Statement of Permission to Copy

In presenting this professional paper in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree at Montana State University, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this professional paper for scholarly purposes may be granted by my major professor, or, in his absence, by the Director of Libraries. It is understood that any copying or publication of this professional paper for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature Gertrude H Visscher

Date August 7, 1970

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF SOME ATTITUDES TOWARD CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONFLICTS OF INDIAN CHILDREN IN MONTANA

by

SIETWENDE HERMBERG VISSCHER

A professional paper submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

with concentration in

Elementary Education and Counseling

Approved:

Willis Vandiver
Head, Major Department

Elnora A. Old Coyote
Chairman, Examining Committee

B. Goering
Graduate Dean

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY
Bozeman, Montana

August, 1970

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Reasons for Selection of Topic	1
	Historical Background	3
II.	THE PROBLEM AND PROCEDURES	7
	The Problem and Purpose of The Study	7
	Procedures and Groups Used in This Study	11
	Instruments and Questions Used	12
	Limitations and Advantages of Methods Used	14
III.	REVIEW OF LITERATURE	17
	Historical View of the Problem	17
	Recent Trends	18
	Cultural Factors	21
IV.	FINDINGS OF THIS STUDY	26
	Cultural Differences as Discussed by Indians	26
	Educational Problems as Discussed by Indians	34
	Cultural and Educational Conflicts Observed	38
V.	SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	43
	Summary	43
	Conclusions and Recommendations	44
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	46

ABSTRACT

This study represents an exploration of some attitudes toward cultural-educational conflicts of Indian children in schools patterned by and for the dominant non-Indian culture. The population consists of three groups of Indian people representing all seven Montana reservations, as well as some individual families--about 50 adults in all. A group of Indian children was also observed by the writer.

The method consists of group discussions of differences in values sparked by a recorded radio drama dealing with the cultural-educational conflicts of a Hopi boy. Participants were encouraged to discuss cultural differences and problems from the record and from their own experiences. The study is not intended to yield statistical answers. Its purpose is to explore cultural conflicts in some depth with a few Indian people and spark a process of communication between Indian parents and non-Indian educators.

Some literature dealing with the cultural conflict of the American Indian student is reviewed. Findings are reported under three headings. Cultural differences discussed by Indian people include a different sense of what is right to do, individual freedom vs. aggressiveness, competition vs. cooperation, the concept of time, male and female roles and goals, orientation towards work, and attitudes toward youth and age. Educational problems discussed by Indian people include suppression of Indian language and customs in schools, boarding schools vs. high schools at home, prejudice and stereotyping, lack of self assertiveness and self image, and applicability of curriculum to life situation. Cultural and educational conflicts observed by the writer include cultural conditioning against questioning, learning problems due to linguistic difficulties, tolerance, and inclusive vs. exclusive thinking.

It is concluded that there seems to be consistency among constructs observed and recorded by different writers dealing with differences in cultural orientation between Indians and non-Indians. The writer recommends that Indian parents and non-Indian educators communicate about the resulting conflict so that the burden of finding positive ways of resolving it is not placed upon the Indian child.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Reasons for Selection of Topic

Prior to entering Montana State University as a graduate student, the writer had had many years of experience and many very meaningful contacts with Indian people in Montana through work with the American Friends Service Committee. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe, in particular, had had long-standing contacts with the AFSC, which led to tribal requests for staff on the reservation to work particularly with young people in order to help them to bridge the gap between cultures and incorporate "the best of the two worlds" into their lives. Tribal leadership felt ill equipped to deal with this problem and this challenge alone, because they felt that a more workable knowledge than they possessed of the white man's world and white man's ways was needed in order to help the young people to find a meaningful involvement with the larger culture. At the same time, the Indian leaders felt a concern that they and the young people must be understood, respected, and encouraged to develop as Indians; there must be no effort made to impose white values and attitudes on them. Cheyenne people had sensed and appreciated the deep respect for individual human beings and inner feelings which the AFSC tries to express and enhance in all of its work; and hence it was felt that this organization must be trusted to help Cheyenne leaders with a precious but deeply troubling problem:

the growing frustration and alienation of the young people on the reservation.

John Woodenlegs, who was then president of the tribe, expressed it thus to the author in a conference in Lame Deer in 1964, "A lot of people have come in here and tried to do things for the Indians or tried to get the Indians to do things. Your group was the first to come and get to know us and then ask us to think about what would be good for the Indians. That is how the walls began to crumble--that is what we need. We need you because you believe in us--that gives us courage to keep trying again and again in all the places where we feel walls between us and the white man's world. We want our children to learn to walk between the two worlds and take the best from each."

This statement became a large part of the writer's motivation to become a part of the Indian Education Program at Montana State University. It seemed obvious that one of the most important areas in which Indian leaders could and should be asked to think about what would be good for Indians was in the area of education. The Indian child needs teachers who believe in him, who can understand him as an Indian, and help him to find the courage to walk tall between the two worlds and select the best of both for his future and ours.

But who is this Indian child? What motivates him? What does he learn from his parents and his culture to make him Indian? What does he feel upon entering school? How does his schooling help him to

live his life and how could it help him better? These were the questions that motivated this study.

Historical Background

It has long been recognized that American Indian youth face problems on many levels in trying to reach a meaningful adulthood in our culture. There have been questions and concern over the effectiveness of our educational system for these young people from many quarters and points of view. The earliest and one of the most eloquent statements known to the writer, which brings out the basic conflict between the purposes of the white school and the Indian's goals and sense of values, is the following quotation of more than 200 years ago taken from the Treaty of Lancaster: (32)

> "The Commissioner of Virginia: 'Send us three or four of your Boys to Virginia, where we have a fine house for them to live in, and a Man on purpose to teach the Children of you, our friends, the Religion, Language, and Culture of the White People. To this place we kindly invite you to send some of your children. We promise you they shall have the same care taken of them and be instructed in the same manner as our own Children, and be returned to you again when you please.'
>
> Aserakowa, an Iroquois chief, replied: 'We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men while with you would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily.
>
> But you who are wise must know that different nations have different conceptions of things, and you will therefore not take it amiss if our idea of education happens not to be the same with yours.

> We have had some experience with it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the northern provinces; they were instructed in your sciences, but when they came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly. Were, therefore, neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counselors; they were totally good for nothing.
>
> We are not, however, the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it, and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentleman of Virginia sent us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them.'

Certainly, the Indian's world and life no longer exist as Aserakowa knew them and his response today would have to be phrased very differently. Nevertheless, much of the basic difference in outlook is pertinent to Indian leaders today--as is the wisdom toward and tolerance for white man's different relative values and goals which is implicit in this statement.

X At the turn of this century, General Pratt again recorded his awareness of a basic difference in outlook between Indians and non-Indians. He stated that he found Indian youngsters at the Carlisle Indian School quite able and willing to learn, but that he felt they needed to be "immersed in the American culture if they were to move ahead in it." (24:335) Since those days, both concerned white Americans and Indian people themselves have become more insightful about some of the basic cultural differences and about the problems that they raise for Indian young people who are taught by one value

system by their parents and the Indian community, and by another often conflicting system in the schools, introduced by the dominant white culture.

The problems have been looked at from several directions. Studies have been done to identify differences in value orientation between Indian boarding school students and their teachers, (12) and speculations have been made how this contributes to the identity crisis, (26) and/or school adjustment, (16) and the unusually high dropout rate found among Indian students in the United States today. (27) None of the material available at the Montana State University library indicated any serious attempt to communicate with Indian parents and/or other adult leaders about the problem of cultural and value differences, nor to enlist their leadership, or even their cooperation, in setting educational goals for their children.

A few tribes have recently become interested in introducing more of their own culture, history, and language into their children's education. There are experiments, such as the Rough Rock School on the Navaho Reservation, (25) and the tribal experiment in the Mesqualie School in Iowa. (1) In Montana, however, Indian children are still being educated pretty much outside of the framework of their own culture. In a review of literature on the education of Indian Youth compiled at Montana State University in the spring of 1969 by Angelina Oberto, it was stated that the program initiated here by Dr. Wright

for "training teachers to teach children of different cultures" was the only program known to Miss Oberto for training teachers to teach Indian children in Montana. (21:1)

The Crow tribe has become increasingly involved with this program over the last few years, and concurrently there has been some interest expressed among the Crow people to include materials which are pertinent to their cultural heritage in the education programs on the reservation and to involve tribal leadership in educational decisions. (The bilingual bicultural program in elementary education and the developing plans for Crow Community College are two cases in point.)

The author has been involved in this on-going process in a small way, and this study is to focus on those aspects which bear on the involvement of Indian parents in educational goals. That, in turn, seems to depend upon the degree to which Indian parents feel that their orientation and values are understood and accepted by those who are making the educational decisions. Thus, the process becomes a counseling venture in the broad sense of that term--we must learn to listen to the Indian parent in a totally accepting way. In this process, the Indian parent will then come to better understand himself and his goals for himself and his child. And we will at the same time gain a more empathetic understanding of the Indian child and what his education should do for him. Only thus can we begin to bridge the gap that has been developing for generations.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM AND PROCEDURES

The Problem and Purpose of the Study

The basic assumption or hypothesis underlying this work is that children who are raised in Indian homes and attend schools patterned for and by the non-Indian culture suffer inner conflicts from this experience, and that these conflicts have a detrimental effect on the children's self image and on their educational achievement. This exploration was undertaken with the conviction that at this particular moment in history a thoughtful consideration of this conflict by Indian leaders, Indian parents, and educators dealing with Indian populations could lead to a restructuring of educational goals which would help Indian children to understand and to resolve the conflict more successfully. Such a process, in turn, should have its influence on the attitudes of Indian children and young people towards education, and towards themselves.

Simultaneously there is a need to better inform non-Indian teachers of Indian children, in particular, and the white population surrounding Indian culture in America today in general, so that both may develop a more positive understanding and acceptance of Indian individuals, attitudes, points of view, and new goals as they develop. This work was undertaken, then, not only to get at results, but also for the part that it might play in sparking thought processes and

communication. It seems that Indian parents and white schools have in the past done much to counteract each other in a child's shaping, usually to the detriment of the child. Again and again this writer has heard well-meaning white teachers of Indian children express great fondness for the children but utter frustration with the parents, whose different orientation they only dimly understood and whose influence on the child they were trying to minimize.

To verify this one need only glance through the Annual Reports on Indian Education put out by the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Montana. (18, 19, 20) Again and again such factors as parental neglect and permissiveness and lack of pupil assertiveness and attendance are seen as reasons for the failure of the educational efforts of the school to capture the interest and full participation of Indian children. (18:60-64; 19:54) Only recently have the comments made by some teachers and administrators begun to indicate a growing awareness that part of the problem of the Indian student may be his teacher's lack of understanding of him and his basic motivations. (20:64)

Even while teachers have been expressing their frustrations, Indian parents have been voicing strong and sincere convictions about education being the only hope for betterment for their children. At the same time, they have mistrusted the school and its attempt to make the children behave in non-Indian ways and have communicated this lack of acceptance to their children in many overt, covert, and even uncon-

scious ways. Any attempt to communicate with Indian people about an inner conflict as deeply ingrained as this one can be only a very small step towards resolving it.

Yet some such communication seems to be a necessary first step if we want to open doors to a different kind of life for young Indian people without robbing them of their heritage and identity as Indian Americans. Indians themselves must come to understand the conflict more fully and widely, and they must find ways to influence extensively what and how their children are taught in school. At the same time, educators must develop their sensitivities and must be more ready to accept and encourage Indian children for what and who they are. We must be less bent on changing the children if we want the education we have to offer to take meaningful hold on their lives.

In order to make appropriate changes, it seems that both educators and Indian parents must first understand how Indians really feel about "the white man's school." What do they hope their children will gain from their education? What do they fear in white ways for themselves and for their children? What would they like to expect a school to do for an Indian child? What are their expectations? What will it take for them to feel ready and empowered to influence that school? What do white teachers need to know about Indian children in order to teach them more effectively? What do Indian people need to know and understand about themselves in order to cope more effectively with the

cultural conflict in which they live and in which their children are now being educated? These are the questions which this study was designed to air for the writer and to stir in the minds of parents and educators so that two-way communication could proceed and answers might begin to emerge.

It should be made clear at this point that this study is more an attempt to arrive at the questions which we as educators should be asking ourselves and the Indian community than it is an effort to formulate answers. The latter can emerge meaningfully only through a slow and continuous process of communication between the school and the community and must be open to change and differences in different Indian communities in Montana. It should be the on-going responsibility of the school and the dominant culture to encourage and listen to varying opinions among tribal leaders and parents and to incorporate them into educational planning. The next step should be to encourage young Indian adults to participate in educational planning and practices for the next generation so that Indian children need not continue to go to the "white man's school;" and so that the surrounding culture and the Indian society itself need not continue to loose the richness of variety that Indian values and traditions can add to our total American heritage.

Procedures and Groups Used in This Study

Since a questionnaire or other statistical approach was clearly unsuitable to the nature of the problem, this study was carried out through prolonged and often informal contacts with Indian parents and other leaders on several Montana reservations. It included a great deal of work on the order of group discussions for the purpose of arriving at a clearer understanding of values and goals. Two groups consisted of Indian people from all seven Montana reservations who were gathered on the Montana State University campus. One group consisted of paraprofessional Indian women from the Crow and Cheyenne reservations who were enrolled in a course in educational psychology taught by the author on the Crow reservation in the fall of 1969. The same topics were also discussed with several groups of non-Indian people who were studying Indian values and education, as well as with mixed Indian and non-Indian groups.

In addition to these adult groups, the author used observations in working directly with Indian children in school and in summer programs. Two of the Indian adult groups were used as sources of explanation for the reactions observed among the children; and the children's reactions as observed were in turn used to explain and exemplify the author's points about values and differences for the adult group. Altogether, the expressed opinions and ideas of about 50 different Indian adults are represented in the findings. In addition to this, there are

some conclusions drawn by the writer from wider but less verbal contacts.

Instruments and Questions Used

In all of the formal adult groups and in some of the individual interviews, the discussion of cultural and educational values was started off with a shared listening of a record entitled, "Desert Soliloquy," (22) in which a Hopi Indian boy faces the choice of going away to a "white man's university" and learning to "think with the head" or staying among his people who live in the Pueblo and "think with the heart." In a long debate with himself, the boy's life is retold as a radio-drama and many examples of differences between the two cultures in educational goals and values are brought out. In addition to this complete record, excerpts of two other records in the same series, "The Ways of Mankind," were used. The other recordings related language to cultural patterns and attitudes, (28) and discussed American family structure in a comparison with a traditional Chinese family. (23)

The groups were invited to discuss their reactions freely--centering around such topics as: How does it feel to be Indian? What makes an Indian feel Indian? How can we differenciate how an Indian feels from how a non-Indian feels? The author has developed a list of differences in value and assumptions between the two cultures and brought these up for discussion if the concepts in it were not brought

up by the group participants. Group members were also invited to add and clarify cultural differences from their own experiences.

In all the instances cited, these discussions took more than one session. In the process, group members came to know each other and a good deal of group feeling was usually generated.

From the preliminary discussion of differences in values and outlook, groups were then asked to move toward a consideration of educational goals in particular. Here questions focused on educational topics. What does it feel like for an Indian child to enter a school where his experiences are supervised by a non-Indian teacher? What do you think such a school experience does for a child, to a child? What should a school do in the life of an Indian child? What should teachers know about Indian children in order to be better equipped to help them? What should Indian parents know about teachers? schools? children? Again the groups were asked and encouraged to express and develop their own ideas in addition to or even instead of the questions suggested by the writer. Adults were also encouraged to speak about their own school experiences and the impact they made in their lives.

It was felt both by the writer and by the participants that the very process of verbalization and sharing of these feelings about education was helpful to parents and other Indian adults in understanding the Indian child's conflicts. In this sense, the methods of this study have been counseling methods, and the results are probably in the process

undertaken rather than in the answers found. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the statements made and the conclusions arrived at by the Indian people involved in this study may also shed light on the conflict of the Indian child in a white middle class school for teachers and educators and may enable them to move ahead with better insight and understanding, and therefore in a more humanly helpful way.

Limitations and Advantages of Methods Used

It needs to be clearly stated that the sample selection in this study is strictly circumstantial and would not be appropriate for a statistical compilation. When working with Indian families, there is a selection factor at work any time an outsider's questions are considered and answered at all, because many "typical" Indian adults simply would not be available for such questioning. Selection is further limited here by the fact that the writer worked with whatever Indian people she happened to get to know and with those who happened to be selected for the workshops or sign up for the class. In both cases, we are probably dealing with relatively more "acculturated" Indian people than those who were not in one of these groups. However, it was felt that the atmosphere of the discussions was accepting enough to allow the participants to share some of their more "traditional" views and feelings and thus get away from the usual tendency to give mostly those answers that are thought to be expected by the questioner.

Such population selection as this would be a severe limitation if statistically valid conclusions were to be drawn. However, this study is intended to get at the elusive topic of cultural differences in some depth with a few Indian people rather than to be a quantitative study. For such purposes, the approach used was probably more workable than most others would have been. It is felt that a good enough variety of answers as well as good enough agreements among answers, were obtained so as to be considered somewhat representative of the thinking of at least those Indian people who were ready to communicate with the surrounding culture at all on topics such as this one.

The writer considers it an advantage that no questionnaire or standardized instrument was used, because the answers received from Indian people with such methods are often rather meaningless to the people themselves. The purpose of this study was more to arrive at those questions about cultural differences and educational goals and values which would hold meaning for the people involved that it was to arrive at answers. It will be important, however, to keep this purpose in mind whenever any interpretation of the results is to be made.

The writer considers it appropriate that the results be used for stimulation of teachers toward greater understanding or to spark further discussion with Indian people. They are not intended to be definitive in any other sense, although it is hoped that they may be of interest to students who have done or wish to do probing in similar

areas or those who wish to prepare themselves to work with culturally conflicted children.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Historical View of the Problem

The problem is not a new one. As has been mentioned, General Pratt was aware of the cultural aspect of the conflict going on inside his students. His solution seems to have been to remove the children as much as possible from their parents' influence and to expose them as widely as possible to the white culture. To this end, he organized the "Carlisle Outings," which consisted of placing Indian teenagers with white families in fairly close living and working relationships during the summer months. (24:258, 311) It may be true that such experiences made the children better fitted for living in a non-Indian culture. Much of the education of Indian youngsters in boarding schools is similarly patterned today for very similar reasons. However, somehow the "Indianness" of the children was not and is not overcome, even in several generations of such education; and they seem not to have been better fitted to live the lives they were actually going to live among their own people by this process.

Studies at Flandreau in 1966 revealed significant differences in value orientation between the Indian students and the dormitory staff and faculty. (12:874) Havighurst concluded in 1957 that the value differences which made Indian children less competitive and more cooperative than non-Indian children put them at a disadvantage in our educa-

tional system. (10) Krush, et al (12), Hoyt (11), Bryde (3), and others all discovered in Indian children a superficial and characteristic tendency to give the expected response, to pattern their responses after their perceptions of what the teacher wants and expects rather than after what they perceive in their own inner reactions. Such an effect has been called the "chameleon response." It is an indication of the amount of confusion and uncertainty over who they are, which is felt by Indian children and seems to come from constant exposure to different and conflicting expectations between their own culture and the school. The resulting weakened self image is felt to contribute seriously to inner conflict, alienation, and mental health problems. (26:230, 16:221)

Recent Trends

Recent trends seem to me to lie not so much in the direction of Indian acculturation as in Indian's increasing realization and vocalization of their "right to be Indian" and to maintain their separate identity. Educated Indians themselves are becoming aware of and concerned over the conflicts they and their children suffer.

Harry L. Saslow puts his finger very sensitively on some of the ways in which experiences in a white school not only fail to help Indian children in finding themselves, but actually contribute to their difficulties because of the sharp differences in what is expected and what gains approval between school and home. (26:230) There is no question

that the issues have been studied. (13:217) Indians in Montana and elsewhere feel as though they have been studied over and over. Vine Deloria Jr., one of the young leaders in the National Congress of American Indians, has been making slogans and statements about this for several years. In his recent book, Custer Died For Your Sins, he refers to anthropologists as a special curse which Indians have to bear. (7:78) His views certainly reflect other opinions and sensitivities, less dramatically expressed, of the Indian population's sense of being offended by people who want to come and study them.

Yet there is interest among Indians themselves to study and preserve some of their own cultural traditions and history. John Stands-In-Timber's recent book, Cheyenne Memories, is but one example. (29) Jack and Ethel Haller, who lived on the Cheyenne Reservation for four years as part of their work with the American Friends Service Committee, report that in the Lame Deer Community Library, which they helped the people to start, books on Indian history and culture have been among the most popular and widely circulated items. (9)

Non-Indian authors, too, have recently found it more fashionable to assert the Indian's right to be Indian and to support and reinforce the long delayed struggle of the "redman" to assert his identity and uniqueness. Stan Steiner's, The New Indians, is one example of such a book. (30) In it he describes some of the recent moves toward "Red Power" and quotes many of the more aggressive young leaders in recent

Pan-Indian movements such as the National Congress of American Indians and the National Indian Youth Council. Among Montana Indian people, the writer has more often found a negative rather than a positive reaction to this particular book in that it is felt that it is another white man speaking for the Indians, and that Mr. Steiner talks of but one segment of the Indian movement in the United States today and speaks of it as though it were more representative of all Indian Americans than it really is.

Another example of recent writing in defense of the Indian is, Our Brother's Keeper, by Edgar Cahn. (4) This book is very critical of some of the steps that have and have not been taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in its special relationship to the Indian people. At the same time, the book does a good job of explaining why many Indian tribes do not want to eliminate the function of the BIA because, although many mistakes have been made, the Bureau has nevertheless protected the Indian's special status in the United States and has therefore helped him to avoid loosing his separate identify altogether. (4:48-52)

Termination of the special status of Indian people is a threatening idea to many Indians, and this is a point which is often poorly understood by those in the surrounding culture who would rally to the side of the Indian to help him gain his "rights" as a citizen. One of the rights which many Indian people wish to claim is the right to be different--to continue to operate as a minority group with a different

orientation than that of the dominant society. As long as this is true, and Indian children continue to attend standard American school systems, they will be subjected to a degree of conflict, identity crisis and educational disadvantage, which we are probably just beginning to comprehend.

Cultural Factors

We are not unaware in educational circles of the cultural factors in intelligence. We have known for a long time that in order for education to be as effective as possible, there must be a carry over from school to home. Richard McCowan did a study in 1968 which showed that counseling with high school underachievers was vastly more effective when parents were also involved in the counseling process. (15) Yet in Indian education we still seem to work on two sides of a wall. In the San Carlos Apache Papers, tribal spokesmen state that: (8:2)

> The Apache child reared in the old Indian tradition is also meeting a modern American civilization. Coming from a culture where time is of no importance . . . he enters a culture of great hustle and bustle where time is everything. Having been taught to honor those who give what they have and to live in the present and think only of each day as it comes, he finds the white man teaching that it is best to plan for a future and save for tomorrow part of what you have today. His parents have taught him to have great respect for age but now he sees great importance placed on youth and observes the white man's striving to retain his youthfulness. His traditions teach him to cooperate with his family and friends and always be in harmony with nature. But the white man teaches competition and is engaged in constant struggle to control the forces of nature . . . He comes from a life lived with accent on patience to

> a life lived with accent on action. He is lost in a vacuum--caught between two worlds. We believe that education is the instrument which will allow the Indian to gain the fruits and blessings of the white man's ways. But must be accompanied by understanding and patience.

It seems that we as educators have wanted to accept the child and to educate him, but we have wanted to ignore, or have simply failed to understand what his parents and his culture have taught him. Indeed Aserakowa's statement quoted earlier (32) is indicative of such an attitude 200 years ago when the Commissioner of Virginia offered to educate young Iroquois men in colonial colleges. The Iroquois chief found such an education inappropriate to Indian needs then and wisely declined it. Since then the Indian way of life has changed a great deal. It is only an academic question whether Indian people today would go back to their "own" life style if they could, for that sort of life is no longer feasible and it has never been known firsthand by any Indian people who are now alive. Therefore, it is no longer relevant even to Indian people themselves whether our educational system returns children to their home suited for hunting, fighting, and basic survival in the forest.

Nevertheless, there is much to ponder in the chief's wise and diplomatic statement because the difference in aim and outlook between our schools and Indian parents still does exist to a surprisingly large degree. We can serve neither the Indian child nor our own society by being blind to it, nor by attempting to take a child away from his early

influence. We are likely to succeed mostly in alienating him from himself, from us, and from his own culture, and therefore preventing him from making his contribution of a healthy variety which would benefit us all. In spite of the deterioration of most of the original Indian cultures in this country, the wisdom with which Aserakowa spoke is still alive among Indian leaders and ways of life, and it should be brought to bear on the question of education for the next generation.

A former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, has been sensitive for some time to the values implicit in the Indian outlook. In his book, Indians of the Americas, he pleads the case that not only the Indian but all of us have much to gain from keeping some of the traditional Indian ways alive. He feels that, "The deep cause of our world agony is that we have lost that passion and reverence for human personality and for the web of life, and the earth which American Indians have tended as a central, sacred fire, since before The Stone Age. Our long hope is to revive that sacred fire in us all."(4:8)

Robert Leon puts his finger on the way in which the process of change must come about when he comments that, "The method recommended is primarily that of a process which involves the Indian throughout in determining his own fate." (14:236) This fits in well with the strong value put on individual freedom and self determination in many Indian cultures. The writer has found that value operating particularly strong among the Northern Cheyenne people.

John F. Bryde, in his recent book Modern Indians, (2) also finds it among the Sioux. This book does a very appreciative job of looking at the Indian values. It is slanted toward Indian high school students and much in it seems either overexplained or over-simplified. However, the basic differences between Indian and non-Indian cultures are discussed and the attitude is one of pointing out a difference rather than making a value judgment. Bryde stresses the Indian values of Bravery, Individual Freedom, Generosity, and Sharing and Adjustment to Nature. (2:24-58) The list is mentioned here because it was of interest to the writer that many of the Indian values discussed by Dr. Bryde were very similar to those brought up by members of the groups in this study. This will be discussed in greater detail later. It should also be mentioned that similar values were brought out by Mrs. Toineeta in her paper, "Some Cultural Carry Over and Resultant Problems in the Life of Crow Indians." (31)

Another source of insight into the different cultural orientation of Indian individuals lies in some of the fiction being written recently. Scott Momaday, for example, does a beautifully sensitive job of painting the confused inner feelings of an Indian caught in a white culture in, House Made of Dawn. (17) It might be of interest to the reader to compare this book with Dan Cushman's novel, Stay Away Joe. (6) There are many similarities between the main characters in these two books, but Mr. Momaday, a Kiowa Indian, portrays Abel as he

feels on the inside and from an Indian point of view, while Mr. Cushman develops Joe's story through the eyes of the surrounding culture and the frustrations which the Indian's "lack of adjustment" causes there. Both books give examples of men who have grown up in cultural conflict and turmoil and who can no longer walk in harmony with either world. Both challenge the educator to help Indian children to find a more constructive way through the confusion. It seems impossible to do so without taking the child's original culture into more positive consideration than we have been doing, and it is for this purpose that the writer undertook the explorations with Indian adults that are recorded in the findings of this study.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Cultural Differences as Discussed by Indians

One very frequent response of Indian people to the record in which the Hopi boy verbalizes his dilemma and his feeling of being torn between the conflicting goals of the two cultures was a recognition of their own very similar feelings. Several people said, "That is just how I feel (or felt), but I never thought about it in words before;" or "I didn't realize how much feelings like that have been bothering me, but they have." The record ends with questions: What do you think this boy should decide? What would you want him to decide if you were his mother? or teacher? What would you do? Most of the Indian people pointed out that it really is not a matter of deciding to join one world or the other, nor do they want it to be. They feel that the boy in the record and they themselves will be "Indian inside, in their feelings," but will live in a world influenced by white man's knowledge and will gain from that knowledge. But it is hard, sometimes very hard, because your Indian upbringing and your Indian feelings will tell you one thing is right, while you also want to make things better for yourself and your family. You want your children to have some of the advantages of the white world, a good education, and a good job, and often you cannot get those things by doing what your Indian senses tell you is right to do.

We reached the conclusion that much misunderstanding is caused between cultures because we all tend to assume that when someone else does something he is doing it for reasons similar to those we would have if we were to do the same thing. Therefore, we often react or respond not to what the other is actually doing, but to what we assume his reasons for doing it must be. When individuals from two different cultures interact, such assumptions can be very wrong. The white American culture, for instance, places a value on being direct and forthright and honest. We tend to believe in looking people "straight in the eye."

The Indians also believe in being honest, but there are other important factors that come into play. One is the strong belief in individual freedom. As Joe Walks-Along explained to the writer, in the Cheyenne culture people believe that when you look directly at someone while discussing something important you are influencing that person with your eyes. You are not leaving him free to think his own thoughts and come to his own conclusions about the matter. Therefore, in the Cheyenne culture, it is considered impolite to look directly at another person when speaking to him, and it makes Cheyenne people uncomfortable when white people put that kind of pressure on them.

This leads directly to another very basic difference in orientation between Indian and non-Indian. It lies in the balance between domination and cooperation or "fitting in," and it affects decisions in

relation to the natural environment as well as between people and between the individual and society. It is difficult for both Indians and non-Indians to put into words how this difference operates, but it can be felt by both. Sometimes the terms aggressiveness vs. passitivity are used, sometimes other names are applied to this difference in Weltanschauung.

Euna-Rose He-Does-It, one of the Crow Indian women in this study, termed it a difference in how the Indians look at things and then went on to explain her feeling, which was also brought out in the record, that the Indian tends to see the world as a whole and himself as an integral part of it, while the white man tends to see himself as an individual pitted against his environment and even against other people with whom he is in competition. Most of the people in our discussions agreed that this leads the Indian community to exercise strong sanctions against an individual bragging or trying to put himself above or ahead of the group in any way. Teachers run into this with Indian children who have no wish to excel because they know they will be shamed for it. This same deep difference in outlook also leads to what white teachers often see as the Indian child's lack of self-assertion. It will be discussed further under educational problems.

Another prominent difference in value orientation between Indian and non-Indian cultures revolves around time. It is a much used adage in the white culture that the Indian has no sense of time. It is true

that there is no word for time as we mean the concept in several of the Plains Indian languages, Cheyenne and Sioux being two cases in point. It is also true that the clock oriented sense of scheduling by which much of our culture moves is foreign to most Indian cultures, as was pointed out in the Apache Papers. (8) Yet the problem is not one of an absence of a sense of timing but rather the operation of a very different sense which compels the Indian to consider things as they come up and fit his decision of what he will do next in with what is happening around him. It is a sense of timing of human activities in relation to, and as a part of, what else is happening rather than a sense of time as a separate reality.

In addition to this, the Indian outlook tends to be oriented towards the present and what is happening now. Indians find the white man future oriented by comparison, prone to think what it is going to get him rather than whether or not he is enjoying it now. In practice, most Indian people have come to understand the white man's sense of time and how important it is to him. They have jobs and appointments and they know these must come off as scheduled.

However, the basic importance of the present moment comes through in the relative importance assigned to getting where you are going and taking care of unexpected happenings along the way. The Indian mother or grandmother, for instance, will find it perfectly reasonable to come a half day or a day late to a workshop because relatives came to visit

or a son needed to be seen off somewhere. A white mother would feel more strongly committed to arriving on time no matter what strain it put on personal events along the way. The point here is that both Indian and white mothers put a high value both on family happenings and doing what they said what they were going to do, but timing is given a different relative evaluation in the decision-making process. Linda Schutz, an Assinaboine-Sioux Indian student at Montana State University, explained to us that Indians understand this about each other, and therefore no one gets upset if a dance or a celebration does not start until several hours after the announced beginning. The time to start is when the people get there.

The last category of cultural conflicts to come up for discussion was often the one of male and female roles and how they could be fulfilled in reservation life. It clearly seems even more difficult for the Indian male than for the female to find a role that satisfies what his cultural traditions have taught him to expect as "proper" for himself within the options open to him.

The orientation toward work is different. This is partly because the emphasis tends to be on the present rather than the future.. It is also because the Calvinistic sense of work being good for its own sake which prevails in our culture is foreign to the Indian. Henry Fisher, a Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council member from Birney, once said to the writer, "I know how you must feel when you are working on a

project for us and all the Indians stand around and watch you work. I feel just like that when I am trying to teach them how to grow a garden and they just stand and watch me." When asked why the people did this, Mr. Fisher's response was, "Because they are still Indians." He went on to explain that he felt that Indian people were "not meant to be farmers. They were nomads and were not used to life where you build up a lot of things for the future. They want to live with the land, not build things up from it."

When this was brought up with some of the groups in this study, the response from several of the Crow people was that the traditional role of preparing food and keeping the house was still available to Indian women with relatively minor adaptations. The man, on the other hand, had traditionally been asked to provide food and protection for the family, both at great risk to himself. Bravery was important to this task, and therefore the Indian boy was trained to be brave and to build his self-concept on this. Males were expected to be tired at home and to rest and let the women wait on them. Traditions like this one change slowly and Indian mothers now still find it difficult to set a pattern by which their sons can develop self esteem from qualities that are going to be useful and satisfying to them in lives lived in present-day America.

This is certainly one of the areas in which the Indian home and the non-Indian educator need to do some communicating in order to help

the next generation make the most fruitful adaptation. Indian parents realize that they have been making and will continue to be asked to make many changes in orientation. They tend to assume that we who have been living by our system for a longer time know how to produce the kinds of attitudes which children will need, and they would welcome our influence upon their children in some of these areas that still puzzle them, especially if this influence can be offered with a basic understanding and acceptance of the Indian family's point of view.

One of the Rocky Boy tribal leaders put it this way to a group planning activites for a high school work camp, "We see your teenagers get out there and work like twelve horses while our youngsters stand around and watch. We do not know what makes your boys and girls work so hard, but they seem to find it satisfying; and we see them developing leadership qualities in the process. We would like our teenagers to have that chance, too,"

That rather complex observation opens up another area of difference; the attitude about age. As we tried to explain to this Rocky Boy leader what motivated the white teenagers he saw working so hard, it became evident to us that part of their power came from the fact that it was their decision to work in the first place, and that the decision was made in the framework of a culture which has a different attitude from the Indian's culture about youth and age, as well as work. This difference was also mentioned in the Apache Papers quoted earlier.

(8:2) It seems to be characteristic of a great many Indian cultures.

In our discussions, both Crow and Cheyenne people felt that the Indian attitudes are changing and that Indian Adults sincerely want to give young Indian people a chance to assume roles of importance and leadership within their own communities. Nevertheless, much of the tradition is still alive and the young Indian people who expressed themselves on the subject did feel that this is an area which is difficult for them to work out comfortably. It was also brought out that it continues to be very important when an outside agency or power is trying to relate to the Indian community in a helpful way that the older people's needs and opinions must be given careful consideration. They are important for their own sakes, and they also carry a good deal of invisible power in the community and can help to make an innovation a unifying experience rather than devisive one if their opinions are honored as they should be.

Violet Butterfly, a member of the Blackfeet tribe, stated a point which is important here, "The extended Indian family tends to be very closely tied, and when new training is given to one member and new doors are opened, it is much wiser to take the whole family into the new orientation to whatever degree is possible. In this way, the 'significant others' of the person in training can change their ways along with his, bring their wisdom to bear on the changes, and help to make the change a strengthening, uniting, and more lasting one." This idea

would seem to be of particular importance to teachers and educators who are trying to help Indian children to move in new directions. It leads us directly to the next category of discussion questions.

Educational Problems as Discussed by Indians

The educational problems most frequently discussed by Indian people who are now parents and grandparents related to the restrictions placed upon them during their own school days with regard to the use of their Indian language and the practice of Indian customs and rituals. Many men and women relate memories which are still painful to them--having had their mouths washed out with soap or having been otherwise reproached for "talking Indian" in school. They also recall efforts of both the school and various branches of the Christian church to ban or discourage the practices of Indian religions. It is the writer's feeling that such practices were carried out with good intentions but in utter ignorance of the fact that human beings must be accepted for what and who they are before they can be expected to accept anything new that is being taught to them. Therefore, it seems that such practices were not only destructive of the Indian students self image, but they would also interfere with his ability to benefit from what the school was teaching in other areas and keep him from incorporating it into his thinking and living.

Indian parents are aware that this practice of squelching the

student's Indian identity is no longer thought wise in educational circles today. However, it takes much patience, effort, and understanding to overcome the scars left by past experience. It was pointed out by several people in the discussions that there must be something basically tough and true about this quality of being an Indian for it to have survived such concerted efforts to do away with it. This is rightfully a source of pride and satisfaction to Indian adults. At the same time, it also creates something of a new dilemma for them. Many parents feel that their Indianness was a handicap in their own growing up and kept them from being able to take full advantage of their educational opportunities. They are, therefore, torn between their desire to pass an Indian heritage on to their children and their wish to open all possible doors and opportunities for them.

Most of the Indian young people, in the meantime, seem to be picking up a strong Indian orientation in spite of their elders' mixed feelings. Parents and young people agree that adolescents more often want to go away to schools where they can identify with an Indian peer group, even though the quality of education offered at these schools is not considered better by either parents or students. Young people in our discussions have tended to give prejudice against Indian students in the public high school surrounding the reservations as their primary reason for this. Parents often give their feelings of helplessness in dealing with the generation gap as a primary reason for their consent

in sending teenagers to boarding schools. They express the hope that the school will be able to control the kids and keep them out of trouble better than the parents feel able to do in the face of the frustration of "nothing to do" on the reservation and the easy access to all the confusions and temptations of the surrounding society. The discussions in this study found parents eager to explore in depth this problem both with each other and with representatives of the larger culture. We did not feel that any of us had the answers, but it did help to get to where we could talk about it honestly together.

Another educational problem that came up frequently in the discussions was the Indian's great sensitivity to the surrounding culture's opinion of him and the stereotype thinking that puts Indian people into pigeon holes. Participants felt that for a teacher to think that a child is no good or is incapable of really fine achievement leads the child to fit the role.

The previously mentioned lack of self assertiveness of Indian children comes into play here. Much of this seems to be a lack of understanding and therefore a misinterpretation of the child's reaction on the part of the teacher. The teacher deals with a child that has not been taught to approach learning in a competitive way, to whom the importance of fitting in and not imposing one's self on others has been stressed. The teacher will feel that the child is failing to assert himself because she does not understand the ideal image of self that

has been presented to the child at home. The child actually is expressing his "self" as he has learned to see it and idealize it. He has been taught that it is admirable to keep his reaction within himself and not to throw it out to influence others. The child should expect praise and reinforcement for this conforming behavior from significant adults. Instead, the well meaning but differently oriented teacher tries to encourage him to assert just those qualities which he has been taught to suppress. No wonder we end up with confusion and unsureness about identity!

Indian parents in our discussions showed a great deal of awareness of the fact that their own methods of raising their children tend not to produce a successful orientation to the larger culture. As has been mentioned, they tend to feel that the children need the discipline which is used in the white culture, but that this can be more successfully supplied by white teachers. The awareness that Indian children suffer not so much from lack of discipline as from two contradictory systems was much slower to emerge. Both the record and the discussions brought out the fact that non-Indian ways of disciplining children often are very offensive to Indian people, partly because they have a greater sensitivity toward how their actions are making other people feel. One Crow mother described a feeling of cringing inwardly when white children in a restaurant were heading for trouble, not because the trouble would bother her but because she anticipated the discipli-

nary actions that would be taken by the white mother and knew that these would make all the bystanders uncomfortable. The other participants recognized the feeling described as one they had frequently had themselves, and agreed that there were some culturally learned feelings about discipline involved here which might warrant further exploration.

Another area of parental concern with educational goals is shared by Indian parents and other parents who live outside of the middle and upper-middle class bracket which seems to influence curriculum so heavily in our schools. Many of the participants in our discussions felt concerned that the subject matter being taught to their children was particularly irrelevant to their lives. There were requests for more practical programs in mathematics, some economics, and business skills, etc. At the elementary level, this same concern takes the form of needing to find instructional materials and illustrations which deal with more of those experiences which are a part of the children's lives and in which they have an interest. This problem is one of real interest and concern to the writer and leads us to the next category of topics.

Cultural and Educational Conflicts Observed

In the course of working with Indian children in Montana, in school and in recreational programs, several problems have become clear to the writer. The first of these is the culture-connected lack of

applicability of many of the teaching materials used. This was touched on in the last section and has been a subject of concern and investigation in other areas. It will not be dealt with in detail here, but it might be worth mentioning that responses indicating great interest were found among Indian children in topics dealing with animals which occur in their region, in knowledge about tracks, snow, trees, hunting, and other events from the children's lives and truthful information about early history of this country which did not portray the Indian in an unfavorable light.

The children were found to be culturally conditioned to less aggressive than white children. Particularly startling was the deeply ingrained conditioning against questioning an adult. The writer found, for instance, that in order to use a question-asking technique to stimulate learning, a game had to be invented in which the children could ask each other rather than the teacher. Even then it was hard, but asking questions of the teacher clearly seemed to go against the children's conditioning and made them quite uncomfortable.

A few learning difficulties were observed which sprang directly from linguistic differences between Crow and English; for example, consonant blends and articles were giving first graders an undue amount of trouble. In addition to this, there was the whole problem of learning to read and write in a secondary language. This was much worse for some children than it was for others. Indian children, like most other young

children, have an overwhelming desire to please the teacher. This can be used constructively as a motivating factor; but with children who are not at ease with the language spoken in school, great caution must be exercised lest they work only to please the teacher and get no other meaning from what they are doing.

A case in point was one of a little first grade girl who had very limited use of English, and did not know the English names for the colors. In a couple of months, this child learned to match the correct color crayon to the written word "green." It was discovered only accidently that she still had not connected this up with the spoken word "green" and, therefore, the word meant nothing to her when it came up in a story or conversation even though she had learned to write it. This example is cited because it must be typical of the kind of learning-without-meaning to which Indian children are inadvertently subjected to in English speaking schools. By the time the children reached the fourth grade, it seemed to the writer that a good deal of what they had learned and "knew" in their heads had relatively little meaning in the lives and experiences of a great many of the children.

Two related cultural characteristics which were not made explicit in the group discussions quoted earlier have become clear to the writer through her contacts with Indian people. One is the deep-seated tolerance for others which Indian people seem to practice quite unconsciously. There is no condescension in this, but no submissiveness either.

It comes across as a natural recognition of the fact that, as Aserakowa said 200 years ago, "different nations have different conceptions of things," (32) and no value judgment need be made between them. This seems to be related to the fact that Indian thinking is not so solidly based in Aristotilian logic as ours is.

It is further explained by looking at another culturally determined tendency: the Indian, like the Hindu, tends to be inclusive rather than exclusive in his thinking. Indian tribes have never tried to keep their religion or tradition alive by keeping other influences out, or declaring them wrong, as Christianity has tended to do. The Indian seems rather to have a tendency to take in all concepts he runs across and make them part of a very inclusive outlook and way of thinking. This can be seen very dramatically in the merging of Christian concepts and terminology with old Indian traditions in the ceremonies of the Native American Church.

However, the writer feels that it should be seen as a deep-seated and far-reaching characteristic of the American Indian himself rather than a characteristic of that particular nativistic religious movement. It makes the Indian a very tolerant, accepting person, one who stands ready to try to help his children absorb "the best of both worlds" in a very sincere way. The total American culture could be richer, deeper, and more ready to reach out to an evershrinking world for the inclusion of this native characteristic in it. It seems impor-

tant that our schools learn to recognize and to develop this trait for the benefit not only of Indian children but of the entire growing generations of Americans.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This study was undertaken in order to explore attitudes toward cultural and educational conflicts of the Indian child in Montana. Literature dealing with the cultural conflicts of Indian students was reviewed and indicated that there have been studies done to show value differences, problems with self concept, and other cultural-educational factors. The literature showed no attempt to communicate with Indian parents about these problems. It is the writer's conviction that such communication needs to take place because both parent and educator will need to understand the cultural aspects of the problem more thoroughly before we can hope to plan an educational approach that will be more relevant to the Indian child. This study therefore is a record of some beginning explorations in that direction.

A recorded radio drama dealing with the cultural-educational conflict of a Hopi boy was used as an instrument to open discussion. Several groups of Indian people representing all seven Montana reservations and totaling about 50 adults comprised the population of the study. A group of Indian children was also observed by the writer. The purpose of the discussion was more to stimulate thought and communication, to arrive at questions, and to open ideas and viewpoints for the consideration of the Indian people involved than it was to arrive at

answers. In recording the findings, the purpose was to explain the Indian point of view and approaches to the non-Indian reader. Therefore, both in the work with Indian people and in the accumulation of this record, the study is exploratory and explanatory in nature. It is a qualitative rather than a quantitative investigation.

Findings were recorded in three categories. Cultural differences discussed by Indian people include a different sense of what is right to do, individual freedom vs. aggressiveness, competition vs. cooperation, the concept of time, male and female roles and goals, orientation towards work, and attitudes toward youth and age. Educational problems discussed by Indian people include suppression of Indian language and customs in schools, boarding school vs. high school at home, prejudice and stereotyping, lack of self assertiveness and self image, and applicability of curriculum to life situation. Cultural and educational conflicts observed by the writer include cultural conditioning against questioning the teacher, learning problems due to linguistic difficulties, tolerance, and inclusive vs. exclusive thinking.

Conclusions and Recommendations

It has not been the purpose of this exploration to make quantitative comparisons. Nevertheless, it is considered significant by the writer that the differences in values and cultural orientation which were brought out by the Indian participants do generally agree with

those brought out by others who have studied this topic; i.e., John Bryde (2), The Apache Tribal members (8), Joy Toineeta (31), and John Collier (5). It seems valid to conclude that we are dealing with constructs which have real and observable effects on behavior and decision making. The writer's concern lies in the direction of exploring these constructs further with Indian parents and explaining them to non-Indian educators who deal with Indian children. In this sense, the work recorded here has been merely a beginning.

It seems that until now the burden of resolving the conflict caused by differences in cultural values and outlook has been placed mostly on the Indian child. This seems unwise and even unethical to the writer. It is recommended that all possible efforts be made to enable Indian parents and non-Indian educators to communicate, to understand each other, and to arrive at mutually acceptable educational goals for Indian children in present day America. It is further recommended that Indian parents be encouraged and aided in retaining and developing some aspects of the Indian point of view in this process. This seems important not only in order to enable Indian children to form a positive self image as Indians, but also in order not to deprive the larger culture of those aspects of Indian outlooks and values that add to the rich American texture and seem particularly pertinent to some of the issues facing the nation today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. American Friends Service Committee, Working Proposal for the Mesqualie School, mimeographed document, 1969.

2. Bryde, John F., Modern Indians, privately published, 1969.

3. Bryde, John F., The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict, 1966.

4. Cahn, Edgar S., Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America, Washington, D.C.: New Community Press, World Publishing Co., 1969.

5. Collier, John, Indians of the Amercias, copyright 1947, Mentor Book, New American Library, 1964.

6. Cushman, Dan, Stay Away Joe, Viking Press, 1953.

7. Deloria, Vine Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto, The Macmillan Company, 1969.

8. Gorman, Grace, Williamson, Elizabeth, Moore, Daisy, Arney, Rita, and McPherson, Barbara, "The Culture and the History of Education of the San Carlos Apache," Chapter 1 in San Carlos Apache Papers, mimeographed document edited by Robert Roessel, Jr., Arizona State University, 1964, pp. 1-20.

9. Haller, Jack and Haller, Ethel, Indian Staff Program Report--Northern Cheyenne Project, mimeographed report, American Friends Service Committee, 1969.

10. Havighurst, Robert J., "Education Among American Indians," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 311, May, 1957, pp. 105-116.

11. Hoyt, Elizabeth E, "Young Indians: Some Problems and Issues of Mental Hygiene," Mental Hygiene 146:7, February, 1969.

12. Krush, T. P., Bjork, J. W., Sindell, P. S., and Nelle, J., "Some Thoughts on the Formation of Personality Disorder: Study of An Indian Boarding School Population," The American Journal of Psychiatry 122:8, February, 1966, pp. 868-875.

13. Leighton, Alexander H., "Mental Health of the American Indian--An Introduction," The American Journal of Psychiatry 125:2, August, 1968, pp. 217-220.

14. Leon, Robert L., "Some Implications for a Preventative Program for American Indians," The American Journal of Psychiatry 125:2,

15. McCowan, Richard J., "Group Counseling with Underachievers and Their Parents," The School Counselor 16:1, September, 1968, pp. 30-34.

16. McNickel, D'Arcy, "The Sociocultural Setting of Indian Life," The American Journal of Psychiatry 125:2, August, 1968, pp. 220-224.

17. Momaday, N. Scott, House Made of Dawn, copyright 1966, a Signet Book, The American Library, 1969.

18. Montana Department of Public Instruction, Indian Education--Annual Report - 1964-1965, Helena, Montana: Harriet Miller, 1965.

19. Montana Department of Public Instruction, Indian Education--Annual Report - 1965-1966, Helena, Montana: Harriet Miller, 1966.

20. Montana Department of Public Instruction, Indian Education--Annual Report - 1966-1967, Helena, Montana: Harriet Miller, 1967.

21. Oberto, Angelina, Education of Indian Youth: Literature Review and Analysis, mimeographed report, Center for Planning and Development, Montana State University, 1969.

22. Petersen, Len, "Desert Soliloquy," a radio drama from a series of records, The Ways of Mankind, research by Walter Goldschmidt, recorded by the Canadian Broadcasting Company.

23. Petersen, Len, "Home Sweet Home," a radio drama from a series of records, The Ways of Mankind, research by Walter Goldschmidt, recorded by the Canadian Broadcasting Company.

24. Pratt, Richard Henry, Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904, Yale University Press, 1964.

25. Reno, Thomas, Bud Conklin, Paul, "Giving Education Back to the Indians," chapter VIII from Indian Communities in Action, edited by Robert A. Roessel, Jr., mimeographed document, 1969.

26. Saslow, Harry L., Harrover, May J., "Research of Psychological Adjustment of Indian Youth," The American Journal of Psychiatry 125:2, August, 1968, pp. 224-231.

27. Selinger, Alphonse D., The American Indian High School Dropout: The Magnitude of the Problem, Northwest Regional Laboratory, Portland, Oregon, 1968.

28. Sinclair, Lester, "A Word In Your Ear," a record in the series The Ways of Mankind, research by Walter Goldschmidt, recorded by the Canadian Broadcasting Company.

29. Stand-in-Timber, John, and Liberty, Margo, Cheyenne Memories, Yale University Press, 1967.

30. Steiner, Stan, The New Indians, copyright 1968, a Delta Book, Dell Publishing Company, 1969.

31. Toineeta, Joy, Some Cultural Carryover and Resultant Problems in the Life of Crow Indians, typewritten course paper, Montana State University, 1969.

32. Treaty of Lancaster, between the Governor of Virginia and Six Nations of the Iroquois, 1744.