



A study of Crow reservation-oriented college students who attended baccalaureate degree offering colleges from 1965 to 1990
by Luke Enemy Hunter

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in Education
Montana State University
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Abstract:

From the years 1965 to 1990, there were a total of 189 Crow reservation-oriented students who enrolled in baccalaureate degree offering colleges. Of the 189 college enrollees, some remained in college and received baccalaureate degrees while others did not remain in college and did not receive baccalaureate degrees. This study was conducted to examine the factors that contributed to or interfered with completion of baccalaureate degrees by Crow reservation-oriented students.

A survey form specific to this study was developed with the assistance and approval of Indian educators knowledgeable in Indian education. Of the total population of 189, responses were received from 154 Crow reservation-oriented college students; 79 college completers and 75 college non-completers. Eight factors were examined and analyzed to arrive at conclusions and recommendations to assist in the education of Crow reservation-oriented students who aspire to enroll in baccalaureate degree offering colleges. The factors which were examined and analyzed included academic preparation, motivation, financial aid, family practices and characteristics, Crow culture and society, curriculum choice, extra-curricular activities, and years spent in college.

The research findings indicated that Crow reservation-oriented college students were not academically prepared to attend four-year colleges. Availability of financial aid, participation in Crow spiritual ceremonies and positive family influence were important motivating factors for college attendance. Crow cultural teaching styles which were not consistent with college classrooms and the transition from reservation life to city life were detrimental to college work. Half of the total population chose elementary education as their college major. Participation in University Indian clubs was the most popular form of extracurricular activity among the Crow students. The average graduation age was 27 for females and 26 for males and the average number of years of college attendance to receive a baccalaureate degree for all students was 7 years.

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
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of

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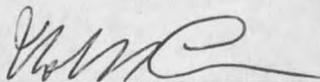
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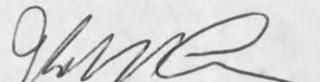
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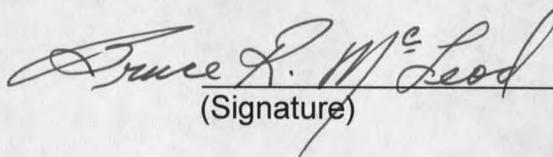
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ABSTRACT

From the years 1965 to 1990, there were a total of 189 Crow reservation-oriented students who enrolled in baccalaureate degree offering colleges. Of the 189 college enrollees, some remained in college and received baccalaureate degrees while others did not remain in college and did not receive baccalaureate degrees. This study was conducted to examine the factors that contributed to or interfered with completion of baccalaureate degrees by Crow reservation-oriented students.

A survey form specific to this study was developed with the assistance and approval of Indian educators knowledgeable in Indian education. Of the total population of 189, responses were received from 154 Crow reservation-oriented college students; 79 college completers and 75 college non-completers. Eight factors were examined and analyzed to arrive at conclusions and recommendations to assist in the education of Crow reservation-oriented students who aspire to enroll in baccalaureate degree offering colleges. The factors which were examined and analyzed included academic preparation, motivation, financial aid, family practices and characteristics, Crow culture and society, curriculum choice, extra-curricular activities, and years spent in college.

The research findings indicated that Crow reservation-oriented college students were not academically prepared to attend four-year colleges. Availability of financial aid, participation in Crow spiritual ceremonies and positive family influence were important motivating factors for college attendance. Crow cultural teaching styles which were not consistent with college classrooms and the transition from reservation life to city life were detrimental to college work. Half of the total population chose elementary education as their college major. Participation in University Indian clubs was the most popular form of extra-curricular activity among the Crow students. The average graduation age was 27 for females and 26 for males and the average number of years of college attendance to receive a baccalaureate degree for all students was 7 years.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study examined factors that contributed to the completion or non-completion of baccalaureate degrees by Crow Indian reservation-oriented college students, those Crow Indian college students who were born and raised on the Crow Indian reservation in southeastern Montana. American Indian education and federal Indian legislation was examined in a historical perspective in order to determine how they contributed to the factors that affected whether Crow Indian college students completed college or not. Further, the historical perspective was utilized in order to determine whether or not there were historical bases for the present Crow Indian attitude towards education.

Background to the Study

American Indian education has been the focus of much concern since formal education of the American Indian began during the period following initial contact with the European culture in 1492. Prior to 1492, education for American Indians began with the extended family, which taught Indian children to procure food and shelter in an often adverse environment. Education of Indian children consisted of oral training in the form of prayer, storytelling, memory skills, and listening. Such Indian education produced tribal members who learned to survive, prosper, and live with other tribal members in the North American continent. In

addition, a type of apprenticeship provided a means of higher education for those seeking to become healers or religious leaders (Morrey & Gilliam, 1974).

With the coming of the Europeans, the living conditions of American Indians changed rapidly through the introduction of guns, horses, Christianity, new diseases, and many other developments foreign to American Indians. As a result, tribal educational formats changed dramatically. Consequently, American Indians generally, often abruptly, lost control of their customary patterns of education. Since then, American Indians have constantly struggled to become more involved in the education of their children (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1973).

For purposes of this study, legislation and federal Indian policy in Indian history were reviewed to understand better the history of American Indian education and how it has affected the present state of American Indian education. The historical perspective was included based on the belief that knowing the past of Indian education is critical to making sense of the present state of American Indian education, in general, and Crow Indian education, in specific. Those periods which were reviewed included the mission period, the treaty period, the allotment period, the Meriam Report and the New Deal Period, the termination period, and the modern period from 1960 to present.

Provisions for education were made for the American Indian tribes by the United States government as part of the three hundred and ninety-four treaties signed with North American Indians. According to the same report, the United States government ended the treaty making process with North American Indians

in 1871. Since then, the process by which the federal government has provided for the educational provisions in treaties has been in the form of federal legislation (Castro, 1977).

The first treaty between the Crow tribe and the United States was a simple friendship treaty negotiated in 1825. It recognized the Crow tribe as friendly and was intended to guarantee that the Crow people would not incite trouble on the nation's western border. Subsequent Crow treaties containing provisions for education were negotiated with the United States government in 1851 and 1868 (Frey, 1987).

Although treaties containing educational provisions were negotiated and legislation was passed to alleviate some of the educational difficulties encountered by American Indians, many remain unresolved. During the period of this study, with the support of federal education legislation, many Crow Indian students attended college and received baccalaureate degrees while many more did not. During the time of college attendance, Crow students left the Crow reservation and became a part of the post-secondary environment. As members of a new non-Indian environment and community, the Crow students faced problems which affected their endeavors to attain baccalaureate degrees. The intent of this study was to identify those problems, to assess the Crow Indian student responses to those problems, and to determine the effect on the attainment or non-attainment of baccalaureate degrees.

Much research has been done on Indian education in general; however, a large portion of the research was restricted to students in grades one through twelve. Such research has been important to this study because elementary and secondary education conditions affected the types of problems that Crow college students faced as they entered college. This research showed that Crow Indian college students encounter unique problems as they enter college in addition to problems normally encountered by all new college students.

Most problems that American Indian students encountered were the result of their American Indian culture, language, and heritage. If the school and the classroom experiences did not accommodate the students cultural background, the chances for failure increased due to the values and attitudes brought from the home culture. This resulted in problems unique to American Indian students. Among the most common problem areas were basic value differences, cultural differences, poor self-concepts, poor attitudes in the classrooms, lack of Indian group orientation, little value of college degrees in tribal life, student attitudes about college degrees, insufficient experience in financial management, English as a second language or poor background in oral and written English, poor academic preparation in elementary and secondary education, a sense of not belonging in the college environment, and a lack of understanding or ability to make connections between tribal life and non-Indian culture. This led to feelings of inadequacy and inferiority (Spindler, 1987).

Crow Indian students encountered problems similar to other American Indian students, but these problems were compounded by their reservation orientation and Crow Indian characteristics including use of the Crow language as a first language. According to Cummings (1986), educational programs in which only the English language is used to teach bilingual students result in a higher tendency for failure of the bilingual student.

Statement of the Problem

Little formal study has been completed to determine the specific problems faced by Crow Indian students as they entered college and to determine how such problems affected the attainment or non-attainment of baccalaureate degrees. Knowledge of factors affecting Crow Indian college students' completion or non-completion of baccalaureate degrees would provide a basis for development appropriate to high school curricula and services to assist Crow Indian students planning to attend four-year colleges. Finally, an awareness of American Indian education and its development and relationship to Crow Indian education would help the Crow Indian educational system to contribute constructively to the college endeavors of Crow Indian students.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was two fold. First was to identify factors that affected whether Crow reservation-oriented college students, those Crow Indian

college students who were born and raised on the Crow Indian reservation, received baccalaureate degrees or not. A second purpose was to analyze such factors and to provide information that might be useful in developing educational programs and services to help alleviate problems encountered by Crow college students. Consequently, it was hoped that this study would provide information and recommendations to provide realistic and practical approaches to the education of Crow Indian reservation-oriented students who aspire to receive baccalaureate degrees.

Research Questions

To identify and analyze which factors influenced Crow college students' attainment of a baccalaureate degree, a questionnaire was developed with the assistance of a panel of Indian educators. The panel included a tribally controlled college president, a university Native American Studies Department director, and a university Native American Studies professor (see Appendices A, B, and C). Based on input from the panel, revisions were made and a final questionnaire form was developed (see Appendix D). Following are the questions that were generated from the input of the panel of Indian educators and from the research relative to this study:

- (1) Did reservation-oriented Crow Indian college students believe they were academically prepared to attend college?
- (2) What were factors that influenced Crow Indian students to attend

college?

- (3) What influence did financial aid and assistance have on whether Crow students attained baccalaureate degrees or not?
- (4) What and how did family practices or characteristics affect whether Crow Indian students attained baccalaureate degrees or not?
- (5) What and how did cultural factors, such as bilingualism, affect whether Crow Indian students attained baccalaureate degrees or not ?
- (6) Did the choice of curriculum affect whether Crow Indian students attained baccalaureate degrees or not?
- (7) Did involvement in extra-curricular activities affect whether Crow Indian students attained baccalaureate degrees or not?
- (8) How many years did it take Crow Indian students to attain baccalaureate degrees?

Definition of Terms

For purposes of this study, the following definition of terms were used:

- (1) Reservation-oriented. An enrolled member of the Crow Indian tribe who was born and raised on the Crow Indian reservation in southeastern Montana and who attended K-12 Crow reservation schools.

- (2) Indian education. The process by which the federal government has attempted to provide education to American Indian tribes as defined by treaties.
- (3) Crow Indian secondary schools. Those secondary schools, public or private, on or near the Crow Indian reservation, which Crow Indian students attend.
- (4) Drop-outs. Those Crow Indian college students who left the college environment and did not return to complete all of the requirements to receive a baccalaureate degree.
- (5) Crow Indian education. The process by which the educational agencies within the boundaries of the Crow Indian reservation have attempted to provide education to Crow Indian students.
- (6) Formal education. Education that followed accepted rules and regulations of the dominant society.
- (7) Traditional Indian education. Historical education of American Indians that was informal and taught survival skills, procurement of food and shelter, and living in harmony with other tribal groups and nature.
- (8) American Indian. For the purpose of this study the Title IV definition was used. Title IV defines American Indian as an enrolled member of a federally recognized tribe or descendent in the first or second degree of an enrolled member or a federally recognized tribe.

- (9) Bilingualism. For the purpose of this study, the ability to speak Crow and English.
- (10) Culture. The shared values and behavior that knit a group of people together.
- (11) Clan Feed. A Crow Indian social ceremony in which the Clan System of the Crow tribe and the individual is utilized for the benefit of the college student.
- (12) Sun Dance. A Crow Indian religious ceremony that involves four days and nights of prayer and dancing.
- (13) Peyote meeting. A Crow Indian religious ceremony that involves a night of prayers and prayer chants.
- (14) Sweat bath. A Crow Indian spiritual ceremony that involves cleansing of the mind and body in a steam lodge constructed with willows and canvas.
- (15) Pow Wow. A social gathering of individual or collective tribes which involves much social singing and dancing.

Delimitations

Due to the population, geography, and time period of this research, this study was delimited to the following:

- (1) The population consisted only of those male and female Crow Indian college students who enrolled in baccalaureate degree programs during the years 1968 to 1990.
- (2) The population consisted only of those Crow Indian college students who were born and raised on the Crow Indian reservation.
- (3) The population consisted only of those Crow Indian college students who graduated from Crow Indian secondary schools on or near the Crow Indian reservation.
- (4) One hundred and twenty-eight interviews were administered by the researcher in one on one situations while twenty-six of the interviews were conducted in three separate group settings in the schools where they were employed for a total of 154 interviews.
- (5) Interviews were administered in the Crow language.
- (6) Data gathered from the interviews were self reported data.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

To understand the present status of Crow Indian education, knowledge of the history of Indian education in general and of Crow Indian education in specific is critical to understanding the present. This review of literature was divided into two sections. The first section reviewed the general categories of problems that have remained in the formal education of American Indians and Crow Indians even though legislation was passed to alleviate some of the problems. The second section reviewed the history of American Indian and Crow Indian education.

Problems in Formal Education of American Indian Students

There are problems that have remained in the formal education of American Indians since the formalization of the Snyder Act of 1921 (U.S. Senate Report, 1969). The Snyder Act started the practice of providing financial support for reservation schools, boarding schools, and other educational programs for American Indian students (Waldman, 1985). In March of 1990, the United States Department of Education chartered the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force. The charge of the task force was to study and report on the present status of American Indian Education. According to the task force report (U.S. Dept. Of Ed., 1990)

there are problems that have remained in American Indian education since the U.S. Senate Report of 1969.

In 1744, when the commissioners of the government of Virginia offered to educate six sons of the Six Nations, the chiefs replied:

Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges in the Provinces; they were instructed in all your science, 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 however, not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send 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.

(Fritz, 1963p.126).

This exchange demonstrates that from the very beginning of federal intervention in the education of their children, American Indians believed that the responsibility for the education of their children should remain in their own hands. However, they were not allowed this privilege and, in fact, children were forcibly instructed in the ways of an alien culture by teachers from that culture. Because of this, the American Indian population has remained substantially less educated than the non-Indian population. This problem has added to the perpetuation of the problem that Indian people are not able to fully understand the importance or necessity of formal education

The education provided for the Indian population has often been irrelevant to both its needs and culture and this has led to more than average numbers of dropouts from K-12 programs and from higher education programs. On the Crow

Indian reservation, there has not been a school up to the time of this study, which has infused or integrated any of the Crow language or culture into the regular school curriculum. Upon entry into school, the lifetime of learning which the Crow student brings from home is forgotten and not used in formal education in the classroom setting. Without relevance to the culture of the child, the Crow student is usually at a disadvantage in the classroom, which is usually controlled by a non-Crow teacher. Moreover, non-Crow teachers usually have no background knowledge of the student and will teach to the Crow child like any other student in any other school. This usually leads to academic and personality conflicts which eventually led to student dropouts and teacher turnovers (Crawford, 1989).

American Indians have problems in language and cultural orientation that contribute to low school achievement. Consequently, by the time American Indians completed their K-12 education, they were often behind their non-Indian counterparts in achievement levels which left them at a disadvantage as they entered college. Crow Indian students were usually in the same predicament due to a variety of reasons including, bilingualism, socio-economic conditions, family, and culture. The majority of American Indian people have had no mechanism for input in the education of their children in K-12 and in higher education. This left both the parents and the students in a state of educational disinterest and segregation resulting in drop-outs or non-completers (Stiegelbauer, 1984). According to the 1990 census report (U.S. Census Report: 1990), the Crow people have always been the majority population on the Crow reservation.

Moreover, according to school enrollment records (School Enrollments: 1992), the Crow Indian students have outnumbered the non-Crow students in the reservation schools since the start of formal education in 1921. Yet, they have not had any input in the education of their children. This has resulted in a lethargic educational attitude that is shared by many Crow people and their students.

The general categories of problems that have remained in American Indian education have also remained in Crow Indian education. As Crow students entered four-year colleges to become part of a new academic and social environment, they faced many problems that affected their endeavors to attain baccalaureate degrees.

Federal Indian Policy and Legislation

The history of federal Indian policy and legislation pertaining to American Indian education, in general, and Crow Indian education, in specific, were reviewed to determine what effects they had, if any, on the graduation rates of Crow Indian college students.

The first attempts at American Indian education were viewed in religious terms. The first Europeans felt that the Indians were uncivilized and needed to be saved by becoming Christians. Catholic and Protestant missionaries were the first non-Indian teachers of American Indians during the mission period which lasted approximately from 1568 to the 1880s. Their goal was to Christianize, civilize, and assimilate American Indians into European culture (Bowden, 1981). This goal

often conflicted with the influence of Indian parents who viewed training for survival central to the education of American Indian children. A second theme central to an Indian child's education was knowledge of tribal traditions learned through ceremonies, story telling, play, and apprenticeship (Layman, 1942).

Efforts to formally educate American Indian children began during the mission period by Catholic missions. The Catholic efforts to educate Indian children were followed closely by Protestant missionary efforts (Bowden, 1981). The United States Report (1969) affirmed that for the first three hundred years, Catholic and Protestant missionaries dominated non-Indian attempts to educate Indian children. By the 19th century, education of American Indian children was still primarily a function of mission schools while the federal government began its initial funding activities in the education of Indians according to its educational obligations contained in treaties negotiated with Indian tribes. In the schools established to educate Indians, English was often used as the language of instruction. This created a problem in communication and learning for both the non-Indian instructors and the Indian pupils because many of the Indian students spoke only their native Indian language (Hagen, 1987).

During the early 1700s, the Crow Indians were in the process of migration from the United States eastern seaboard to their present location in southeastern Montana. As the Crow worked and traveled together, they developed a distinct way of life that set them apart from other groups, both Indian and non-Indian. Unlike tribes of Indian farmers or the inhabitants of European communities, the

Crow maintained all of their important institutions in mobile form, including education. Their places of instruction were in tepees, not schoolhouses. The form of instruction was strictly oral in which survival and life skills were orally transmitted to children (Brown, 1961). Also during the missionary period, as nomadic travelers, the Crow followed no organized form of religion. Yet, they performed a variety of lesser rituals and ceremonies to maintain and strengthen their spiritual lives. These included the Bear Song Dance, the Sacred Pipe Dance, and feasts held to celebrate major events, such as victories in raiding or war. Each required that friends and family members cooperate and follow the orders of their leaders in order to make all the necessary preparations. All of these rituals reflected the tribe's reverence for the Creator and its members' belief that his power could appear in almost any form at almost any time (Lowie, 1983).

Just as the Crow had a rich religious life without attending church, their children learned everything they needed to know to perform the roles they would play as adults without ever spending a day in a classroom. Each of the groups in Crow society, clans, warrior societies, religious organizations, and families helped to teach children how to participate in social and religious activities. Children were instructed in proper behavior by being encouraged to observe and imitate their clan and other respected elders of the tribe. Warrior societies offered children advanced training in tracking animals and scouting enemies. Religious groups, such as the Tobacco Society, taught their young members the elements of Crow beliefs and the meaning of their rituals (Denig, 1961).

Families gave Crow children an education in everyday matters. Children especially looked to their "fathers" and "mothers" (their mother's siblings as well as their natural parents) and to their grandparents for instruction. Sometimes children would become attached to childless couples who might adopt them into their lodge. When this happened, the children's new parents and clan relations, would take on the responsibility for their education and their biological mother and father would become less important in their life (Frey, 1987).

The Crow specified some tasks as women's work and some as men's work. The lessons children were taught, therefore, depended on their gender. Girls were instructed in the female tasks of butchering buffalo killed in hunts and processing their hides. They also learned to sew this leather into moccasins and tepee covers and to make all the tools and clothing their families needed. Because women were the central figures in family and clan relationships, the home was their province. They owned and used tools, erected the tepees, and were the guardians of their husbands' shields. These activities placed them in charge of most day-to-day activities within a Crow camp. Pretty Shield described how play was used as a method in which Crow Indian children were educated during the early 1800s. She further described how she prepared for real life and marriage through play by putting up a tent and mimicking the daily chores of a married woman's household (Linderman, 1972).

Crow boys were taught how to track and hunt game. At an early age they were encouraged to hunt birds and rabbits; they often brought rabbit skins to girls

to tan and cure. Small girls sometimes used them or pieces of scrap buffalo hides to make miniature tepees. Boys were prepared to take over the male jobs of defending their camp, going on raids against their enemies, and, as members of the warrior societies, leading their band to new hunting or camping grounds. Despite its informal appearance, the education of the Crow during the missionary period was regulated by family and clan ties, political, religious, and war leaders, and by customs that all tribal members respected and observed. Therefore, although the Crow had no schools, children had every adult in the tribe as a teacher (Nabokov, 1967).

The first treaty approved by the United States Congress was negotiated and signed with the Delaware tribe in 1778. The following year, the treaty with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians was the first treaty to contain provisions for education (Castro, 1977). From 1789 to 1837, the federal government approved 400 treaties of which 120 contained educational provisions for Indian tribes. In response to the educational provisions contained in treaties, congress appropriated \$10,000 into the 1819 Civilization Fund from which the president of the United States could draw money annually to hire teachers and maintain schools for Indian children. By 1825, \$20,000 was spent on schools to educate Indians; seven percent came from the federal government, six percent from the tribes themselves, and eighty-seven percent from the churches (Prucha, 1986).

During the treaty period, government officials saw themselves as trading education for land; providing education was seen as a proper trade-off for land. The majority of the Indian treaties contained specific provisions for education in the form of a promise by the federal government to provide the Indian tribes with teachers. As more treaties were negotiated, Indian tribes began to realize that education was of primary importance for survival. Therefore, more and more requests for education were found in the treaties with American Indian tribes. In response to the treaty requests, in 1824, congress created the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) within the Department of War. The position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs to head up the BIA was created in 1832. In 1839, Commissioner Harley Crawford formalized the development of manual labor schools to educate Indian children in farming and home making. The educational policies of the early commissioners revolved around controlling and assimilating the Indian people (Adams, 1988).

During the treaty period and through the treaty negotiation process, the federal government and the Indian tribes reserved certain rights for themselves and gave up something in return. The term reservation was derived from this process. The Indian tribes usually reserved for themselves hunting and fishing rights and the right to self-government. At the same time, they ceded over one billion acres of land in return for educational services, medical care, and technical and agricultural training to be provided by the federal government. Control of education by Indians was lost when the federal government became the dominant

agency in educating the American Indian as per the provisions of Indian treaties (Castro, 1977). Prucha (1985) quoted Taylor telling the Crow Indians and other Indians at Fort Laramie, Wyoming in 1867:

Upon the reservations you select, we propose to build a house for your agent to live in, to build a mill to saw your timber, and a mill to grind your wheat and corn, when you raise any; a blacksmith shop and a house for your farmer, and such other buildings as may be necessary. We also propose to furnish to you homes and cattle to enable you to begin to raise a supply of stock with which to support your families when the game has disappeared. We desire to supply you with clothing to make you comfortable and all necessary farming implements so that you can make your living by farming. (p.58)

The first federal government attempts at formal education among the Crow Indians in 1871. In September 1871, J.H. Aylsworth, the first teacher of Crow Indians, issued the following report to F.D. Pease, Crow Agency Superintendent concerning education of Crow Indians:

Crow Agency, Montana
September, 1871

Sir: For the educational department of the Crow Agency, I have the honor to report as follows:

I arrived at the agency on the 25th of April, A.D. 1871. There was no school, nor any trace of one. Many of the Indians, with their families, had just gone out for their spring hunt, so that comparatively only a small portion of the children remained at the agency. With these I commenced operation, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing them become interested in trying to learn. Others have come in school from time to time, until of late the average attendance has reached 32 to 34. About 9 learned the alphabet, and 3 to read the simple lessons of Hillard's First Reader. Their former migratory habits somewhat interferes with progress in learning, and it would be well if the children, as far as possible, could be removed from these migratory influences.

The importance of establishing some kind of mess, or boarding

house, where the children would be measurably under the care of a matron; or of starting some kind of manual-labor school, in which agricultural and mechanical labor might be combined with book knowledge, cannot be over-estimated.

Labor is degrading" is the first article in the Indian's creed, and to eradicate this mischievous notion, like caste in Indian, requires proper training of the young, for as the twig is bent the tree's inclined. I am much in need of an interpreter to enable me to make the lessons properly understood.

Yours respectfully,
J.H. Aylsworth
Teacher of Crow Indians
(Whitebear, 1968)

Another trend during the treaty period was the development of boarding schools for Indian school children. Carlisle Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania was founded in 1875 by the efforts of Richard Henry Pratt, a United States Army captain. The founding of Carlisle marked the first extensive federal funding of Indian education (Pratt, 1964).

In 1873, Captain Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle Indian School visited the Crow Reservation. After some opposition from some Crow chiefs, the first Crow Indian students to attend an off-reservation boarding school were allowed to attend Carlisle. The first Crow students sent to Carlisle were five mixed blood Crow boys and three full-blooded Crow girls. One of the girls remained in the Carlisle area for 13 years and then returned to the Crow reservation, hoping to help her people. She met resistance from the Crow chiefs who did not believe in Crow women being other than homemakers. Shortly, thereafter, a second group of Indian children were sent to Carlisle, including 5 girls and 17 boys.

Subsequently, a boarding school was established on the Crow reservation in

Crow Agency to accommodate about forty children. Attendance at this first school on the Crow reservation was erratic. In a report of school conditions on the Crow Indian reservation that the Crow Agency superintendent in 1890 reported the Crow reservation contained about 7,000 square miles of land with a population of about 2,400. The government school in Crow Agency, Montana now had 64 Crow Indian students. But it was said that the building was unfit for accommodating the 64 students. The report showed that in 1890, there were two other schools on the Crow Indian reservation. St. Xavier Mission School with accommodations for 150 students with a new 150 student capacity building under construction was located in St. Xavier, Montana in the south-central part of the Crow reservation. The Montana Industrial School at the Ramona Ranch with 50 Crow students was located on the Big Horn River in the north-central part of the Crow reservation. In sum, there were approximately 200 Crow children in school within the boundaries of the Crow reservation and 27 in off-reservation boarding schools in 1890. The school curriculums in 1890 had strong emphasis on farming and agriculture with bare essentials of basic education in reading and writing (Whitebear, 1968).

From that point in Indian education, the federal government viewed the Indian as being educable. Carlisle became a success in educating Indians, which in turn led to a sudden expansion of off-reservation industrial boarding schools throughout the United States. The boarding school concept was first pursued for educational reasons; later, it became the attitude of the federal government that American Indians should be civilized and become part of the dominant society by

means of education. The purpose of boarding schools for Indians was to take the "Indian" out of the Indian and removing them from their homes and sending them to boarding schools (Pratt, 1964).

Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner Atkins (1887) reported to the Secretary of the Interior that the boarding school system was one in which the Indian students were taught the social graces of non-Indian culture. The boarding school system was in fact, a form of acculturation known as the outing system. The outing system was one in which Indian students were taken from the Indian reservations and placed in non-Indian homes for three years following high school. Negative features of the industrial boarding schools outweighed the positive features. Some argued that the schools trained too few Indian youths at too great an expense. However, the most convincing criticism was summarized by Cahn (1969) when he wrote that Indians educated in boarding schools returned to the reservations only to be submerged back into reservation life, or in the terms of the federal government at that time, "went back to the blanket". This meant that the educated Indian did not use or have any use for the recently acquired education. This was compounded by the fact that the training received by the Indian youths had little or no application to reservation life. Roessel (1962) reported that those pupils who received off-reservation boarding school education were the first victims of a situation in which their education forced them to choose either the culture of the white man or the culture of the Indian; there was no compromise.

Following the off-reservation industrial boarding school era, the federal government introduced reservation boarding and day schools in its continuing efforts to meet its treaty obligations to educate American Indians (Utley, 1984): Luther Standing Bear (1928) claiming to be the first Indian boy to enter a boarding school wrote that the reservation schools had several distinct advantages. Both the reservation boarding and day schools were less expensive to operate and maintain. Day schools required little or no housing. Transportation to reservation boarding schools was cheaper than to off-reservation schools which were generally located on the west or east coast of the United States where educational facilities were already available. Most importantly, as Szasz (1979) reported, the parents of Indian children attending reservation boarding or day schools were more accepting of having their children spend the day in school near home rather than having them taken any great distance away from home for long periods of time, as was the case in off-reservation boarding schools.

The Peace Commission of 1888 best expressed the attitude of the federal government as carried out by the boarding and day schools of the treaty period:

The difference in language, which in a great measure barred intercourse and a proper understanding each of the other's motives and intentions. Now, by educating the children of these tribes in the English language these differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed at once... Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment, and thought; customs and habits are molded and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated... In the difference of language to-day lies two-thirds of our trouble... Schools should

be established, which children should be required to attend; their barbarous dialect should be blotted out and the English language substituted.

(Atkins, 1887, p. 58)

During this time, Crow children over the age of six were required to attend school. They attended day schools that were built in communities across the Crow reservation in Crow Agency, Pryor, and St. Xavier. Some Crow students were sent to other boarding schools in present-day Oregon, Oklahoma, Kansas, and even as far away as Pennsylvania. Teachers at all of these schools conducted their lessons in English even though almost all of the Crow students spoke the Crow dialect as their first language. Life for Crow children attending boarding schools was harsh. Students lived at these institutions and therefore were separated from their parents for long periods of time. Teachers forced them to abandon their traditional ways and adopt non-Indian dress and manners. Children wore uniforms, worked in the school kitchens and laundries, and followed an almost military schedule in which an activity was planned for every moment of the day. Boarding schools were also often so unsanitary that children became ill and infected other students. Physically weak children often died (McGinnis, 1972).

The Indian Appropriations Act of 1871 ended federal Indian treaty making by declaring that Indian nations and tribes within United States Territory would no longer be recognized as those with whom treaties could be made. At the same time, it declared that treaties made until then, would continue to be recognized and would remain in effect (Castro, 1977).

The Allotment Period

The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 marked the beginning of the allotment period. The allotment act was a creation of Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts. The intent of the act was in keeping with the federal policy of that period, which was to totally assimilate the American Indian into the mainstream American society. The policy of the federal government prior to the allotment period had been to turn American Indians into farmers so that they would become self-sufficient on their own reservations. The rationale of the government was that self-sufficiency would lead to the civilization of the Indian which in turn would eliminate the Indian tribal way of life, including the manner in which they had educated their children. The self-sufficient farmer plan was a failure due partly to the poor quality of reservation lands but mostly to the lack of desire among most Indians to become farmers (Prucha, 1973).

An article in a Sheridan, Wyoming newspaper reported that among the Crow Indians, the self-sufficient farmer plan was a failure due to the value that the Crow placed on ownership of horses and the attitude they had about farming as being menial labor which only women should be engaged in. The Sheridan, Wyoming, newspaper reported that during the annual Crow Fair in 1918 only the women raised crops, which were put on competitive display, and that the men were the owners of the horses which also competed against one another in the form of horse races (Sheridan Post, Nov. 15, 1918).

Since many treaties specifically provided for annual payments of money and food supplies, many Indians including the Crow Indian people, developed an attitude of dependency. The Dawes Act then, was to give the American Indians another opportunity for a more civilized life by allowing them to own and control their own lands. But, the Dawes Act was also a way to force European values of individualization and private initiative on Indians who lived under a communal system in the tribal way of life (Utter, 1993).

Among the Crow Indians, the allotment of tribal lands, often enacted without their consent, granted 160 acres to each family head and 80 acres to single persons over eighteen and orphans under eighteen. A provision of the Allotment Act, stated that if an individual was found to be competent within twenty-five years, that person would be given ownership of the land which was held in trust by the federal government. Along with ownership of the land, the competent Crow would also acquire full United States citizenship status. The result was that individual Crows were able to own land individually in less than twenty-five years. The allotment-ownership action seemed like an amiable plan to expand on the federal government policy of assimilating the American Indians and breaking up the collective land use and possession as practiced by most American Indian tribes of that time period including the Crow (Bradley, 1970).

The passage of the Burke Act in 1906 further expedited the individual land ownership by individual tribal members. Once the Indians owned the land, they would often sell or lease their land to non-Indians who had the financial means

and business abilities to develop the land, unlike the Indian landowner. As more non-Indians bought or leased Indian land and moved into the reservation lands, they began to demand public education for their children. With the provision of public schooling to non-Indian landowners on Indian reservations, the first tribes subjected to public schooling were those whose reservations were allotted (Moore, 1980).

During a personal interview with Crow elder and educator, Joseph Medicine Crow (1993) he stated that the Crow reservation was one of the allotted reservations and like other allotted reservations there was increasing demand for public education by the non-Indian leasors and landowners on the Crow Indian reservation. With the demand for public education and a land gift from the Crow Tribe, the first public school on the Crow reservation was built in Lodge Grass, Montana in 1912. According to Medicine Crow he was the first Crow Indian student to enter public education when he enrolled in Lodge Grass Public School in 1923. Prior to 1923, formal education for Crow youth was provided by Baptist missionaries. He further related that he became the first Crow Indian to graduate from a public high school when he graduated from Lodge Grass High School in 1927. Further, he was the first Crow Indian to graduate from college upon his graduation from Morningside College, a California Baptist college in 1932. The Baptist missionaries arranged and funded his college education.

In another personal interview with Josephine Russell, Crow Indian elder and educator (1991), she stated that she was the first Crow Indian woman to enter

public education when she enrolled in Lodge Grass Public School and the first Crow Indian woman to graduate from Lodge Grass High School in 1929. She was also the first Crow Indian woman to enter into and graduate from a college upon her graduation from Morningside College in 1934. Her college education was also arranged and funded by the Baptist missionaries. Information on public school attendance provided by Joseph Medicine Crow and Josephine Russell revealed that instruction was exclusively in English and subjects were Mathematics, English, and Geography. They both stated that school was very hard for them as well as all the other non-English speaking Crow students because of the English only instruction. During the first five years of public education, many Crow Indian students consistently ran away from school. In fact, parents who still had no concept of public education kept many students at home. In time, parents saw the importance of education and with their input, public schooling became a regular part of every Crow Indian child's life.

On reservations that were not allotted, which included most of the reservations in the Southeast United States, public schooling was not an issue. Where public education did exist, the policy of the federal government was to assimilate the Indian tribes by educating Indian children in schools alongside non-Indian children to learn non-Indian values and to abandon their Indian culture, language and tribal way of life. As more Indian landowners lost their land by lease or sale, many once again became dependent on the federal government for food, shelter, clothing, and to a large degree, education of children. Thus, the transition

from a tribal system to individual use of land as a means to civilize and educate American Indians was a failure. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the status of the American Indian, including education, was on the edge of disaster. The assimilation policies of education and land allotment had indicated that those two policies would greatly damage or even destroy a majority of the American Indian people. The unchecked pursuit of those policies led the Indian to increased disease, short life expectancy, malnutrition and starvation, a diminishing land base, and a stagnant, unrealistic educational system. But it also led to accelerated movement for reform in the federal government's Indian education policy (Cahn,1979).

By 1926 there was a growing public outcry for reform in federal Indian policy, especially in the education of Indian children. In response, the Brookings Institution of Washington, D.C conducted a survey of social, economic, and education conditions of the American Indians. The results were published in 1928 as *The Problem of Indian Administration*. The report was popularly referred to as the Meriam Report, after Dr. Lewis Meriam who headed the investigation. The report did not advocate the closure of federal boarding schools, but that it was extremely critical of the educational system as set up by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Since the majority of Indian students lived in rural areas far from public schools, closure of the federal boarding schools would have resulted in many Indian students not being able to attend school. Two major findings of the Meriam Report were that Indians were not involved in the management of their own affairs

and they were receiving poor quality health and education services from the federal government (Kelly, 1983).

There were attempts to increase the federal boarding school budgets so that Indian education would eventually become the primary function of the Indian Bureau. The Indian Bureau also tried to hire professional educators to administer the education department within the BIA and attempts were made to address all of the reforms recommended in the Meriam Report, including revision of the curriculum to include Indian culture. The end result of the Meriam Report was that it caused a major shake-up in the Indian Bureau and it became the buffer between federal Indian policy and educational reform in the New Deal era (Szasz, 1977).

In 1933, John Collier was selected to be the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in by President Roosevelt. Collier's Indian New Deal was one in which he was able to secure legislation to restore Indian economy on Indian owned lands, the reorganization of Indian tribes so that they could manage their own tribal affairs, and civil and cultural freedom for the Indians (Collier, 1947). John Collier along with Willard Beatty who became Director of Education in the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1936 were most instrumental in initiating reforms in Indian education. Among the most important of these reforms were the establishing of a link between schools and homes of students and the introduction of Indian culture into the boarding school curriculum. Sapir (1987) professor of Anthropology of Linguistics at Yale University, defined culture as the expression of a widely varied

and yet somehow unified and constant attitude toward life, an attitude which sees the significance of any one element of civilization in its relation to all others.

The three most significant pieces of legislation during the Indian New Deal era were the Wheeler-Howard Act, introduced in 1934, its amended version, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and the Johnson-O'Malley Act (JOM) of 1934. The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) was the first major piece of legislation to counter the federal Indian policies that were established from the time of Indian treaties. The Wheeler-Howard Act prohibited further allotment and it laid the groundwork for establishment of a method for tribal organization and incorporation. Because the Indian Reorganization Act allowed tribes more civil and cultural freedom, it is referred to as the Indian Bill of Rights (Cohen, 1942). The Johnson-O'Malley Act authorized the Secretary of Interior to contract with states or territories for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance, and social welfare of Indians. Johnson-O'Malley funds were designated to assist in placing more Indian students in public schools by reducing boarding school enrollment. It became a mechanism for Indian students to attend local public education facilities rather than to go off to off-reservation boarding schools (Prucha, 1975).

Termination Period

At the close of the World War II in 1945, there was once again a movement to place Indian children in off-reservation boarding schools. This was a movement

that reversed Bureau of Indian Affairs policies of prior eras. The United States congress established a House Select Committee to investigate Indian affairs and conditions. The recommendation from the select committee was to achieve the final solution to the Indian problem. This solution recommended by the select committee was to let Indians become free by terminating their reservations. With termination, the federal trust status of the reservations and tribes would be ended, tribes would lose federal recognition, and services provided by the federal government, including education, would be withdrawn. In 1953, House Concurrent Resolution No. 108 was passed declaring it the policy of the federal government to make the Indians, within the territorial limits of the United States, subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship (Prucha, 1986).

In the wake of the federal termination policy, educated Indians organized the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) to defend their rights. The NCAI, with the help of Indian tribes opposed to the termination policy judged the termination policy of the federal government to be a failure and declared that Indian people needed to be in more responsible roles in controlling their future. The termination issue witnessed the awakening of Indian leaders to the need for close contact with political centers of power in Washington, D.C. and self-determination in education. The impact desired by the federal government with the

termination movement was that states would assume responsibility for the education of all Indian children in public schools. The goal of the federal government was to make the Indian child a better American, rather than to equip the child to be a better Indian, as had been the previous federal policy (Waldman, 1985). Since the formation of the NCAI, Indian people started to resist the political power structures and attempted to gain more control of their educational systems. Those actions were important precludes to the rise of self-determination in education during the 1960s and into the contemporary period.

Self-Determination and Contemporary Period

During the 1960s there was increased emphasis on Indian self-determination. This emphasis brought national attention to the need for reform in Indian education. In response, two studies of Indian education were conducted. From 1967 to 1971, Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago directed the National Study of American Indian Education. The results of the study were summarized and published in 1972 by Havighurst and Estelle Fuchs. The major finding in To Live On This Earth was that Indian parents expressed a desire for the schools to educate their children about their own tribal heritage and culture (Fuchs & Havignurst, 1973).

The second study was conducted by the Kennedy Administration and directed by Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall. The report of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education was titled, Indian Education: A National

Tragedy, A National Challenge. That report is commonly known as the Kennedy Report (1976). The report found that drop-out rates of Indian students were twice the national average, achievement levels of Indian children were two to three years below those of white students, there was a need for Indian teachers and administrators in Indian schools, and that Indian children believed themselves to be below average in intelligence. (U.S. Senate Report, 1969).

With the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, Indian people were given the opportunity to become more involved in the education of their school children. For the first time, Indian people were given funds to administer education programs for their own people. The federally funded programs that Indian people participated in and administered included Headstart, Upward Bound, Job Corps, Vista, and Community Action Programs. By the end of the 1960s there were 105 Indian reservations and 17 states involved in the education of Indian children (Adams, 1978). On the Crow reservation, a variety of educational programs were developed to address the needs of Crow school children. The first program to be implemented was the Headstart program, a pre-school program for four and five year old children. These programs were locally based in each reservation district and local people were hired as supervisors, teachers, teacher aides, and staff. This program was a tremendous asset to Crow Indian students by enabling them to learn to speak and use the English language prior to entering first grade (Closs, 1975).

In 1968, a report from the office of the Superintendent of the Crow Indian Agency, Crow Agency, Montana reported that the present Crow tribal population was slightly over 5,000. Of that number, 1752 were considered school age or between six and eighteen years of age. Approximately 1400 of these children were living on or very near the reservation. Approximately 1100 of the school age children attended local public elementary and high schools. Those schools that they attended included Lodge Grass Public Schools, Hardin Public Schools, Crow Elementary School, Wyola Elementary School, Fort Smith Elementary School, and Edgar Public School. About 180 elementary and 40 high school students attended private Catholic mission schools including, St. Xavier Mission School in St. Xavier, St. Charles Mission School in Pryor, and St. Labre in Ashland. Finally, there were about 136 elementary and high school children attending federal off-reservation boarding schools including Chilocco Boarding School in Oklahoma, Pierre Boarding School in South Dakota, and Haskell Boarding School in Kansas (Superintendents Report, 1968).

In 1968, in spite of the number of Crow Indian children attending schools, there were far more students in the elementary schools than in the high schools and very few were successful in college. The Crow Indian school systems were attempting to select better qualified teachers to meet the needs of not only the Crow Indian students but the children of the communities. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Crow Tribal Administration offices, and the local public school systems initiated many supplementary programs to give Crow students an opportunity to

continue to enrich their basic education. One of the programs that had a significant impact on Crow school children was the Crow Tribal Summer Youth Camp. This camp was in operation for six successive summers from 1963 through 1969. The camp provided a remedial type of educational program in English, mathematics, art, speech, literature, science, social studies, and physical education. This program helped prepare Crow Indian students to make the transition from a reservation school to an off-reservation college environment (Whitebear, 1968)

The elementary and secondary education act of 1965 stated in generic terms the goal of improving the education of disadvantaged children, including most Indian children on Indian reservations. The Act was amended in 1966 to include the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) so that more reservation Indian school children could benefit from it. The funds, as administered by the United States Office of Education, were spent for in-service training for teachers of Indian students and teacher aides, student personnel services, assistance for curriculum development, and enrichment activities.

With a grant from the United States Department of Education, the Crow Agency Elementary School developed a bilingual materials development center in 1970 to meet the curricular and bilingual material needs of Crow elementary students. From 1970 until 1988, the material development center was instrumental in developing and incorporating culturally relevant classroom materials into the schools on the Crow reservation. The Teacher Corps, a

federally funded teacher training grant from the United States Department of Education, was begun by Eastern Montana College in 1970. Field sites on the Crow Indian reservation included Lodge Grass and Crow Agency where Eastern Montana College teacher education courses were taken on-site. These courses were taught by regular Eastern Montana College professors for college credit towards a Bachelor of Science degree in education. There were over 45 prospective Crow Indian teachers who began the program and by the end of the program in 1970, 27 had completed Bachelor of Science degrees and eventual state teacher certification in elementary education. Many of those graduates are still in the Crow reservation school system (Closs, 1975).

The Indian Education Act (IEA) was passed in 1972 to appropriate federal funds to address the needs in Indian education. Funds allocated for the IEA were divided between Parts A, B, and C in the legislation. Part A funds were allocated to public school districts to meet the needs of Indian children enrolled in public schools. Part B entitled, "Special Programs and Projects To Improve Educational Opportunities for Indian Children" was an amendment to title eight of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Further, funds allocated through Part B could be used for planning, pilot, and demonstration projects which would provide educational services for Indian children. Funds under Part B were discretionary and were allocated to state and local education agencies, Indian tribes, institutions of higher education, and for the first time, urban Indian students. Under Part B, Indians seeking graduate degrees in medicine, engineering,

forestry, and business were provided with fellowships. The fellowship program has been a main source of graduate funding for Indian graduate students. Part C of the IEA awards grants to state and local education agencies and Indian tribes to develop adult education programs. Part D created the Office of Indian Education with the Deputy commissioner for Indian Education to serve as the administrator (Szasz, 1977).

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, P.L. 93-638, of 1975 provided for maximum Indian participation in federally funded Indian schools. This law required that committees of Indian parents be involved in the planning of special programs for Indian students in their schools. Further, it encouraged the establishment of tribal contract schools, and stressed the use of culturally relevant and bilingual curriculum materials. With the increased emphasis on federal self-determination, Indian tribes were authorized to apply for charters to build or operate tribal colleges as a continuation of contract schools into higher education. Grants from the Office of Economic Opportunity, BIA grants, tribal grants, and private funds were used to open the doors of tribal colleges. As a result of the Navajo Community College Act and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, the first Tribal College Assistance Act was passed in 1978. Section 103 of the Act stated that to be eligible for federal assistance under this title, a tribally controlled college must be one that is governed by a board of directors of which the majority are Indians, has a philosophy that is directed to meet the needs of Indians, and if in operation for more than a year, has

a majority of Indian students in its total population. Section 107 stated that for each academic year, each tribally controlled community college would receive \$4,000 for each full-time-equivalent Indian student in attendance. The original bill of 1978 authorized no less than eight, nor more than fifteen tribal college grants. Since that time, however, the number of tribal colleges has increased to 32. The bill has never been funded to authorized levels and that student numbers have increased. The actual funding has provided a high of \$3,100 per student in 1980 to \$1,900 in 1989. Little Big Horn College on the Crow reservation, as well as others throughout the United States are struggling to survive due to the funding levels and the increase of student populations (Stein, 1992).

Little Big Horn College was established in 1972 in response to the need for a post-secondary institution on the Crow reservation. Little Big Horn College, a tribally controlled community college began as a vocational college to meet the vocational needs of Crow tribal members. At present, the college has taken on the role of preparing students who aspire to attend four-year colleges (Little Big Horn College Self Study, 1988).

The major court decision on the rights of language minority students by the United States Supreme Court was *Lau v Nichols*, which became law in 1974. The case originated in San Francisco, California as a class action suit on behalf of Kinney Lau and 1,789 other Chinese students who alleged that they were failing in San Francisco schools because they could not understand the language of instruction, English. It was alleged that these Chinese children were denied

"education on equal terms" as determined in *Brown v Board of Education*, because of their limited English language skills. The school district's response was that the Chinese language deficiency was unfortunate but the school was not to blame. The district's premise was upheld by federal district and appeals court, but dismissed as irrelevant by the judge Shirley Hufstedler of the 9th Circuit Court who wrote,

The state does not cause children to start school speaking only Chinese. Neither does a state cause children to have black skin rather than white nor cause a person charged with a crime to be indigent rather than rich. State action depends upon state responses to differences otherwise created. These Chinese children are not separated from their English-speaking classmates by state-erected walls of brick and mortar, but the language barrier, which that state helps to maintain, insulates the children from their classmates as effectively as any physical bulwarks. Indeed, these children are more isolated from equal educational opportunity than were those physically segregated Blacks in *Brown*; these children cannot communicate at all with their classmates or teachers. Invidious discrimination is not washed away because the able bodied and the paraplegic are given the same state command to walk (*Lau v Nichols*, 1974).

The most significant aspect of the *Lau* decision was the requirement that where children's rights had been violated, districts must provide bilingual education for elementary school students who spoke little or no English. For secondary school students, English-only compensatory instruction would usually be permissible.

In 1974, the Bilingual Education Act was amended to drop the poverty criterion, and for the first time it required schools receiving bilingual grants to include instruction in the children's native language and culture to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the education system.

Even though American Indian languages were not listed as being used for the language of instruction, the method in which they would eventually be identified more specifically were laid.

In 1975, President Gerald Ford established the American Indian Policy Review Commission. The most significant aspect of the commission was that it allowed Indian people to review federal programs and policies involving Indian people. It further allowed Indian people more input in the federal/Indian relationship, including education with federal funds (Fernandez, 1985).

In recent years, the Crow Indians have utilized the legislation that has addressed Indian education and have exercised educational self-determination further by passing tribal education policies which seek to incorporate the cultural and linguistic background of the Indian student, community participation, relevant teaching methods to fit the needs of Indian students, school testing programs that recognize linguistic and cultural differences that utilize strengths of students rather than tracking Indian students into special education programs (Cummings, 1989).

On October 30, 1990, President George Bush signed into law, Public Law 101-477, Title I, the Native American Languages Act. The passage of the Act was a culmination of the efforts of Indian people in the formation of federal/Indian policy in the history of Indian education. It was a response to the centuries of Indian language and cultural repression in the education of Indian people. The Act declared that it is the policy of the United States "to preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native American to use, practice, and develop

Native American languages." Since the bill became law in 1990, it has provided the empowerment for the use of Native American languages and culture in schools that receive federal funding. In the Spring of 1994, one million dollars was appropriated by congress for grant assistance to tribes, Indian organizations, and tribal colleges to teach Native languages to be administered by the Department of Health and Human Services (Native American Language Act, 1990).

CHAPTER 3

PROCEDURES

In order to determine whether differences existed among reservation-oriented Crow Indian college students who successfully graduated from college with baccalaureate degrees and those who attended college during the same time, 1965 to 1990, but did not receive baccalaureate degrees, a naturalistic style of inquiry was utilized. A survey form (appendix D) consisting of eight questions relevant to the study was developed with the help of a panel of experts in Indian education (appendices A, B & C).

Population

The population for this study consisted of those Crow Indian reservation-oriented college students who received baccalaureate degrees during the period 1965 to 1990. The population also included those Crow Indian reservation-oriented college students who attended college during the same time but did not receive baccalaureate degrees. The total population for this study was 189. Out of the total, 154 responded to the survey, while 35 did not respond. Of the 35 non-respondents, 28 had moved away from the Crow reservation and did not leave forwarding addresses and 7 had died. Of the 154 respondents, 79 received baccalaureate degrees and 75 attended college but did not receive baccalaureate degrees. Of the 79 who received baccalaureate degrees, 49 were female and 30

were male. Of the 75 who did not receive degrees, 33 were female and 42 were male. Since this study population comprised the total population of those Crow Indian reservation-oriented college students who attended college from 1965 to 1990, no sampling technique was required.

Method of Collecting Data

A survey was administered to Crow Indian students who attended college from 1965 to 1990 (see Appendix A). The survey provided for the collection of data regarding students' academic preparation in high school and college, motivation for college attendance, availability of financial aid, social/family influences, cultural influences, curriculum choice factors, extra-curricular involvement factors, and the number of years it took to receive a degree.

Two methods were utilized in the data collection. In the first method, the researcher administered the survey in group settings in those schools where twenty-six Crow college graduates were employed as classroom teachers. In the second method, the researcher, a primary speaker of the Crow Indian language, administered the survey in the Crow Indian language to one hundred and twenty-eight respondents on a one-to-one basis, since all of the respondents were also primary speakers of the Crow language. Of the one hundred and twenty-eight respondents, one hundred and nine were conducted in the homes of the respondents during weekend hours or after work hours. Nineteen of the surveys were conducted at work places of the respondents during work hours. Responses

in Crow language were more complete, since there was no translating of feelings, recollections, and emotions on the part of the respondents. Due to the length of the survey and since most of the respondents did not have telephones in their homes, there were no surveys administered by telephone.

A panel of experts in Indian education, including the president of the Crow Indian tribal college, a Montana State University Adjunct Assistant Professor, and the director of the Montana State Office of Tribal Services, (see appendix 2) had reviewed the survey and their recommended changes had been incorporated. The survey was administered to the population by this researcher in cooperation with the schools where administration was conducted in a group. Respondents were asked to respond to as many parts of the survey as they could but were informed that they were not required to respond to any part they did not want to. Respondents were also informed that the survey was conducted in confidence and that only data would be used from the survey without the use of any names.

Analysis of Data

The data collected from the survey was qualitative in nature in that case studies and interviews were utilized to arrive at answers to the questions in the survey. Case studies were generally generated by the respondents in relation to the question that was being answered. This study contains only those case studies that were most relevant to the specific question asked. The data was compiled through the use of a data management system and was reported

through the use of qualitative statistics. Generally, the survey dealt with the incidence, distribution, and relationships of educational, sociological, and cultural variables. From this information, only one question was analyzed for statistical levels of significance through the use of chi-square test to determine whether the variables were related or independent. Chi square values at the .05 level of significance were considered significant. For the other seven research questions, numerical similarities, comparisons, and variances were reported through the use of descriptive statistics. Explanatory descriptive data was summarized in anecdotal remarks and small case studies.

Summary

To the researcher's knowledge, no studies of the nature as this study have been undertaken on the Crow Indian reservation in southeastern Montana. This study was conducted to investigate selected characteristics related to the attainment or non-attainment of a baccalaureate degree by Crow Indian reservation-oriented college students from 1965 to 1990. The characteristics that were investigated included: pre-college academic preparation, curriculum choice, motivating factors, financial aid, extra-curricular activities, social and family characteristics, cultural factors, and years in college.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to determine whether a difference existed among reservation-oriented Crow Indian college students who graduated from college with baccalaureate degrees and those who entered college during the same time, 1965 to 1990, but did not graduate. Eight categories were selected as potentially significant in the attainment or non-attainment of baccalaureate degrees by reservation-oriented Crow Indian college students. A survey form (see Appendix D) was developed by this researcher and a panel of Indian education experts specifically for this study since no other study of this nature had ever been undertaken with reservation-oriented Crow Indian college students. The eight categories, which were specified in the survey for purposes of this study, included academic preparation, motivation, financial aid, family, culture/society, curriculum, extra-curricular activities, and years in college. Responses to those categories were analyzed in order to provide answers to the following eight questions:

- (1) Did reservation-oriented Crow Indian college students believe they were academically prepared to attend college?
- (2) What were factors that influenced Crow Indian students to attend college?
- (3) What influence did financial aid have in Crow Indian students' attainment of baccalaureate degrees?

