E: That's a real nice way to think about it. I never quite thought about it exactly like that, that even in surrendering it was so that their great grandchildren would have a chance.

P: And that's why. That's how I see it. That's why I'm here.

E: That it would have been easier to fight to the death ...

P: And that's the kind of people many of them were, where I came from. It would have been better to fight, rather than to be caged up and taken out of their homes. They had to suffer, but there was a reason for it and that's why I'm able to come to school, why I'm here.

Data Analysis

Interviews were tape-recorded and fully transcribed for analysis. Joint data collection and analysis is the procedure for the development of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1984). This process required me to adapt the interview to the purpose of the research and the emerging theory. "In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence; then the evidence from

which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept" (Glaser & Strauss 1984, p. 67).

Coding

The first step toward generating conceptual categories is coding the interview data. In qualitative data analysis, "codes are retrieval and organizing devices that allow the analyst to spot quickly, pull out, then cluster all the segments relating to the particular question, hypothesis, concept, or theme" (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 56). Codes are purposefully broad and subsume much detail.

My first run at the data was inspired by an impending presentation of my research to the faculty at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. I sat down with the transcripts, scissors, and tape. As I read a transcript, I looked for themes that seemed to have some bearing on my central question of "What is Indian about Indian education?" Each time I encountered such a theme, I coded it with a brief label that was close to the concept. Next I clipped the coded quotes and stacked them in piles according to the codes. The codes at this stage represented the following emergent themes: group feeling, individual freedom, dual goal of education, historical sense, spiritual concerns, style of thought, or communication and service.

Comparing Incidents Applicable to Each Category

The second step in my analysis of data was a process of comparing each incident within a coding category with all previous incidents within that category. This process is based on memory and allows the researcher to begin to generate theoretical properties of the category. "The analyst starts thinking in terms of the full range of types or continua in the category, its dimensions, the conditions under which it is pronounced or minimized, its major consequences, its relation to other categories, and its other properties" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 105).

By using this method, I felt I was beginning to get a sense of how some propositions about Indian education could be stated. Feeling very tentative about the whole thing, I suggested the following propositions as steps toward a theory of Indian education:

1. Spiritual concerns are an important part of Indian education.
2. There are distinctive Indian styles of thought and communication with educational implications.
3. For most Indians, education has the dual purpose of promoting Indian cultures as well as providing skills and information relevant to the non-Indian society.
4. Indian education cannot be understood apart from a historical analysis.
5. Indian education takes place in a cultural atmosphere that is permeated with both strong group bonds and great individual freedom.
6. Indian education is service oriented.

It is worth restating that my goal is not to describe the views that Indians hold about education; rather, I am working with interview data from a small number of highly articulate Indian educators to generate a preliminary theory of Indian education. The opinions of these particular Indians may be worthy of attention for basically two reasons. First, in striving to identify the common themes within this group, I believe that I have found themes that are worthy of discussion across Indian country. They may not be generally agreed upon, but they should not be foreign to the discussion. Second, these particular graduate students are likely to be important in shaping Indian education in the near future.

After the Fairbanks talk, I let the data gestate for about nine months while I concentrated on the day-to-day tasks of running an Indian education program. Occasionally I would think about the themes or relate them to a book I was reading or a course I was preparing. Levine and White's (1986) analysis of ligatures and options in the agrarian society, for example, immediately reminded me of Proposition Five above: "Indian education takes place in a cultural atmosphere that is permeated with both strong group bonds and great individual freedom."

Eventually, under pressure from the calendar, my job, and my conscience, I brought out the computer disks and the shredded transcripts and began the data analysis anew. This time I began by using the same coding, clipping, and compiling procedure, only instead of paper and scissors I used a computer. The result was that instead of a desk messy with strips of paper, I had a clutter of computer files. I did not refer back to my first coding efforts until I had completed the second coding. This procedure led to somewhat different labels for the codes, the collapse of two codes into one, and the discovery of some new categories. This second step in coding allowed for more diversity in emergent categories and was enhanced by my reflective thinking on the data and comparison with other writers' ideas.

The new codes and a brief description of each are listed below.

Identity. This code was used whenever a participant spoke of issues relating to identity. For example, "I think being Indian is about one of the most important things to yourself," "there is a core, an essence of being who we are that makes us who we are."

Spiritual. Here are some examples of utterances that I coded in this category. "If you get to talking about it with other Indians, that recognition of spiritual, that spiritual part of themselves they'll come to talk about it." "[Is it] better to just come to university and just get skills, or to try to involve your own spiritual background? and I said I thought you would be using both no matter what; just by who you are." Notice the overlap between the spirit category and the identity category in the second quote. Such overlaps were important in developing later propositions and also give a way to assess the centrality of a particular category by showing how

often and in what ways it relates to other categories (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

Service. This category was used to code references to a service orientation, a commitment to use one's education to help Indian people. "Most of the students I talk to show concern for being of service in the Indian community." "If I won megabucks tomorrow, I'd still work at some level with the American Indian people and with education and with therapy and that kind of thing because that's a part of me. Not that I'm a goody two shoes, it's just that that's there and I don't know why but it is."

Culture. This category was used to code statements relating to specifically Indian communication or thought styles. For example, "I think there is a different kind of a mood or a level when you talk with other Indians." "When we talk with other Indians, there is not as much interrupting." "I think reflective thinking should also be something that we should try to transmit."

Affiliation. I used this code for statements about affiliation, group membership, and community. For example, "getting a college degree [creates] a certain amount of alienation from our people." "I sense that Indian people coming here have a preconception of community." "The Indian program makes the students aware that they're Indians and that they're here to help each other to share in the community setting."

Freedom. This category was used for talk about individual freedom and autonomy. "It's like, come as you are, just bring, come if you can come, if you can't, no hassle about it." "I think just the ability to say, nope, I don't want to do that." "You don't really notice how much any one person is contributing necessarily."

Education. This category was used for talk directly concerned with Indian education, its goals, history, definition, and so forth. "Indian education as I think it ought to be is education done in Indian ways." "One is education for Indians and one is Indian education."

Place. This code was used whenever an individual said something about a physical location as a component of an Indian education program. For example, participants said things like: "a place to hang your hat while you are on campus," "sort of a stopping point—an oasis," and "I think territory is very important." In these interviews, participants referred to physical location in one of two contexts: either the importance of territory within a non-Indian institution or the importance of the relationship between students and their home community (the "res"—short for reservation).

Integrating Categories and Their Properties

After gathering all the instances of each category into a separate file, I read through each category and noted in the margins instances of reference to other categories (in addition to those I had already double or triple coded).

I also made notes on other possible themes and began to develop propositions about the way the themes might relate to each other.

This step where the comparisons change from comparing incident with incident to comparison of incidents with properties of the category that resulted from initial comparison of incidents is the third step toward discovery of grounded theory. As Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe it: "In the beginning, one's hypotheses may seem unrelated, but as categories and properties emerge, develop in abstraction, and become related, their accumulating interrelations form an integrated central theoretical framework—the core of the emerging theory" (p. 48).

Following this process, I began a diagram to show the interconnections but quickly saw that everything connected. So I began to search for a model, a metaphor, or a pattern that would somehow organize the themes and serve both as a mnemonic and matrix for new ideas and actions. The next section first describes my recognition of the pattern that organizes my thoughts about Indian education and then integrates the categories into the pattern in order to suggest standards for Indian education.

The Six Directions: A Pattern for Understanding the Data

The first ceremony that I was taught was the pipe ceremony. In that ceremony the pipe is offered to the six directions; first to the one above, then to the east, then to the south, then to the west, then to the north, and then to the earth. The first time I fasted for a vision, I spent four days walking and praying in a pattern that started in the center facing the sky. Then I walked and prayed facing the east; then back to the center and out to the south to pray; back to the center and out to the west; back to the center and out to the north; back to the center to pray looking to the earth. Each direction reminds me of a complex set of meanings, feelings, relationships, and movements. Even though I initially resisted it as too deep, too private, too Indian, I finally could not deny the six directions as I sat with Miles and Huberman's (1984) *Qualitative Data Analysis* and tried to formulate a tactic for generating meaning.

My only remaining qualm is that I will be misunderstood as using the six-directions pattern as a model rather than allowing it to direct me. It is sacred in the sense that it is bigger than anything I might say. It helps me to understand in that it stimulates my thoughts and feelings rather than being contained in my words. It structures some ceremonies and as Wolfleg (1979) said, "Ceremonies are something we usually do more than talk about."

The six directions are not a model but a pattern or an organizing principle. Models connote something that is a small, imperfect copy of something more real. The six directions are a way of thinking about existing in the universe. This pattern organizes and clarifies thoughts. It directs us to think of Indian education as dynamic. There is movement. There is historical development. Each of the participants in these conver-

sations when asked to define Indian education gave both a historical and a value-laden definition of Indian education. This is what Indian education was, this is what it is, this is what it should be.

If we return to the six-directions pattern and place traditional Indian education at the east—with the east reminding us of spring, for green and growing things, for a time when the world was young; and then move to the south—and the full light of traditional education as it had developed and served the tribes of this continent for hundreds of years; and then move to the west—to the western twilight of European conquest; and to the North—the great winter of the reservation period; we see the hardy seeds of traditional cultures ready for a rebirth, a new life, a new day in a new world. The pattern suggests hopes where few but Indians would find it. In the turning of the seasons and in the natural process of nature, we see a new spring. The European tendency to see history as a linear progression is different and doesn't nourish my hope so well.

As I worked on the explication of this six-directions pattern of Indian education, it was encouraging to find other authors who were using organizing principles rooted in tribal or natural sensibilities. As part of an effort "to minimize academic scaffolding" and "to root scholarship in living experience and dialogical interaction," Lincoln and Slagle (1987) organize their book *The Good Red Road: Passages into Native America* into four narrative parts: "Wintering home," "Spring tribe," "Summer visions," and "Fall return." Their ethnographic narrative is strongly autobiographical when necessary and is one of a growing body of works that takes the dialogue between cultures seriously.

So my students and I have gone among Western Indian peoples to find out about their lives and our own, interdependent today in America, some would say, and to take academic investigation and theory to its source in the daily particulars of current lives, both of the "others" and our own. *The Good Red Road* (Lincoln & Slagle, 1987) tries to fuse interdisciplinary scholarship, field studies, literary voice, and narrative structure in a text addressed to specialist and general readers alike. The analytical thinking is embedded in the narrative; the scholarly research in daily observations; the social science in the human awareness of the story. It's good to ground our books and lessons occasionally in the real world (p. xvi).

The four-seasons narrative structure chosen by Lincoln and Slagle (1987) advances these goals because it suggests and generates meanings at a level that is at once both deep and immediate. It works as the human mind does with meanings that are implicit, tacit, and particular in context.

As humans we always know far more than we can say (Polanyi, 1964). What I can say about the interviews are the simple things that almost everyone agreed on. This agreement makes these simple things worth writing down in hope that others will test them and see if they also agree.

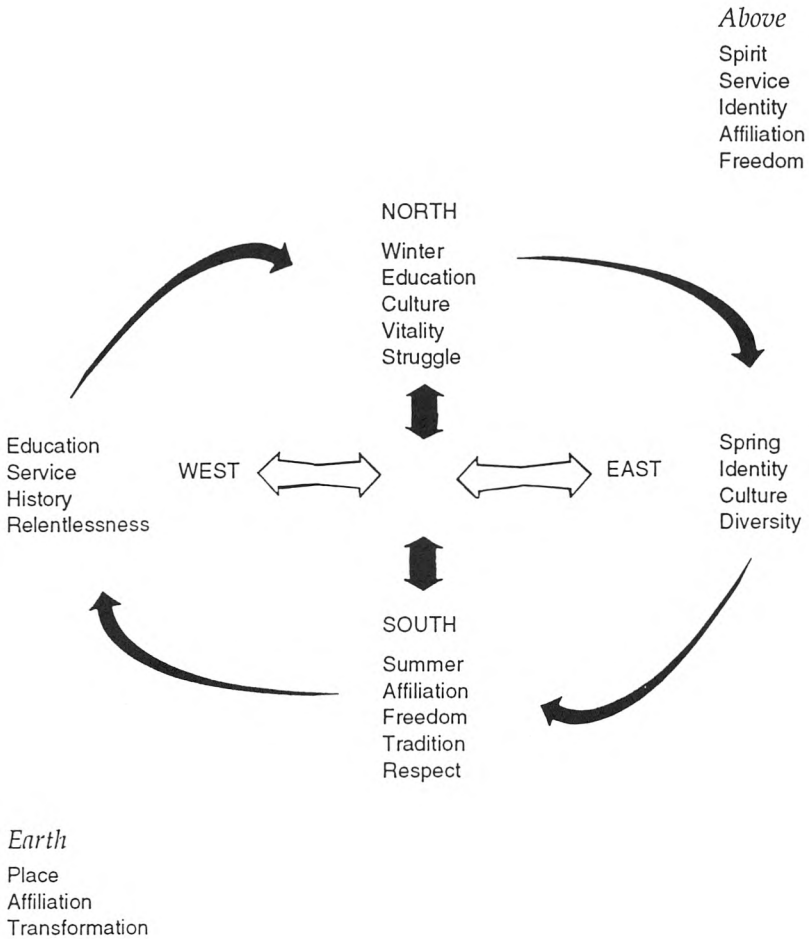


Figure 1.

I coded the interview data into eight categories: place, identity, spiritual, culture, affiliation, education, freedom, and service. In this section I organize the eight categories and discuss the interview data in relation to the six-directions pattern, integrating my own experience and other authors' discussions of Indian education. All quotes from the interviews are identified by a two-letter person code and category codes. Working from the interview data I suggest standards for Indian education on which I believe Indians will generally agree: standards that should be addressed by any theory of Indian education.

The relationships between the six directions, interview categories (themes), and the standards for Indian education are complex. Generally,

I let the directions and the interview data evoke meanings and then summarized the meanings in standards. Figure 1 graphically states the relationships that should be understood as dynamic and overlapping. The four directions (or winds) are commonly associated with the four seasons as well as with dawn, midday, sunset, and night so that seasonal and temporal concepts are evoked as well as spatial. The pattern is further complicated by my historical understanding of east as the time of origin, south as the flowering of traditional culture and methods of education, west as the period of European invasion, and north as the continuing conquest and subjugation of Indian nations. The remaining two directions, heaven and earth, evoke meaning associated with the great mystery, the ultimate source; and mother earth, the sustainer and source of rebirth. The cosmology I describe is syncretistic because I have had teachers from different cultures. My understanding of these things is necessarily limited by own experience and abilities and I ask the reader to be cautious in interpreting this writing, taking only what you can find out for yourself.

Spirit

Starting at the center of the six directions and looking to the Great Spirit we begin with the issues of identity and spirituality.

I feel like internal development is part of being Indian and part of being spiritual. That's linked. External development is important but I think that internal development is the more important. I have been raised that internal development is much more important. But, they affect each other and can't be separated. (SW).

My view of education is that the individual is not only responsible for educating the mind with the facts but also for nurturing the soul. (CM)

The first standard of Indian education is spirituality; at its center is a respect for the spiritual relationships that exist between all things. In the six-directions pattern education starts with prayer, standing in the center of the world and looking toward the sky. The central prayer is, "Help me for my people's sake." Or, as Brown (1971) translates it, "Have mercy on me that my people may live." Another way that I have often heard is, "Pity me ... for all my relatives." The first time I fasted for a vision I remember that prayer working on me, defining me, creating deep within me an identity as an expression of my people. The prayer seemed at the same time to exalt and humble me as an autonomous individual in union with and able to do work for my people.

It is through me no less than anyone else that my people live. It is as one of my teachers told me as I felt conflicts between being Indian and being educated, "There is not just one way for an Indian to live because you are life." The prayer is answered with identity, an unalienated self. On the second day of the fast, as I prayed I began to ask myself, "Who are my people?" Over the following days my identity expanded from my own skin outward to family, friends, relatives, Indian people, other humans,

animals, growing things, to finally reach the earth itself and everything that is. I came away from the fast with a deep awareness of feeling at home, related to all that is.

The vision quest and the prayer for oneself as an expression of the people's life is a crystallization of one of the most powerful forces of Indian cultural identity. And it is expressed in service "for my people's sake," "that my people may live," and "for all my relatives."

There is a lot of spiritual nature in Indians. We are supposed to be bringing it [to our education]. And that came first. I don't know if that's Indian or not, but I got it back home. (SW)

[Is it] better to just come to university and just get skills, go for learning skills, or to try to involve your own spiritual background? And we were talking and I said I thought you would be using both no matter what. Just by who you are. Then, on the other hand, the true spirituality is in participating in it, in that life. And, the trouble we have in education is trying to get the two together. We are all God's children. We all have that potential in us, that life. (WM)

Everyone's intent is to go back home. We are doing all this so that we can help our people, a tribe or Indians in general. Most of the students I talk to show concern for being of service in the Indian community, or concern for people, maybe it's general. I didn't hear it typically outside of our group, and I've been with a lot of non-Indians in school. We must get it from home. I get it from home. Like there's a purpose, you know, and [I] talk about it with my mother and my brother, and other people. (SW)

Since all the programs here are of some kind of social service, whether they be psychology or public policy or teacher education or something like that, you know, they're all programs that conceivably could make one better able to go back home wherever that is, whether it's a reservation or whatever community that is. And utilize those skills. So they would then be able to make things better for others and would be role models for kids to grow up to be like. And they'd be able to run, conceivably would be able to help run tribal groups or tribal things so that outsiders weren't necessary. I'm not sure it works that way, but that's how I see it ideally working. When I was looking at graduate programs, I went to Arizona State, talked to their minority recruiter there who's a Jewish gentleman, had limited experience with American Indian people and what it is to work with a tribal person, that kind of thing, and one of the things he said about me was, that I don't have a strong commitment to go back and work with American Indian people at this point and time. He asked me how I felt about that. Well, I said, I will. He said, well, I still don't understand what you're saying to me. I said, have you ever worked with American Indian tribes? He said, no. I said, well, to be honest with you, working with tribal groups is the biggest pain in the ass I've ever experienced in my whole damn life. I think I'd almost rather take a beating with a stick than work with any tribal group on a long-term basis. That doesn't mean I won't go back and work with Indian people. That commitment's there within me. And no matter what I do I always end up working with Indian people. And that's due to conflicts in me being raised as a white kid, but being part Indian. All these kinds of things. I'll always do it and I'll always bitch about it, and that's the reality of it. And so until you've worked with them you can't know what it's like. So that's, you know. I don't know how much that answers it, but that for me is it ... (TM)

It's a natural sort of a thing that AIP [the American Indian Program at Harvard] helps you, you know. And the same way that you feel you're going to help others. It's that's part of what holds it together. It's always in, you get 99% of Indian students who come to school and say that's what I want to do. I want to learn something and go back and see if I can be

of some service to my people. And it's exactly here the same thing you find right here, AIP, you're trying to be of service to the people ... to the Indian people come to try to get some skills here by an education. It'll help. It is pretty strong in a lot of people to give the children something, a gift of some sort to them, that they can carry on, the next generation. (WM)

Indian education orients itself around a spiritual center that defines the individual as the life of the group. The freedom and strength of the individual is the strength of the group. I was struck by the intense feelings of group membership and individual freedom. This wider identity is celebrated and perhaps promoted by rituals (Rappaport, 1978). The tension that Levine and White (1986) find between social ligatures and individual options is resolved in Indian cultures by a process of identity recognition. The individual does not form an identity in opposition to the group but recognizes the group as relatives (included in his or her own identity). The second standard of Indian education is service. Education is to serve the people. Its purpose is not individual advancement or status.

As Levine and White point out, Western society and education too often promote and glorify individual options for achievement at the expense of the social connections that make achievement meaningful. There is an inevitable conflict between Western education and Indian education on this point. The competitive success of the individual is an implicit value of Western schools and as such is in direct conflict with an Indian value of group success through individual achievement. In Levine and White's analysis of modern education in Japan, they remark on Japan's success in preserving a balance between options and ligatures such that individual and group success are intertwined and serve each other rather than being in opposition:

No society exclusively values either options or ligatures but unlike the cultures of the industrial West, Japanese culture does not involve a basic opposition between the two. The Western dualistic notion that one has to destroy ligatures in order to free the individual to pursue options efficiently did not, and does not, prevail in Japan. (p. 102)

The essential historical difference between Japanese and American Indian education is the extent to which the Japanese were able to control their own educational development. Contemporary Japanese education (unlike contemporary American Indian education) is designed, administered, and implemented by Japanese people. Educational elements borrowed from the West are borrowed on Japanese terms for Japanese purposes. The values and the languages of the schools are Japanese. The essentials of educational self-determination are present in Japanese education and absent from "Indian education." It is for this reason that it is important to distinguish between so-called Indian education, which is really Anglo education applied to Indians, and true Indian education, which is Indian-controlled education.

The Indian student enrolled in an Anglo school, which not only exalts Anglo values but sets the individual in opposition to the group, will feel the conflict between being Indian and being educated.

Going to [school], there's a certain amount of alienation from our people inherent in doing that. The people back home kind of admire you but also don't like it. There's a mix, there's ambivalence. (SW)

It is no light matter for an Indian graduate student to articulate a communal purpose for his or her education. Virtually all of these students fulfill that purpose, working with and for Indian people. Today's educated Indian is a triumph of Indian people over a school system that in most senses is the enemy (Wolcott, 1987). The reasons Indians have persevered, that we have not vanished and that there continues to be hope for such a thing as Indian education are rooted in the spiritual values and traditions that make us who we are. These traditions stretch back into the dawn of our existence as Indian peoples, and it is the morning star of the East that reminds us of what is Indian, the origins of our existence.

East

East is the direction of spring. I remember an early spring in Minnesota. The roads were still lined with banks of snow, snow fouled by thousands of cars, grimy and dirty in the bright spring sunlight. Car shit I usually called it as I trudged up the hill to work. But this day was different. The sunlight seemed to meet its own reflection inside me. I had been in a sweat lodge ceremony the day before, and I kicked through the car shit with childish joy. Looking with new eyes, I saw that the particles of dirt and soot had gathered the sun's warmth and melted tiny caverns into the snow bank, tiny jeweled caverns with rainbow colors on their walls.

I began to smile at myself—finding rainbows in the car shit—and then I laughed out loud. There frozen into the snow was a five-dollar bill. I chipped it out, folded it into my shirt pocket, and continued up the hill. In the mail room at work I picked up the new issue of *Akwesasne Notes* and noticed an article by Gail High Pine, "The Great Spirit in the Modern World." Her first paragraph gripped my heart, "It is not important to preserve our traditions—it is important to allow our traditions to preserve us." And then the final paragraph changed my life. On the morning that I found jeweled rainbow caverns in the car shit, I read, "My children, there is no modern world, there is no Indian world. There is only the Great Spirit's world and the same Creator who made the beautiful forests traces the cracks in the sidewalks and puts rainbows in the oil slicks on the city streets."

Walking the circle of Indian education, facing the East it is traditional to pray for our children. It is an American Indian tradition—it is deeply human tradition—to pray for future generations. Those traditions—those prayers, hopes, and dreams of our old ones—mark us as much as, perhaps

more than, their defeats, their fears, and their errors. To educate ourselves and our children, we must start with who we are, with the traditions, the values, and the ways of life that we absorbed as children of the people. An elder told me, "I am just one day old." This day connects our past and future, the child within to the elder we hope to become. The identity of Indian people is that which links our history and our future to this day, now.

A history of a people who relived their history for the sheer joy of dancing and story telling are almost forgotten. These old people were human beings with failings of course. But their way of life, their history, their people were so advanced—much older than the people themselves. And these peoples' Chiefs flowed out of—but never away from—their life which was older than themselves. (Toghotthele, 1983, p. 26)

To answer the questions of Indian education, we must recognize our *identity*—past, present, and future—and confront Ira Hays' question, "What's an Indian anyway?" (Cash, 1962). Finding that the federal government used over 100 different definitions of "Indian," the Department of Education commissioned a report in 1984 on "The Definition of Indian" and held hearings from Boston to Alaska. The conclusion of the report was that the more precisely Indian was defined, the more unreliable the results were.

Approximately 500 tribes, a million and a half individuals are labeled or call themselves some variant of Indian, Native American, American Indian, or Alaska Native. For some purposes, indigenous Hawaiians are included; for others, not.

So who is an Indian today? The BIA director in Sacramento testified before a 1954 Senate committee: "I just don't think there is any definition that you can give to an Indian. He is an Indian for some purposes and for other purposes he isn't an Indian. I am sorry, I cannot make a definition. We in the Indian Bureau are concerned with it also. We don't know how to define an Indian." According to current reservation lore, being Indian requires meeting two dozen anthropologists before you are twenty-one. (Lincoln & Slagle, 1987, p. 68)

My first foray into Indian education other than as a student was in Mankato, Minnesota, the site of America's largest mass hanging. In 1892 38 Sioux Indians were hanged there. The third year that I was in Mankato, the Chamber of Commerce asked for a meeting with the Indian students. The Chamber wanted to put on an annual historical pageant, a tourist attraction, depicting the hanging. As I listened to the Chamber's Executive Secretary's presentation on the educational and economic value of the pageant, I saw in the faces of the other Indians my own feelings; 120 years were as nothing to the spirits who touched our restless nights with their pain, and I knew that there would be no pageant. Our turn to speak and each student in turn opened his or her talk with a statement.

"I am Lakota ..."

"I am Creek ..."

"I am Ojibway ..."

"I am Chickasaw ..."

"I am Winnebago ..."

"I am Dakota ..."

Bewildered at last, the Secretary rightly focused his question on the first statement that he had heard from each of us, "What is it that all Indians have in common?" Iris Drew, the Creek, answered for all of us with the true bittersweet joke, "The white man." As so many Indians have pointed out, Indian identity is essentially tribal. *Indian* originated as a case of mistaken identity. Columbus persisted in his error throughout his life and went to his grave convinced he had discovered a new route to India. *Tribalism* is a good word to most Indians. We believe culture matters. At Mankato State and other universities, I have argued for the importance of Indian studies. My colleagues there said that since there were more Norwegian students, we should first have a department of Norwegian studies. It is an elementary category mistake to equate Norwegian studies with Indian studies. The proper analogy is, Indian studies are to Chickasaw studies as white studies are to Norwegian studies.

The nation-cultures of Europe are in many ways more similar to each other than are the tribal cultures of America. Contemporary white Americans easily persist in the Columbian error of deeply believing, in the face of all evidence to the contrary, that their own "known world" is the total world. When they ask, "Why can't Indians just be Americans?" they expose a deeply motivated ignorance. White America is an early expression of an English dominated pan-European culture in development. Its struggle toward a coherent culture is barely able to embrace white ethnics and will never encompass all those it derogates as "minorities."

The people of this continent trace their tribal diversity back to the dawn of time. The East is a direction of beginnings and reminds us that our cultural differences are not a recent development. Diversity is the third standard of Indian education. Multiplicity, diversity, tribalism, and community-based education are words that point to the active implementation of diverse cultures. Local control is a defining characteristic of Indian education, not just a philosophical or political good. There can be no true Indian education without Indian control. Anything else is white education applied to Indians. Indian control is dependent on a specific Indian community. The fact that over half of the Indian community lives in multi-tribal, multicultural urban areas complicates the issues by demanding that Indians of different tribes cooperate in implementing their multitribal definition of Indian education.

Indian education as it should be would focus on the values of individual tribal groups, the kinds of things that the parents from those groups wanted their kids to learn, specific to their tribe. Something that stresses the language so the kids have the language. So kids

understand that while being Indian is different that there is nothing negative about that.
(CM)

The East reminds me that our cultures reach back to the time of beginnings. Each Indian culture is a pattern for relationships and has its own way of thinking and communicating. There are enough general differences between white cultures and Indian cultures to point out some likely sources of misunderstanding, conflicts rooted in our origins but the lessons of conflict and transformation are for the North and the Earth. The lesson of the East is that we exist as distinctive peoples. We have our ways, culture is real.

[In white universities] you are encouraged to criticize your colleagues or somebody you don't agree with and sometimes, to me, that looks kind of harmful. Sometimes what you are learning is that you have to be critical in order to succeed at what you are learning. That's hard. I understand constructive criticism and not constructive criticism. But, it's just that one of the things they teach is that critical thinking. It has its advantages. But, the Indian child when he sits, he listens to his grandparents or his parents. He's not going to criticize what they say. And he is listening, taking, trying to do what they say ... respectfully. And even when they're older, like myself I thank the old people, and they tell me. I don't criticize what they say. I take what they say and I'm glad of it. Especially since nowadays there is so little of that wisdom.

A lot of the kids are growing up to criticize their own ways, they own language, their parents, the teaching, the older people ... criticizing people. It's funny that it took that form. I even heard someone say, "You don't know what you're talking about." I've heard them say that. It hurts to hear young people say, "You don't know what you are talking about." So, it has its harmful effects; encouragement to use critical skills. I hate to do it. But, at times I do it. Reflective thinking should go along with it. I think reflective thinking would also be something that we try to transmit. (WM)

Reflective thinking suggests a habit of mind that thoughtfully considers a speaker's words looking for what can be built on. This style of thought may be an underlying reason for longer "wait times" commonly observed among Indian speakers. Bradley (1980) videotaped a 20-minute discussion by four Indian graduate students at Harvard. A white classmate of hers videotaped four white students. In the Indian discussion, there was one instance of one person speaking over another, and that was to provide a single word for which the speaker was searching. Eighty-three percent of the white graduate students' utterances, on the other hand, began as speaking over the current speaker. In general, the Indian discussion seemed to be additive, with each speaker considering what the previous speaker had said and then building on it. The white discussants seemed to be in an active struggle for "air time" and control of the group. White speakers did a variety of things that were either not done or done only once by the Indian speakers, including attempts to gain agreement, summarization of the previous discussion, criticism of others' ideas, and defense of their own contributions. It would be unjustified to generalize from these videotapes to all Indians and all whites, or even to these specific individuals in all settings. Yet some of these results are cor-

roborated by other studies (e.g., Philips, 1983), and certainly the differences are striking enough to warrant further investigation.

Barnhardt (1982) in searching for reasons Native students succeeded in Alaskan schools with more than 50% Native faculty studied videotapes of Native and non-Native teachers of Native children. On first impression, the teachers seemed similar in their use of a variety of conventional teaching methods, but closer examination of the tapes using a metronome disclosed a phenomenon she called "tuning in." Both students and teachers had a rhythm and tempo to both their body movements and to their talk. White teachers set the rhythms in their classrooms while Indian teachers observed and then matched student rhythms.

It would be misleading to fix on reflective thought, or wait time, or tuning in as characteristics of Indian education. The data are not strong enough yet, and it would be too easy to focus on what may be artifacts or gimmicks. What is essential to see is that there are culturally characteristic ways of thought and communication that are of value and interest in themselves and worthy of thought and study. A teacher with no knowledge or interest in such topics is incompetent in multi-cultural settings.

These ways of thinking are language- as well as culture-based. Pinxten, Van Dooren, and Harvey (1983), in their brilliant *Anthropology of Space*, show a possible relationship between Navajo language and the teaching of mathematics to Navajo-speaking students. By carefully delineating the spatial concepts embedded in the Navajo language, they were able to specify some important differences between Navajo spatial language and English. In Navajo, for example, it is relatively easier to speak of centers than boundaries. Dynamic shapes are more commonly dealt with than static shapes, and order and position seem more salient than number. From these and other examples, Pinxten et al. argue that concepts such as triangle and square and operations such as counting that are elementary for English-speaking students (embedded as they are in the language and culture) are in fact difficult abstracts for Navajo-speaking students.

He further argues that the concepts of dynamic topology and fuzzy sets, difficult and abstract as they seem for speakers of English are in fact elementary for Navajo speakers. He thus turns mathematics education on its head with the suggestion that Navajo- and English-speaking students require radically different curricula. For Navajo students, dynamic topology and fuzzy sets belong in the primary grades rather than in graduate school. His work also has important implications for the construction of so-called culture-fair tests, suggesting that this effort is doomed to failure at best and a sham at worst. Pinxten et al.'s results are another example of findings that might be of crucial importance for Indian education and that deserve further study.

With different ways of thought and communication, it is not surprising to find different learning styles. In the spring of 1987, I asked each of the

students in my cross-cultural education course, most of whom were teachers or teacher aids in Native schools scattered throughout the villages of Alaska, to interview one Native and one white. In the interview, they merely asked the person to describe as concretely and completely as possible one learning experience: to tell the story of how they had learned something. I then asked the students to discuss their interview data in terms of the eight ways of learning described by Kohl (1968). Both Indians and whites used a wide variety of learning approaches, including some that did not clearly fit any of Kohl's categories. The not-too-surprising finding was that far more Natives described learning by observation than did non-Natives. Non-Natives seemed to have a more even distribution of learning styles with relatively more instances of learning by asking questions.

John-Steiner and her associates (1975) found a more striking difference with 40 Pueblo interviewees describing learning by observation and 50 whites giving only one instance of learning by observation. Some teachers have difficulty with the concept of equally valid learning styles. One unblushingly described learning by observation as "lazy learning" and told of chastising Native students for not asking questions and participating. When one of the students attempted to explain to her that they were carefully watching out of respect and would participate as soon as they were ready, she argued that other Native students were participating and expelled the observers from the class. Later conversations with her led to the realization that she had deep feelings of inferiority and incompetence that led her to force herself to participate in activities in spite of feelings of inadequacy. It seemed to me that she was projecting these feelings onto Native students and angrily demanding that they overcompensate for nonexistent feelings of inadequacy rather than realizing their comfort and feelings of competence with a learning style different from her own. The respect for diversity embodied in the third standard of Indian education requires self-knowledge and self-respect without which respect for others is impossible.

It seems worth quoting extensively from two of the people I interviewed. Both are highly successful Indian educators who are doing excellent graduate work at Harvard. They still struggle with the difference between Anglo and Indian thought and communication styles.

It seems as if in the homes and the upbringing of Anglo children, that they must have talked about things or looked at life a certain way that differed from the way we looked at things at home. I use the word holistic ... I don't know if that really describes what I mean but it's the best word that I can find, of how I view life or think about life, as things being very connected and that you don't separate and look at something just in and of itself. But I went to the same schools, I went to white schools, so I had that white education and I was able to compete pretty successfully and yet I came out still feeling like, as far as logical thinking and analytical thinking, somewhere that was not reinforced either in school or in my home, but I think I had a very similar education to most white people and I wonder

why so many of them seem to think so much differently and have that ability to look at things in detail or see the details, whereas I look upon the whole. (LW)

You can follow a paper down and understand what they are saying, but you don't understand why they don't understand what you're saying, because, to you, your logic is there, but it's not recognized as being logical. Another thing is that is always writing on obvious things, describing obvious things, and I don't know how to do it, I have a hard time doing that. If a white man wanted to describe a can, he could probably take up three pages describing that can!

I would probably look at the things that were not obvious about a can, and yet, if you were writing a paper, that's how you would write a paper here, you would say, well, it's so tall, and it's round and all of these things, and yet, you or I would look at it and see that, I mean that would be obvious, so you wouldn't bother with those kinds of things. We were talking a lot about that and what is logical to us and what is logical to the instructors here, or what is obvious to us and what is not obvious, I guess. We thought it was funny.

I look at papers ... when I write papers, I want to say things that will create some thought in the person that's reading them, and I find out that that kind of style is not acceptable. You have to state everything obviously that and not trust in someone else's intellectual ability to draw their own conclusions or make their own inferences. You have to lay that all out for them. It's weird.

I remember being in a class one day, and the instructor wanted to start discussing the readings. So, he asked questions about the readings. "What was so and so's theory?" and nobody said anything. The whole class was just silent for about a minute, so it was obvious that very few people had done the reading. Well, I had done the reading, but I'm usually quite verbal in this course and I just decided to lay back and not say anything. So, about a minute of silence had gone by, and finally I said, "Well, Joe, don't you know?!" (laughter) The whole class was cracked up, nobody got serious for the rest of the class. But, I think that exemplifies that we ask students, when we're teachers, we and teachers, you know, other teachers, they ask people the obvious.

I've been fighting that traumatically at times. I came away from one class with a paper that I thought was fantastic. I was so proud of it when I handed it in, I just thought it was a great paper. I put a lot of time and effort into it. I put my heart into it, really thinking about things.

When I got it back I felt like I was mutilated, I felt like someone just stood there with a knife and just cut me all to shreds. To me there were so many things in it that were obvious. I had my brother read the paper and I had other people read the paper because I was really trying to give a good paper. It was like the person who read the paper was stupid, and she is not a stupid woman; far from it, but the comments she made were that I hadn't explained what I thought were obvious points. It really shook me up and made me start thinking about how we think and how we relate this in our papers. There is a big gap there, and I don't know how to close it. I'm trying very hard. (HW)

The fourth standard of Indian education is culture. Indian cultures have ways of thought, learning, teaching, and communicating that are different than, but of equal validity to, those of white cultures. These thought-ways stand at the beginning of Indian time and are the foundations of our children's lives. Their full flower is in the what it means to be one of the people.

South

The south is the direction of summer, the home of the sun, and the time of fullest growth. It is clear that just as the seasons come and go, so too Indian education has its seasons of increase and decline. The summer of Indian education was before the European invasion. Oral histories, the narratives of early European plunderers and current traditional practices give us a partial understanding of traditional education and how it adapted to the invasion.

It is sort of a clue to what might be a solution to hard work. I used to realize that a lot of what Indian people did was a lot of hard work to make everything so much from scratch. What the sweat taught me was the way spirituality lightens the load. By praying over every step of the process of putting together the sweat lodge, then the impact of that work becomes less because everything has so much meaning. (MW)

In the interviews I asked for a definition of Native education. Most participants gave historically conditioned descriptive and prescriptive definitions. The responses of the participants, what they got "back home," are indications of the persistence of traditional educational methods.

Back home character is stressed and that came first [before technique]. Indian education, I mean typical back home or how they used to do it was that they didn't separate education from living, from everyday living's requirement. (SW)

The fifth standard of Indian education is tradition: Indian education maintains a continuity with tradition. Our traditions define and preserve us. It is important to understand that this continuity with tradition is neither a rejection of the artifacts of other cultures nor an attempt to turn back the clock. Asking Native Americans to eschew automobiles, television, and bank accounts in the name of "preserving their culture" makes as much sense as asking the white American to give up gunpowder because it was invented by the Chinese or the zero because it was invented by Arabs. It is the continuity of a living culture that is important to Indian education not the preservation of frozen museum specimen. "If a snowmobile is perceived to have greater utility than a dog sled, then the ownership of snowmobile will become one of the criteria defining the traditional hunter" (Kemp, 1971).

For most Native groups summer is a time when people get together. Feasts, potlatches, ceremonies continue to be an important part of Native life. In all the interviews I asked, "If you were to pick out a typical AIP event, situation, or interaction in which you were involved what would it be?" Most participants had a similar response.

I suppose it's the potluck suppers and those get-togethers we have from time to time where everybody brings something and pitches in and helps out and everybody gets together for sitting down and having something to eat. That's been a fairly typical experience among tribes all over. Coming together, sit down and share something to eat, then maybe have something after whatever. But it's that getting together to eat kind of thing which is very typical of Indian get togethers all over, the tribes that I've seen anyway. I sense that Indian

people have a preconception for community. I mean the idea of community is important, and I think psychologically that has positive impact. (LM)

In a small way these potlucks express the gathering of the people, affirming each individual's freedom and the group identity.

The one that I think comes to mind first are the potlucks, the informal gathering. I mean informal but structured. And it's like, come as you are, just bring, come if you can come, if you can't, no hassle about it. Except it's just to bring food. And then you have to do that. But it's a structuring of, here's a time and a place where we as a group are going to get together. And in my mind, I mean, I think that's pretty significant, that we do that. Because I remember it afterwards. I don't always remember especially having a great time or being comfortable, but I always remember being compelled to come and wanting to come, and meeting people and stuff. And the differences, kind of even are set aside for awhile. And another facet of it is, I've often thought of bringing non-Indians there and wondered whether I should or not. I mean it doesn't matter one way or the other when other people bring them, I mean I don't care, it doesn't matter, it doesn't change it. But it's an Indian thing, I think. The food is Indian, mostly Indian, the jokes, and the way we interact. (PM)

The comfort whenever we're here together and enjoying another's company, the other people's company, but also not feeling put upon to have to be maybe, I can't be sure, but I think just the ability to say nope, I don't want to do that. And a little bit of pressure but nothing that people are going to say, oh, he's an awful person or she's an awful person, because they're still a part of our group of people. But more than anything I'd say the way that people use humor. Everybody bringing something that they think other people are going to want to eat and they're going to want to eat themselves. And some people getting here early and some people getting here on time and some people getting here late. And everybody being pretty happy about it. Teasing everybody around about this or that, kind of catching up a little bit. Just a chance to get together and share a bit of our lives. I feel good about being a part of a community. (LM)

Those that sit back and probably do nothing, you don't really notice them I guess. Things just sort of get done, everyone contributes, you don't really notice how much any one person is contributing necessarily. (MW)

Euro-Americans summed up their difficulty in understanding and dealing with Native forms of organization by saying "Too many chiefs and not enough Indians." The individual Indian's sense of personal power and autonomy is a strength that lies behind the apparent weakness of disunity. I believe we would have indeed vanished if we had confronted the European invaders with a unified hierarchical structure to conquer. Our survival rests on the fact that *each* Indian is at heart a king or queen who owes allegiance only to the people.

The Indian program makes the students aware that they are Indians and that they are here to help each other to share in the community setting. Rather than bringing each one in as a separate entity and treating each one as a go your own way, do your own thing. It is trying to help each other become aware of each other. (PM)

The quality of the group is dependent on the qualities of the individuals. And the strength of that group and the clarity of that group depends on the strength and clarity of the individuals. And somehow, I don't know how, but being Indian, being Native American, there is an essence to that. You know, that no matter how much we can change on the inessentials, there is a core, an essence of being who we are that makes us who we are. (LM)

Standard six: Respect, Indian education demands relationships of personal respect.

West

The west is the direction of autumn, the end of summer, and the precursor of winter. On the great plains, thunderstorms roll in from the west. In Lakota cosmology, the good red road of life runs north and south and the road of death runs east and west.

What I hope to do is paint a picture of the conquest that explains its effects on the education of Indian children. I want to be honest without losing the reader; the facts are harsh but my heart is open. The coming of western civilization (meaning western Europe) with its western forms of education to this continent was the autumn of traditional Indian education.

In the fall, the wild grass dies. The Europeans took our land, our lives, and our children as the winter snow takes the grass. The loss is painful but the seed lives in spite of the snow. The fall of the year, the grass dies and drops its seed to lie hidden under the snow. Perhaps the snow thinks the seed has vanished but it lives on, hidden, or blowing in the wind, or clinging to the pants leg of progress.

How does the acorn unfold into an oak? Deep inside itself it knows—and we are no different. We know deep inside ourselves the pattern of life. The source of our traditions is present.

It is good that the pattern of six directions reminds us of fall and winter, because otherwise we might neglect to speak directly of some of the harsher realities of Indian education. As many times as I had been through the transcripts, by the time I came to write this section I still could not recall any instances of the conversations dealing directly with the European conquest and subsequent exploitation and domination. Even a thorough search failed to find these themes. Indirectly, the conquest influences almost all the themes. It used to surprise me that many whites expected militancy and resentment and somehow seemed relieved when members of the American Indian Movement articulated anger toward white injustice. One of the participants in this research gently chided herself along with me for falling into a pattern of we-they thinking and speech, "Listen to us, 'we-they.'"

Wolcott (1987) suggests that white teachers of Native students would do less harm if they recognized their status as enemies (not personal, but cultural) of their students.

I think that I might have been a more effective teacher if I had taken the perspective of regarding the teacher, me, as an enemy. By effective I mean that I would have remained more objective about my lack of success, and I would have been more sensitive to the high cost for each pupil of accepting me or my instructional program. Appropriate to antagonistic acculturation as manifested in school might be an analogy to a prisoner-of-war camp. The purpose of instruction is to recruit new members into their society by

encouraging prisoners to defect, and achieving this by giving them the skills so that they can do so effectively. (p. 420)

Certainly it seems that it is good for those concerned with education to face unflinchingly Native perspectives on the history and politics of education.

Physical, mental, and spiritual—it is all one thing to the Indian. Physical effects of the conquest on Indian education include otitis media, fetal alcohol syndrome, material poverty, poor housing, poor nutrition. Treaty provisions were not met, schools were not built, teachers were not sent. The mental effects include the erosion of our self-concept, denial of worth, the outlawing of languages. The spiritual effects include the outlawing of our worship, the imposition of Christian denominationalism, the destruction of Indian families. Standard seven: History, Indian education has a sense of history and does not avoid the hard facts of the conquest of America.

Standard eight: Relentlessness, Indian education is relentless in its battle for Indian children. We take pride on our warriors and our teachers are warriors for the life of our children. The war is not between Indian and white but between that which honors life and that which does not. It is fought within ourselves as well as in the world.

North

North is the home of winter. It is the time of night and evokes thoughts and feelings of those times. Both have their positive aspects, but it is their difficulties and their challenge that are in my mind when I think of contemporary Indian education. The North demands that we understand survival; it teaches endurance and wisdom. Its lessons can be hard and it is not enough to be good, or strong, or smart. The North demands knowledge.

The current situation in Indian education is cold and dark, with just the hint of light that makes it possible to hope for spring. The horrors that Native people are going through are not as bad as those the previous generations faced, and the fact that we have survived and are in some ways stronger bodes well for our future. It is important, therefore, to understand both the statistics of pain and the rays of hope.

The post-invasion story of Native education is almost always told as the story of white education applied to Natives. The other story of individual and tribal educational initiatives is much harder to tell. It is not one story but many individual stories of which we have only scattered and fragmentary knowledge. It is with regret that I neglect the stories of Charles Eastman, of the American Indian Historical Society, and countless other Native individuals and groups that were not merely passive victims but active participants in the shaping of Native destiny. Noley's (1979) dissertation that chronicles the history of Choctaw education is an excellent example of what can be done to bring an Indian perspective to educa-

tion. Here all that I can do is to commend to some other author the task of writing a history of Indian education with Indian protagonists rather than Indian victims.

It is my hope to show in the next pages some of the ways in which white education and the mechanisms of white society have subverted Indian education. I start with the clearest example in print of the way many whites have viewed Native culture. It has become commonplace to recognize the tendency to project onto Native people the alienated attributes of European society so that Natives are seen as either noble savages or degenerate races. I have nowhere found the stereotyping so clearly drawn as in the two books by Turnbull, *The Forest People* (1961) and *The Mountain People* (1972). The fact that he is writing about African Natives rather than Native Americans in terms that are completely transposable between continents makes it clear that the books are really about the European mind.

Turnbull (1961, 1972) describes the Forest People as noble savages: open, loving, creative. Although innocent and childlike, they possess wisdom and are noble in all respects. Even if we make generous allowance for Turnbull's projection of alienated attributes of European society, these people can be seen as relatively free people enjoying a high quality of life by their own admirable standards. By contrast, the Mountain People are a miserable lot. They are hostile, suspicious, torn by crime, and present a full range of problems complete with devastating generation gaps. Again, we must make allowances for Turnbull's projection, in this case of the undesirable aspects of European society, in order to be left with a picture of a people that are relatively oppressed, fearful, with a "low quality of life," and overwhelmed with issues of day-to-day survival.

Several things are striking about Turnbull's (1961, 1972) work. First, there is his perverse ignorance of the different colonial contexts of these two peoples. He attributes their differences to culture or morality and seems blissfully ignorant of the vast difference in levels of oppression that the two groups endure. Everywhere on the globe at all times, history is unequivocal: colonization brings misery and societal dysfunction. Although Turnbull might argue the strength of the statement, he can hardly be ignorant of the general relationship. He is, however, quite capable of perversely ignoring the single greatest determinant of the Mountain People's pain. Second, it is instructive to read his descriptions of the two groups for parallels with Western society. Clearly the Mountain People with their crime, suicide, and competition between the generations are strikingly similar to Western societies. Nevertheless, he strongly, even desperately, argues that the Mountain People's children should be taken from them and raised by Europeans. He completely neglects the fact that European society is suffering from the same ills for which he criticizes the Mountain People, that the ills were inflicted on the Mountain People by

the Europeans, and that under his suggestion, the children would suffer even more than the parents.

Turnbull argues that the Natives' children should be taken from them for their own good. Would he be surprised to know that America has his program firmly in place? What seems obvious to me is not so to Turnbull. So must I lay aside my incredulity and patiently tutor him with the examples of the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools? No, that would be misdirected and fruitless. The delusion is self-sustaining. What then shall we do to protect ourselves from those millions of white Americans, high and low, who believe that all others are deluded and that they who know what is best for the Indian? I have heard countless white educators passionately, even desperately, argue for their vision of Native education. Their desperation to save the Indian on white terms makes me believe that it is in fact their own world view that the existence of Indians threatens.

In a restaurant in Harvard Square, the distinguished professor of education, a world-renowned expert on reading, stopped by the old Indian's table to tell him that the most important thing for Indian children was to learn to read. "Yes, that's important," the old Indian said, "but many things are important." The professor began to lecture the Indian on what was good for Indian children. When the professor at long last ran down, the Indian said, "I guess that's the way you are set, and there is no use talking about it. I hope you have a good day."

The white man's burden is heavy indeed, composed as it is of a complex denial of the reality of political, economic, military, and educational oppression and the assertion of paternal superiority. Prucha (1985) in his ambitious little book *The Indians in American Society: From the Revolutionary War to the Present* purports to explain Indian existence in terms of "the dependency that was both the cause and the result of the paternalism" (p. viii). Prucha defends the "massive robbery of an entire continent and its resources from its aboriginal owners" (Ortiz, 1980 cited in Prucha, 1985) by a plea to judge the invaders by their own rationalizations—that it was all a "genuine, though often misguided, desire to aid" the Indian (p. 28). Prucha ignores the internal tension between paternalism and rapacity that motivates white policy toward Indians. The winter of Indian education cannot be understood without seeing its place in a system of white domination.

I believe it is clear that white educational systems and procedures are not competent to educate Indian children. This is not only a simple inability to admit failure. I believe that Indian children struggle against a pathological complex endemic to American society. The pathology is made up of the largely unconscious processes of: (a) a perverse ignorance of the facts of racism and oppression; (b) delusions of superiority, motivated by fear of inadequacy; (c) a vicious spiral of self-justifying

action, as the blame is shifted to the victim who must be "helped," that is, controlled for his or her own good; and (d) denial that the oppressors profit from the oppression materially as well as by seeing themselves as a superior, powerful, and altruistic persons. Indian children face a daily struggle with attacks on their identity, their intelligence, their way of life, their essential worth. They must continually struggle to find self-worth, dignity, and freedom in being who they are. I know that I participate in my own oppression. I did not make the winter wind but I have sometimes carried it to my children. I could not always shelter them but I am relentless in my effort.

All Native communities in America suffer from these forms of oppression. It is a mark of human strength and resilience that Indians continue to survive and individual Indians manage to make productive lives despite the extremity of the oppression that they face. The problem is how to paint a picture of the horrors without overwhelming and with full justice to the strengths and resilience of Native people. We have been through the fiery furnace of a war for a continent, and we have been quenched in the icy waters of indifference. We lost the continent, and for five generations we have been told that we are a "vanishing race."

Standard nine: Vitality, Indian education recognizes and nourishes the powerful pattern of life that lies hidden within personal and tribal suffering and oppression. Suffering begets strength. We have not vanished. The first census in 90 years that made a substantial attempt to accurately count Indians was in 1980. In that year 25% more Indians were counted than in 1970. Most census takers immediately began to look for sources of overcounting. The day after the 1980 census, I was teaching a staff development class for the Boston Indian Council. I asked the 30 Indians in my class how many of them had been counted in the census. Twenty raised their hands.

Statistics show the inroads of winter. Just as counting the dead plants is an inadequate measure of the life of the seeds, so counting the deaths, the alcoholism rates, the suicides, the murders, and the dropouts is inadequate to measure the vitality of Native life. The horrors and indescribable pain of Native existence after the European conquest cannot be minimized. Neither can the vitality of Native resistance and resurgence.

Native education cannot be understood without the concepts of oppression and resistance (Iverson, 1978; Churchill, 1982; Jennings, 1975; Deloria, 1982). Cultural genocide is the open but unacknowledged policy of every white educator who says, "These people must learn what we have to teach." Wolcott (1987) has offered a provocative analysis of *The Teacher as an Enemy*. He shows how the resistance and hostility of Native students is an assertion of Indian integrity. If educators realize that they are agents of cultural brainwashing rather than altruistic helpers, much that is otherwise incomprehensible becomes self-evident.

Standard 10: Conflict, Indian education recognizes the conflict, tensions, and struggle between itself and white education as well as with education generally. Western education is in content and structure hostile to Native people. It must be straightforwardly realized that education as currently practiced is cultural genocide. It seeks to brainwash the Native child, substituting non-Native for Native knowledge, values, and identity. The individual teacher, administrator, or counselor may, indeed should, attempt to mitigate or subvert the purpose of Western education, but in so doing assumes a difficult and ambiguous position. I may seem to be overstating the case, so it is worthwhile considering carefully the inherent contradictions between Western education and Native cultures, as well as the plight of the well-intentioned educator.

Let us start with the concept of perverse ignorance. By perverse ignorance I mean motivated apparent ignorance about issues of culture or race. I have heard otherwise intelligent educators make statements such as: "Indians don't take to education any better than they do to farming." "Culture doesn't matter. I read about seals and polar bears when I was growing up in Iowa, and that's the same as these Inupiat kids reading about trees." These statements are logical only if the speaker is ignorant of facts that they clearly know. The first statement was made by a distinguished professor of educational sociology who in other contexts knew that many Indian groups were excellent farmers; that several Indian tribes had implemented exemplary schools; and that, in fact, the type of schooling and farming that Indians have rejected are schooling and farming that were chosen, designed, and administered by non-Indians. The second statement was made by a highly regarded teacher with many years of experience teaching for the North Slope School District of Alaska. His statement rests on an apparent ignorance of the fact that he read about seals in the language of his home community whereas Inupiat children read about trees in an alien language, the fact that the books about seals assumed that he knew little if anything about seals whereas the books the Inupiat children read about trees assume that everyone has seen a tree, and that trees, books, teachers, and schools are all common to his or her culture but alien to Inupiat culture.

The educator who sees education as culturally neutral is similar to the spouse of an alcoholic who denies the alcoholism. There are implications for practice, self-concept, and feelings that both are unable to face. Perverse ignorance is a particular form of the defense mechanism of denial. As such, it is an unconscious process that is "compelled, negating, rigid, distorting of intersubjective reality and logic, allows covert impulse expression, and embodies the expectancy that anxiety can be relieved without directly addressing the problem" (Hann, 1977, p. 34). It is understandable that the educator with a self-concept bound to the ideal of helping children, with a preparation that does not include multicultural

competence, a curriculum that ignores or systematically distorts the culture of his or her students, and unresolved personal issues of racism and ethnocentrism would be unable to face the extent to which education is not only culturally bound but actively hostile to Native children.

Perhaps the most common statement I hear from white educators in varying forms is, "These kids have got to learn this stuff for their own good." Of course, that is the refrain from most of us when faced with teaching subject matter that does not appeal to our students, but it takes on another dimension in the cross-cultural situation. In the monocultural case, the subject content and the structure are a part of the student's own culture and as such are not subversive or hostile to the student. In the cross-cultural (and to a large extent in the subculture, dominant culture) case, the "stuff" is subversive of the student's self-concept and cultural values. The educator who consciously recognizes this is free to develop coping mechanisms to address the real problem, whereas the educator who allays anxiety by unconscious defense mechanisms is caught in a vicious spiral. The more problems are denied, the less effective the teaching becomes and the more it must be defended.

Western education is hostile in its structure, its curriculum, its context, and its personnel. First, the context of Western education is cultural. Whether we trace the beginning of schools to Greece or start with the Roman attempt to standardize orthography throughout the empire, schools have enjoyed a central place in the perpetuation of Western civilization. The contemporary American school is a political, social, and cultural institution that embodies and transmits the values, knowledge, and behaviors of Anglo culture. The call for higher standards in education is invariably a call for the standards of the Anglo. It is never a call for a more adequate presentation of the knowledge of devalued minorities, creative thinking about pressing social problems, higher standards of equity and respect, or recognition of institutional racism. The idea that different cultures and different races may have standards just as worthy seems never to have crossed the minds of the proponents of "higher standards." Rather, they assume that they possess the one true standard yardstick and that any consideration of Blacks, Indians, or Chicanos would simply lower standards. The challenge is not higher standards on the yardstick that has given us a world in chaos but the negotiation of multicultural yardsticks. We live in a world of many cultures, all of which have different standards. It is not necessary to devalue the standards of Western society, except insofar as they claim to be the only worthwhile standards.

American schools exist in a political social context that has dispossessed and continues to systematically dispossess Indian people of land, resources, culture, and dignity. Water rights in the southwest, fishing rights in the northwest, hunting rights in the upper Midwest, land in

Alaska, culture in the schools, and dignity in the media are all being stolen today. Virginia Slims caricatures a "squaw" to tell American women that they have come a long way, oblivious of the fact that the "ignorant savages" that inspired the United States Constitution entrusted women with the political power to choose chiefs for thousands of years before the white men of America were willing to let women vote. It cannot be called progress that American history books have moved from portraying Indians as bloodthirsty savages to helpless victims of white expansion (Touchman, 1979).

The structure of American schools is hostile to Native cultures in ways that seem unavoidable to white educators. Age-segregated classrooms; Natives as janitors and teacher aides; role authority rather than kin and personal authority; learning by telling and questioning instead of observation and example; clock time instead of personal, social, and natural time; rules exalted above people and feelings; monolingual teachers; alien standards; educated ignorance of cultural meanings and nonverbal messages; individual more than group tasks; convergent thinking; and more are structural features that undermine the Native child's culture. I do not argue that the child cannot learn another culture or even that there is not great value in knowing another's world, only that the structure is alien and hostile, not in intent, but in its assumption that it is the only way things should be (Schaefer, 1987). To use one example, to the extent that the school socializes the child to work individually, it subverts his or her cultural knowledge that while individual work is necessary and good, so is group work, especially group problem solving.

As Director of Center School in Minneapolis, I was free to hire certified or noncertified faculty. After three years, I found that it took six months of hard work with good certified teachers to teach them to teach Native children and that even then they did not teach as well as noncertified nonwhite teachers. I found a negative correlation between certification and accreditation and the ability to educate Native children. The structures of school accreditation and teacher certification are hostile. They perpetuate schools that don't educate Indian children. The failure of schools to educate Indian students proves the incompetence of white educators to accredit schools and certify teachers for Native children.

The structure of American education is hostile in its institutional racism. The standardized tests that are used to evaluate schools and students are the products of a white establishment that hires no Indian question writers, that norms its tests far from the reservation, and that assumes its own knowledge of both the relevant questions and the correct answers. The children of the elite grow up in homes that use a particular dialect of English and use it incessantly. Children are told what moves to make and then have their actions described to them as they do them and then are questioned about their actions. In the homes of my white friends

at Harvard, I was shocked to find that common childrearing practices involved pseudo dialogues such as: "Put your coat on. It is cold out today; you can see the sun has gone behind the clouds. That is why it is cold. And when it is cold, you need to wear your coat. Put one arm here. Put the other arm here. Now I will zip it for you. Now you will be warm even though it is cold out. Are you going to be warm now?" The parents seemed surprised at how often the child docilely parroted the parents' words. What wonderful training for multiple-choice tests that teach that there is one right answer and that the authority figure knows it. (See Kohl, 1984, for a similar observation.)

In Barrow, Alaska, my friend's children will not do well on multiple-choice tests. Riding in a truck in companionable silence, all I could see was flat snow to the horizon when suddenly my friend's five-year-old pointed. His father stopped the truck and got the binoculars out. He used them to look in the direction his son had pointed and nodded as he handed them to me. After some searching, I found five little dots in the snow. One moved. "What are they?" I asked. "Tutu" (caribou). "Are you going to shoot them?" his son asked. "No son, we have enough." And to me, "He has good eyes."

Earth

The earth is our home. Our bodies come from and return to the earth. The earth is stable through all our changes, we travel to the four directions and celebrate the passing seasons and still it is the earth we lean on. The earth sustains and comforts us as we are her children. We do not own this place—we belong to the land. It is an intensely personal relationship. My son, wiggling his toes in the mud, reminds me of eternity and time. Eternity because I know the feel of it in the mud between my toes. Time because the child I once was I still am—taught by the elder I may be. Humans do belong. The out-of-place feeling is just forgetting our place. We have a place; it is here. Generations of children our mother earth has borne. Her well-being is our grandchildren's future.

The earth reminds me of the importance of a sense of place. That theme was clearly linked to education in the interviews. Participants referred to "back home," "on the res [reservation]," and "the people at home" often and in varied contexts. Using the American Indian Program (AIP) at the Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE) as an example most participants spoke of the importance of an Indian place within the university. I include a few examples from the interviews because I believe they illustrate the function of an Indian place within a non-Indian organization.

It is a place to see other students about schoolwork. It just kind of seems that most of the students taking course work in particular come in and out a lot in the AIP office. Sort of a stopping point ... oasis. Someone used that last year and I thought that that was a nice term. Learn a lot about the ed. school. So I guess basically I think territory is very important.

(MW)

Running into AIP students downstairs in the conference room is typical, you know. You just kind of greet each other or talk a few minutes about papers or what we're doing, just kind of chat a little bit. So that would be the typical interaction. (HW)

Territory is important. The American Indian Program at Harvard has been located in the Read House for the past 15 years. Six years ago when the program was temporarily without funds the administration attempted to use that space for other purposes and give the students a meeting room in another building. Native students argued strongly and successfully the importance of continuity and tradition in location. Indian people feel the pain of being a minority in our own land. A sense of turf, a place that is Indian, a place where one is free to relax from the conventions of white society and be one's Native self is essential to well-being. In other institutions without an Indian program office or meeting place I have seen Native students appropriate a Native faculty member's office for their turf.

Native community demands a place. The AIP lounge at Harvard is easily the grubbiest, most poorly maintained and furnished meeting area on campus. The linoleum is worn and dirty. The furniture is uncomfortable, worn out castoffs from other Harvard offices, and the small room is cluttered with books and papers belonging to the 15 students who use it. In spite of its drab and dingy appearance the air seems a little freer there, laughter comes more easily and Native people can feel at home with each other.

It serves as a home base away from home. It allows Indians to communicate with each other relatively free from interruption, from the Anglo world. Sort of a place of nurturing. (MW)

The nurturing effect of a place for Natives is not an isolating or segregating process; instead it frees people to be themselves and to make their contribution to the non-Native society.

Even though we spend an awful lot of time together here, I think in reality it decreases our isolation from the rest of the university for a number of reasons. One is the geographical, physical location. We come here a lot, which is easier to go to and from the library. To and from Longfellow, to and from classes. To and from anything. It's very difficult if you don't have a home base, and this is like a home base. Second, it helps us be visible as students, working with each other. For our percent of numbers, a good many of us are very involved in the other HGSE community organizations. If you really look at us by numbers, I think that we're very active. We're very involved, and I think that if the AIP program wasn't here, where we all get together, encourage each other, let each other know what's going on, that we would be more isolated, we would tend to stay more in our rooms or our apartments and go to and from classes. And I don't think we would be as involved in the community, the HGSE community as a whole. But if you really look at it, I think that we're very involved. Most of the students I know are doing something. They are on the student advisory committee, or on Mac, or working with the admissions, or you know, pretty involved. And I think that wouldn't be as much if we didn't have the AIP program where we gather and gain and exchange a lot of information. (SW)

Standard 11: Place, Indian education recognizes the importance of an Indian sense of place, land and territory. From this point of view it is clear that a uniquely Indian place promotes involvement rather than isolation or segregation. It is best to admit that in general Indians and whites have not worked well together. Certainly there have been many occasions of good will, but in spite of the friendliness and good intentions on both sides we have not done very well in most of the everyday business of life for most of our people. Part of the problem may be that there are some things that can only be said from an Indian place. The depth and breadth of misunderstandings and difference in perspective between Native and white is little understood. The differences are at least three levels: personal, historical, and cultural. The transformation of personal, cultural, and historical misunderstanding into understanding demands that both Native and non-Native have a place to stand, that both accept the other's right to be and that the fact of misunderstanding is recognized.

At the cultural level, Native and non-Native conceive of their meeting in different terms and do not understand the other's actions, thoughts, or purpose. Their sense of time, of space, of energy, of humanity, are all different. Truth, beauty, and justice are all marked and evaluated differently. Epistemology, ontology, and cosmology are all different. The European segments his thoughts, stories, and speeches in three and the Native in four. The list goes on and there is at once the richness of opportunity and the difficulty of communication.

At the historical level Native and non-Native look at the world from opposed positions. Not only must they contend with personal differences in viewpoint, language, and experiences; not only must they contend with cultural differences in value, understandings of human relationships, and modes of communication; but they must contend with the world-shattering difference between the conquered and the conqueror, the exploited and the exploiter, the racist and the victim of racism. It is this historical difference of perspective that demands more than "learning about each others culture." It demands that we change the world. The graduates of our schools must not only be able to survive in a white dominated society, they must contribute to the change of that society. Standard 12: Transformation, Indian education recognizes the need for transformation in the relation between Indian and white as well as in the individual and society.

In Mankato, Minnesota I walked down the stairs to a little convenience store. I stood in the aisle hesitating over the choice of soups when an old white man confronted me, "Do you have a little time?" I looked at him, shaking where he stood, bright eyes, open by complex face. I expected he wanted me to carry something and felt good to be chosen. I had the spacious time of youth and in his eyes I liked myself; strong, young, and respectful. "Yes, I have time."

"Wait here," he said and walked away with the slow, small steps of a well-balanced old man. I stood with a slightly top heavy feeling of youth's incipient motion until he slowly returned. He came up the aisle with a large cardboard box. It seemed empty and I was puzzled until he thrust it forward, holding it in front of my face. My center of gravity dropped and I felt the earth's strength through my body. Relaxed and ready I waited for his move as I had learned to wait in the dojo, in alleys behind bars, in classrooms, and in sacred ceremonies. His question came from behind the box, "How many sides do you see?"

"One," I said.

He pulled the box toward his chest and turned it so one corner faced me, "Now how many do you see?"

"Now I see three sides."

He stepped back and extended the box, one corner toward him and one toward me. "You and I together can see six sides of this box," he told me. Standing on the earth with an old white man I began understanding. I had thought he wanted me to carry his groceries, but instead he gave me something that carries me, protects me, and comforts me.

You can see that in writing about Indian education I am often so close that I can only see one side. Rarely am I able to step back and see one or two other sides, but it takes many of us to see more than that. As in all conversations it is the difference in our knowledge and language that makes the conversation difficult and worthwhile. It is this common earth that we stand on that makes communication possible. Standing on the earth with the smell of spring in the air, may we accept each other's right to live, to define, to think, and speak.

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Appendix: AIP Interview Schedule

Demographics:

- 1. Name _____ 2. Birthdate _____
- 3. Tribe _____ 4. Bilingual? _____
- 5. Type of schools attended including grades attended and diplomas or degrees
 - Public _____ Boarding? _____
 - Private _____ Boarding? _____
 - BIA _____ Boarding? _____
 - Indian controlled _____ Boarding? _____

Interviewee's description of AIP:

- 1. Will you please in your own words describe the American Indian Program as if you were describing it to someone who had not heard of it before.
- 2. Are there any characteristics of AIP that are in your opinion specifically Indian? If so what?
- 3. If you were to pick out a typical AIP event, situation, or interaction in which you were involved what would it be? Would you please describe it?
- 4. How do you define Indian education and how do you think AIP relates to Indian education?
- 5. How do you see AIP handling issues of conflict? cooperation? change and continuity? justice?
- 6. On a scale of 1-7 how characteristic of AIP are the following things?
 - i. spiritual or transpersonal experiences _____
 - ii. integration with daily living _____
 - iii. service orientation _____
 - iv. inner development rather than external status _____
 - v. emphasis on character _____
 - vi. emphasis on performance rather than outcome _____