

### III. THE FAILURE OF FEDERAL SCHOOLS

#### A. BACKGROUND

The Bureau of Indian Affairs operates 226 schools in 17 States, on Indian reservations and in remote geographic areas throughout the country. Of these, 77 are boarding schools.

There are 34,605 American Indian children currently enrolled in BIA boarding schools, 15,450 in BIA day schools, and 3,854 housed in peripheral dormitories while attending public schools with BIA financial support. In addition, 62,676 Indian youngsters attend public schools supported by the Johnson-O'Malley Act, which is administered by BIA.

In fiscal year 1969 there were 16,045 BIA employees. Of this number, 7,027 were employed in education. Education's allotment of funds from the Department of the Interior's fiscal year 1969 appropriation was \$94,164,000. Other funds for education, from sources such as title I of the ESEA, totaled \$9,912,744, bring the total funding for the year to \$104,067,744.

According to statistics compiled by the BIA in 1968, 82.1 percent of the students enrolled in Federal schools are "Full Blood" Indians and slightly more than 97 percent of students were one-half or more Indian blood. Approximately 90 percent of the students will enter the first grade with little or no English language facility.

Perhaps the most striking fact about the Federal school system is the growth rate of the student population. The present growth rate of the Indian population on reservations is 3.3. percent per year, or three times the natural rate of increase for the U.S. population at large. If the present rate of growth continues, the population will double in 21 years.<sup>1</sup> This dramatic growth rate is primarily a function of substantial improvement in Indian health in the last 15 years following the transfer of the Indian health program from BIA to the Public Health Service. Fertility rates have always been high and have slightly increased but the death rate has substantially declined.

The consequences of this extraordinary growth rate are reflected in the following statistics. Enrollment in BIA high schools doubled in an 8-year period from 1959 to 1967. The increase was from 5,661 students enrolled in 1959 to 11,653 students enrolled in 1967. On the Navajo Reservation, in the 6 years from 1960 to 1966, the school age population increased by 48 percent from 31,000 to 46,000. Unfortunately, a substantial proportion of these children were not enrolled in school. Due to a crash construction program in the early 1950's the percentage of enrolled children increased from 52 percent in 1950 to 81 percent in 1955. After 1955 the percentage of school-age children

<sup>1</sup> ABT Associates, "System Analysis, Program Development, and Cost-Effectiveness Modeling of Indian Education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs," ABT Associates, Inc., Cambridge, Mass., June 1969, vol. II, p. 88.

actually enrolled remained relatively constant, showing only a slight increase by 1966.<sup>2</sup> The failure to close the gap following 1955 was primarily a function of the "termination policy" and a consequent reduction in appropriations. A major construction program was again launched in the early 1960's but could hardly keep pace with the increased growth rate. The failure of the Federal Government to provide adequate classroom space for thousands of Navajo and Alaskan native school-age children continues to be a tragedy and a disgrace.

### B. GENERAL ANALYSIS

Although great concern has often been expressed about the adequacy of the BIA education program, one searches in vain for analytical studies of the problems and performance of Federal schools. With the exception of several important mental health studies of boarding schools in the last decade, competent evaluations of instructional practices done either by the BIA central office or independent agencies are practically nonexistent. The last comprehensive survey appears to be the Meriam Report of 1928.

Following its initial hearings in December of 1967, the subcommittee requested that the Bureau of Indian Affairs contract for a comprehensive study of its Federal school system. Dr. Charles Zellers had already initiated plans for such a study, and further discussions between subcommittee staff and BIA officials resulted in a contract being let to ABT Associates, Inc., in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The ABT study involved more than 20 professionals over a period of 1 year in extensive field investigation. The five volume report was finished and made available to the subcommittee in June 1969.

More than 200 classrooms were observed for the purpose of identifying educational objectives and instructional practices were observed and evaluated in 100 classrooms. The ABT study provides a revealing and discouraging description of the serious inadequacies of the BIA education program. In general, the findings of the ABT study are congruent with the findings of the subcommittee investigations and provide a useful general overview of problems and deficiencies.

#### 1. EDUCATION BUDGET ANALYSIS

The BIA education budget was found to be greatly inadequate:

Since most Indian children begin school with the environmental handicaps of rural poverty, cultural isolation, low level of parent education, and in many cases a non-English native language, equality of educational inputs requires greatly superior inschool resources of teachers, curriculum, facilities, and equipment to balance the inadequate preschool preparation of most Indian children. Such superior education has not been and cannot be supplied by the BIA on its current budget of some \$1,000 per student year, which must also pay for the boarding expenses of nearly half the students.<sup>3</sup>

It has been pointed out that the Job Corps spent from \$7,000 to \$9,000 per student year for its resident high-school level education

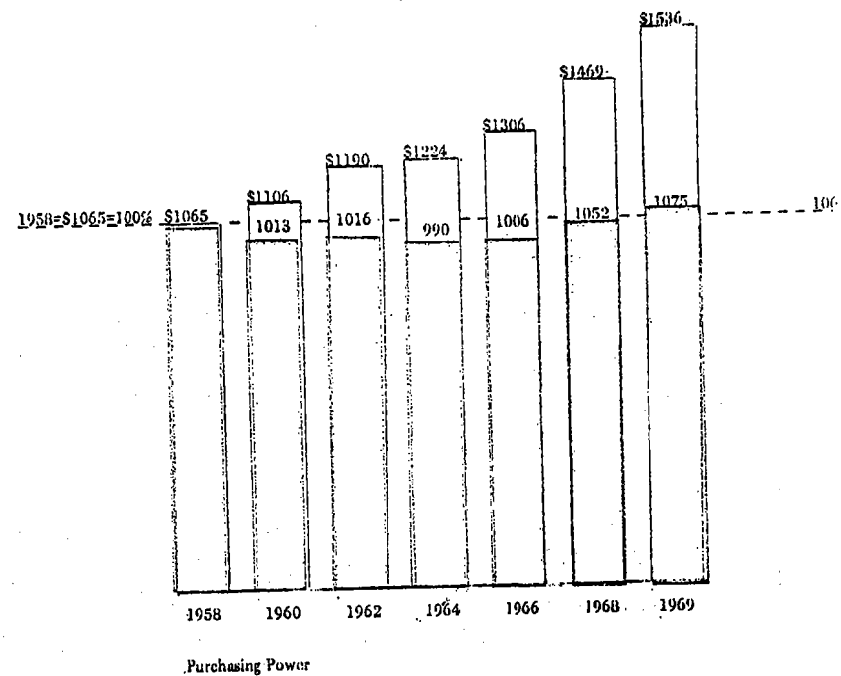
<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. II, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. I, p. 2.

program. A number of witnesses testifying before the subcommittee have suggested that the amount of expenditure per pupil in BIA schools should be doubled or tripled if equality of educational opportunity is to be provided. The ABT report appears to agree with these suggestions, stating, "BIA schools are at this time insufficiently funded to overcome the students' initial difficulties resulting from poverty and cultural barriers. The price of this economy is ultimately paid in high welfare payments and reduced revenues. Annual per pupil expenditures, now around \$1,000 should be greatly increased on the basis of conserving future welfare costs and income tax collections." The subcommittee has investigated the BIA education budget and found the following:

## INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS

1969 PER CAPITA BUYS . MORE THAN IN 1958!  
/10.00



Year	Inflation Factor	Per Capita Buys
1958	100%	\$1065/1065
1960	109.2%	of 1106/1013
1962	117.1%	of 1190/1016
1964	123.6%	of 1224/990
1966	129.8%	of 1306/1006
1968	139.7%	of 1469/1052
1969	142.8%	of 1536/1075

1969 Education Inflation Factor is 42.8% of 1958 Base.

Source: School Management, Issues January, 1964 and January, 1969.  
January, 1969

When inflationary factors are taken into consideration, the following chart makes clear that the BIA education program has been grossly underfunded for a substantial period of time. More precisely, the amount of real dollars for per capita expenditure in the BIA education program decreased from \$1,065 in 1958 to \$1,006 in 1966. By 1968 the per capita expenditures of real dollars was \$1,052, still below the amount available in 1958, 10 years earlier. The chart reveals that between 1968 and 1969 there was a budget increase for education programs in BIA and the amount per capita increased slightly from \$1,058 to \$1,075. It would appear that appropriations for the BIA education program have not taken into account inflationary factors or the accelerated rate of student population growth during the last 10 years. In addition, it is apparent that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has not been able to establish or clearly justify what would constitute an "equal educational opportunity investment" per child per year. The BIA is still using an old-fashioned line-item budget which is based not on program needs but rather on what the BIA "thinks it can get." This lack of adequate standards or definition of equal educational opportunity continues to be a major deficiency in BIA budget requests.

A memorandum prepared by the Education Division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs points out that:

The education program is faced with a severe funding crisis in fiscal year 1969 which can only be compounded in fiscal year 1970 unless additional funds above those already before Congress are secured.

The report goes on to state:

Over the past few year increasing cost of normal operations in addition to necessary actions taken in order to remain competitive in the field of professional personnel has caused a dangerous erosion of educational funding capability. In fiscal year 1969 this has reached a point that even with the diversion of funds appropriated for innovative and improved programs only a bare minimum of instructional supplies, textbooks, dormitory supplies and materials and replacement equipment can be purchased for school operation and will at the end of fiscal year 1969 have depleted all stocks of materials through the normal operation—carryover will not be available in 1970. In addition, at the present time 420 sorely needed educational dormitory personnel positions must remain vacant due to the shortage of funds.

The memorandum points out that an additional requirement for \$5 million above the present funding request before Congress will be needed simply to maintain a minimum base. For example, based on the school management cost of education index, \$40 per child represents an appropriate expenditure for textbooks, supplies, and materials. Presently the Bureau of Indian Affairs expends approximately \$18 per child in this category, less than half the appropriate national standard.

The 5-year education plan for the Bureau of Indian Affairs indicates that in order to overcome long-standing deficiencies and achieve

a minimum level of satisfactory funding an increase of \$158 million over the present \$110 million budget request will be necessary. In addition it points out that there is a need for \$178 million in construction funds to provide for the replacement of many substandard buildings and new schools for increasing enrollments, as well as \$18 million for major alterations and improvements to existing facilities. These projected figures indicate the substantial inadequacies of the past funding of the BIA education program, and the present failure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to even approach an "equal educational opportunity investment" per child.<sup>4</sup>

Equally disturbing is the fact that a substantial portion of the money appropriated by Congress for the education program is being diverted for other purposes. According to an investigation report of the House Appropriations Committee in February 1968, "BIA officials cited six administrative-type programs and support activities that are supported by assessments of the education program funds. In fiscal years 1966 and 1967, these assessments amounted to \$11,073,000 and \$12,235,000, respectively."<sup>5</sup> Thus it is apparent that there is relatively little integrity in the BIA education budget.

It should also be noted that the BIA has failed badly to conduct any meaningful long-range planning, to provide a reliable census of school-age children, or to integrate its planning with other components of reservation development; for example, roads on the Navajo Reservation. The results have been substantial numbers of Indian children not in school and many times not even accounted for, severely overcrowded school facilities, large numbers of Alaskan Native children shipped out of the State to Oregon or Oklahoma so that they can receive a high school education, and a variety of unsatisfactory makeshift arrangements (such as the conversion of dormitory space) which must have a deleterious effect on an effective educational program.

A study published by Dr. William H. Kelly in 1967 was astounded to discover that 340 school-age children in the 16-to-18 age category and an additional 894 in the 6-to-15 age group were not enrolled in any school and could not be accounted for by BIA officials. And this study covered only a part of southern Arizona.<sup>6</sup> Another recent study found 2,365 school-age Indian children not accounted for in the State of New Mexico. In Alaska and on the Navajo Reservation no one seems to know how many school-age Indian or native children are not enrolled in school, but it numbers in the thousands. The estimate of Navajo children runs anywhere from 4,000 to 8,000.

## 2. ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

The academic performance of students in BIA schools indicates to some degree the magnitude of the problem. Only 60 percent of the Indian students in BIA high schools graduate, compared with a national average of 74 percent. Of the number of students who graduate from high school, only 28 percent enter college, as compared with a national

<sup>4</sup> Hearings, Subcommittee on Indian Education, pt. 1, 1969, pp. 443-448.

<sup>5</sup> Hearings, "Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1969," pt. 2, p. 591.

<sup>6</sup> Hearings, Subcommittee on Indian Education, pt. 3, 1968, pp. 1067-1110.

average of 50 percent. Of those Indian students who enter college, only 28 percent graduate. In addition, less than 1 percent of Indian graduate students complete a master's degree.

For every 400 Indian students entering Federal high schools at the freshman level, only one will graduate from college. It is predicted that only about "150 Indians will receive bachelors degrees in 1969. Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that this situation will improve if drastic changes do not occur." Also, the Indian student in a BIA school is on the average 2 or more years behind his non-Indian peers in terms of achievement test scores when he graduates from high school. Thus to bring its program up to national norms the Bureau of Indian Affairs must cut the number of dropouts in half, must doubt the number of Indian students going on to college provide an adequate elementary and secondary education background which will permit a doubling of the number of Indian students graduating from college, and a tenfold increase in the number of Indian students completing a masters degree.

Unfortunately, the Bureau of Indian Affairs does not have well-specified goals, and has never stated how or over what period of time they feel they can close the gap. The three charts on pages 61, 62, and 63 summarize the serious educational achievement deficiencies of the Indian student as compared with the non-Indian.

### 3. GOALS AND OPERATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

One of the most important findings of the ABT study was the dramatic disparity between the educational goals of the students and the expectations of the teachers and administrators. This is particularly important because educational research has demonstrated that teacher expectations have an important effect on student achievement. The self-fulfilling prophecy of failure seems to be a pervasive element in BIA schools.

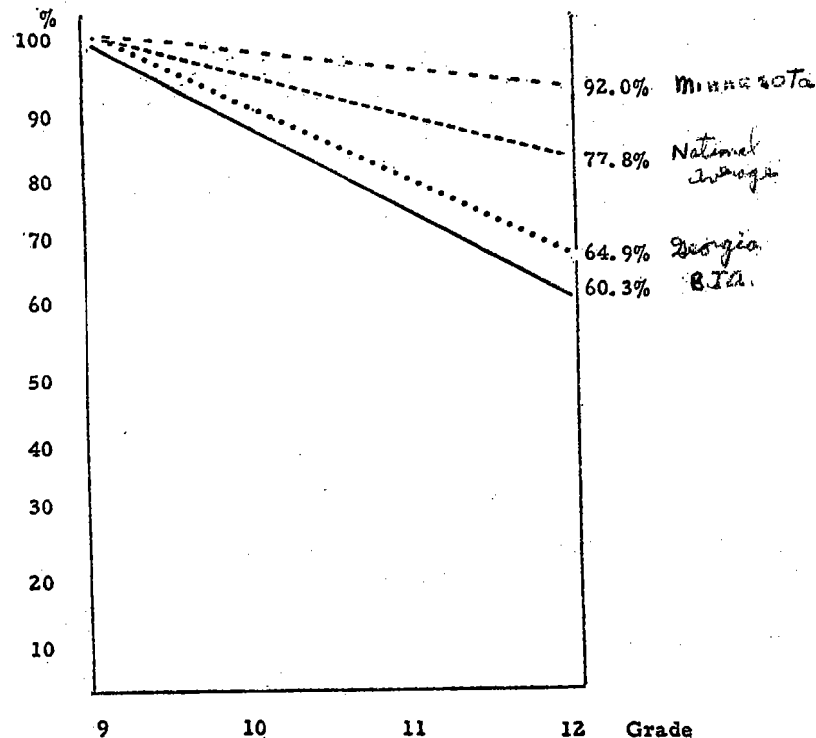
The study found that three-quarters of the Indian students wanted to go to college. Most of the students had a reasonable understanding of what college work entailed and 3 percent desired graduate studies at the masters or doctoral level. The students clearly desired a firm grounding in the core subject of English, mathematics, and science.

In dramatic contrast to the student goals, however, were those of teachers and administrators. When asked to name the most important things the schools should do for the students, only about one-tenth of the teachers mentioned academic achievement as an important goal. Teachers stressed the educational objectives of personality development, socialization, and citizenship.

Administrators generally responded similarly to teachers: this is not surprising, since all of them were formerly teachers, most quite recently. Only one administrator of the 35 interviewed was concerned primarily with the academic achievement of the student. The administrators do not generally express any need for a more intellectually challenging curriculum or for college preparations.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., ABT Associates, vol. II, p. 47.

Percentage of Ninth Grade Enrollment  
That Graduates From High School

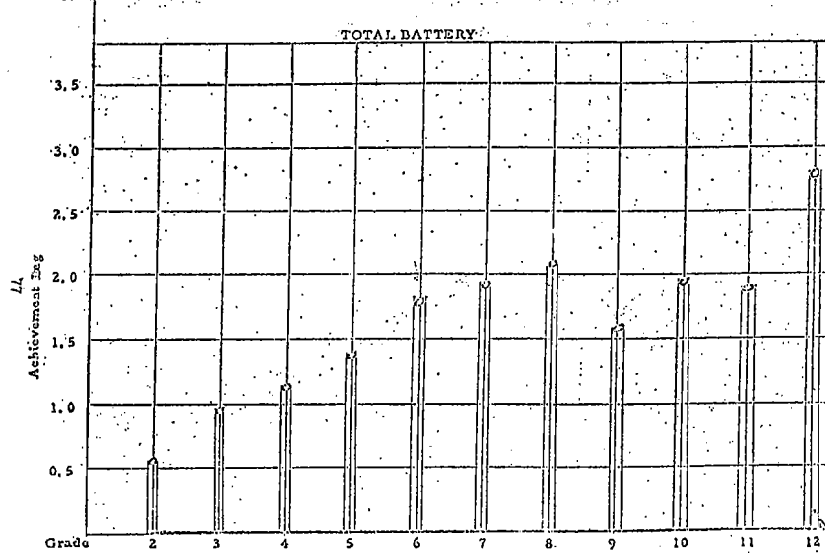


#### LEGEND:

----- (1966-67)	National Average
----- (1969-70 projected)	BIA Schools
.....	Georgia (poorest state average)
----- (1966-67)	Minnesota (best state average)

Apparently, many of the teachers still see their role as that of "civilizing the native." The study also found that, "teachers believe in a quiet obsolete form of occupational preparation, for which students show commendable little enthusiasm." One consequence of the unfortunate situation is a serious communications breakdown between student and staff and a serious lack of productive student-staff interactions.

In terms of operational philosophy several other deficiencies were noted. BIA administrators and teachers believe that Indians

ACHIEVEMENT LAG BEHIND NATIONAL NORMS OF ABOUT 22,000 INDIAN PUPILS IN BIA SCHOOLS<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Includes 3400 high school pupils excluding results for grades 10 and 12 in the Aberdeen area.

can choose only between total "Indianess"—whatever that is—and complete assimilation into the dominant society. There seems to be little if any understanding of acculturation processes or the desirability of "combining a firm cultural identity with occupational success and consequent self-esteem." Thus, the goal of BIA education appears to direct students toward migration to a city while at the same time it fails to "prepare students academically, socially, psychologically, or vocationally for urban life. As a result, many return to the reservations disillusioned, to spend the rest of their lives in economic and intellectual stagnation." The counterpart of this Alice-in-Wonderland philosophy is an almost total neglect of reservation life and problems. The study notes that "the common social problems of family instability, poor health, inadequate housing, alcoholism, and underemployment is today almost unaffected by educational programs."

#### 4. QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

The quality and effectiveness of instructional practices were found very unsatisfactory. For example:

\* The primary in-school cause of the low adequacy achievement levels of Indian students is the inadequacy of the instruction offered them for overcoming their severe environmental handicaps. A great proportion of the teachers in the BIA system lack the training necessary to teach pupils with the linguistic and economic disadvantages of the Indian child successfully. Only a handful of the Bureau's teachers are themselves Indians, although some bilingual Indian teaching aides are employed. Virtually no non-Indian teachers learn to

#### COMPARISON OF LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN CITIZENS

	U. S. Non-Indian Average	Indian Average	Deficits to be Corrected
Years schooling	10.6 <sup>1</sup>	8 <sup>2</sup>	2.6 years behind in 1960
Overage students (in all grades, stated as a % of total enrollment)	Under 20 %	42% <sup>3</sup> (7% 3-yrs. or more behind)	20% over-age
Academic achievement stated in average number of years behind on standardized achievement tests:			
gr. 2-5	0	1 yr. <sup>4</sup>	2 years retardation to overcome by the end of high school
gr. 6-8	0	2 yrs.	
gr. 9-12	0	2 yrs.	
Kindergarten enrollment as % of eligible children	73% of all 5-year-olds, 1965 <sup>5</sup>	under 10% <sup>6</sup> (820 children in Kindergarten in FY 1969)	13,000 more Indian children in Kindergarten

<sup>1</sup>Statistical Abstract, 1967, based on 1960 Census Data

<sup>2</sup>Census Reports, 1960.

<sup>3</sup>Based on BIA annual school attendance reports, 1967.

<sup>4</sup>All academic achievement data is based on different tests given to about 150 BIA schools enrolling almost 22,000 students, 3400 of whom were in the 11 high schools included in the sample.

<sup>5</sup>Statistical Abstract, 1967

<sup>6</sup>BIA Enumeration and Estimated Kindergarten-aged children.

speak an Indian language, nor are they given formal help to do so. Many tend to take little interest in intellectual and artistic achievement, and therefore fail to stimulate the development of intellectual curiosity and creativity in their pupils.<sup>8</sup>

\* The curriculums used in Bureau schools are generally inappropriate to the experience and needs of the students. Those for teaching linguistic skills are particularly unsuitable, as they fail to respond to the Indian child's unique language problems. Vocational training courses bear little relation to existing job markets. The teaching techniques commonly employed force upon Indian students a competition alien to their upbringings.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., vol. II.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., vol. II.

## 5. GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

Serious deficiencies in the guidance and counseling program in BIA schools were discovered. For example:

\* The ratio of guidance counselors to students is now approximately 1:600, counselors often lack professional training, and receive insufficient supervision; career and occupational counseling are only rarely offered; and psychological counseling is almost nonexistent. The ratio of counselors to Students should be reduced to 1:250.<sup>10</sup>

\* The common ratio of 1 dormitory counselor to well over 100 children is unacceptable, especially in light of the generally low level of professional training of the dormitory staff and the youth of the elementary school children. A major improvement in the number and quality of dormitory personnel is essential to bring supervision, guidance, and counseling up to the standards even of mediocre private boarding schools. These improvements would presumably require a sevenfold increase in expenditures on dormitory personnel.<sup>11</sup>

## 6. DISCIPLINE—STUDENT LIFE

School environment was sterile, impersonal and rigid, with a major emphasis on discipline and punishment, which is deeply resented by the students. They find the schools highly unacceptable from the standpoint of emotional, personality, and leadership development. For example:

\* Social activities involving both sexes, such as plays, concerts, dances, and social clubs, are relatively infrequent. According to the students, even when they are held they are usually over-chaperoned and end very early. Many teenage students also expressed great frustration with the boredom of weekends in the boarding school dormitories. Teachers and all but a few counselors depart, and almost no social activities are planned; it is hardly surprising, therefore, that students occasionally resort to drinking and glue-sniffing in order to relieve their boredom.<sup>12</sup>

\* Students complained bitterly of the lack of privacy in the dormitories, of the rigidity of their hours, and of the considerable attention devoted by dormitory staff to inspections and the enforcement of rules and order. At Haskell Institute, students reported that all electric power in the dormitories is turned off at night, to prevent them from reading or listening to the radio. Several students mentioned that they often needed flashlights to complete their reading assignments; they would hide beneath their blankets, so as to evade the notice of dormitory aides conducting bed checks.<sup>13</sup>

\* Dormitory discipline is often unnecessarily strict and confining. Students in their late teens and early twenties are often forced to conform to rules appropriate for children half

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., vol. II.  
<sup>11</sup> Ibid., vol. II, p. 87.  
<sup>12</sup> Ibid., vol. II, p. 88.  
<sup>13</sup> Ibid., vol. II, p. 88.

their age. Although students tend to observe these rules, this does not negate their harmful effect on student maturity, self-reliance, and self-discipline.<sup>14</sup>

## 7. PARENTAL PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL

The BIA has simply failed in its implementation of the "new policy" goal of maximizing parental and community participation in the schools in spite of the wishes of the Indian communities:

\* Despite a Presidential directive issued more than 2 years ago, only a few BIA schools are governed by elected school boards. This may in part be attributed to the reluctance of Indians and Eskimos in many areas to serve on school boards. Existing programs to enlist the participation of Indian adults in the control of the schools in their communities have enjoyed only partial success. In addition, no community control exists over those high schools which are located off the reservation and which include students from more than one tribe.<sup>15</sup>

(4) The relationship between school staff members and parents is usually too formal and distant. On the rare occasions when parents visit their children's schools, they often feel unwelcome.<sup>16</sup>

\* With few exceptions, the facilities, staff, and equipment of BIA schools are not used as community resources for adult education and other activities.<sup>17</sup>

\* Indians participate little or not at all in the planning and development of new programs for Indian education, training, employment, and economic development, despite approval of such participation by the national office of the BIA.<sup>18</sup>

## 8. ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The present organization and administration of the BIA school system could hardly be worse:

\* The special educational problems of a culturally different school population from unusually impoverished rural homes require an unusual degree of school system effectiveness, yet BIA schools are organized and managed in an unusually ineffective manner.<sup>19</sup>

\* There is at present no central authority that can relate educational expenditures to educational results. There is no standardized information on Indian student achievement or school profiles or teacher/student ratios or educational programs or educational curriculum which is used to make the Indian school system a better school system.<sup>20</sup>

\* At present, there is no clear chain of command from the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Education, to the

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., vol. II.  
<sup>15</sup> Ibid., vol. I, p. 41.  
<sup>16</sup> Ibid., vol. I, p. 52.  
<sup>17</sup> Ibid., vol. I, p. 46.  
<sup>18</sup> Ibid., vol. I, p. 46.  
<sup>19</sup> Ibid., vol. II, p. 191.  
<sup>20</sup> Ibid., vol. II, p. 197.

individual schools. Schools are dependent for many of their policies and resources on BIA administrators having no direct responsibility for, or knowledge of, education. The confusion and uncertainty of authority resulting from this lack of a clear chain of command from highest to lowest education officials has prevented effective program development, planning, budgeting, management, and control at all levels of the BIA school system.<sup>21</sup>

\* The BIA schools are organized as if the municipal water commissioner controlled a city's schools' textbook budget, and the parks commissioner controlled the schools' facilities, equipment, and personnel acquisitions, with the city school superintendent only an advisor to the mayor, yet responsible for the effective operation of the schools.<sup>22</sup>

#### 9. PERSONNEL SYSTEM

One particularly crucial area of concern in the overall effectiveness of the BIA school system lies in the area of personnel recruitment, retention, reward, and utilization. The BIA personnel system contains major deficiencies which undoubtedly have contributed very substantially to all of the other inadequacies already cited.

The turnover rate of teachers is much too high, and often the most ambitious and promising teachers leave the system first. The present centralized recruitment system is cumbersome and ineffective and controlled by non-educators.

In addition, the civil service status of BIA teachers and staff has severe disadvantages. It is very difficult to reward the outstanding teacher and even more difficult to fire the incompetent. It has been suggested that "the teachers ability to rely on their civil service tenure militates against the total commitment needed from them." They tend instead to provide a minimum of effort and time and "take little interest in the problems of the school and community." Also, the rigidity of the civil service system has made it difficult if not impossible to permit Indian tribes and communities some authority over teacher selection and training. Indian communities consider this to be the most critical aspect of their involvement in the school. The subcommittee concurs with the ABT report's conclusion regarding BIA personnel:

The systems analysis of BIA schools concludes that while many of the problems of the schools are determined by forces beyond their control, the existing staff is inadequate, in quality and quantity, to deal with them effectively. BIA personnel from administrators to dormitory staff, frequently neglect their responsibilities and take no individual initiative, either from frustration or cynicism. Many of the most capable personnel resign from the system after a short term of service. A few dedicated persons continue to exert themselves, in the hope that some Indian children will benefit by their efforts.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 192.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 193.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 146.

Why the Bureau of Indian Affairs has not considered its personnel system a top-priority concern, even to the extent of conducting a thorough study of the problems and alternative solutions, is difficult to understand. It stands out as another example of the Bureau's inability to confront its problems and carry out reform.

### C. SPECIAL PROBLEMS

#### 1. ELEMENTARY BOARDING SCHOOLS

As early as its first hearings in December of 1967, the subcommittee was informed that 7,476 Navajo children, ages 9 and under, were in 48 elementary boarding schools, on the Navajo Reservation. Although there are special educational and social reasons for placing children in boarding schools, in this case it was simply a matter of not having a day school (public or Federal) available.

Daniel J. O'Connell, M.D., executive secretary of National Committee on Indian Health, and the Association of American Indian Affairs went on record as opposed to the placement of children of this age group in boarding schools as a "destructive" practice which resulted in emotional damage to the children.<sup>24</sup>

Dr. O'Connell stated, "that there is almost universal agreement in the field of developmental psychology that early separation of a child from the family unit is a destructive influence." In addition, the point was made that extended family relationships are more complex and important to an Indian child than a white child and crucial to his development of a sense of identity. Thus, separation from the family is probably even more traumatic and emotionally destructive. The elementary boarding schools on the Navajo Reservation are totally inadequate as a substitute for parents and family. Even with very substantial improvements, they can never be an adequate or desirable substitute.

Not long after the first subcommittee hearings, a letter was received from a BIA teacher in one of the largest elementary boarding schools on the Navajo Reservation. It is a very perceptive letter and provided an excellent description of how one of these schools function.

I've only had experience (2 years) in teaching here at the Tuba City Boarding School. But I've seen enough here and at schools that I've visited, and talked with enough people from different places to come to some—hopefully accurate—conclusions. I hope they prove to be valid, and useful.

One major problem of course, is the boarding school per se. Although the idea of a boarding school, which draws in students from a broad area, is undoubtedly less expensive and more readily controlled than a large number of small day schools, and offers the students advantages such as a good diet and health and sanitation facilities, the problems that it creates are vast, and require solutions. The problems are often recognized, and are often bemoaned, but little has been done to eliminate them. One of these is distance from the home.

In an age and area which need local community interest, involvement, and understanding, in which we are supposed to

<sup>24</sup> Hearings, Subcommittee on Indian Education, pt. I, 1968, pp. 51-53.

be building and maintaining a harmony between cultures, we find many schools at such distances from the homes of the students, that meaningful contact is difficult to say the least. These distances make meaningful relationships, or even mere visiting, a severe hardship. (For example, the two young boys who froze to death while running away from a boarding school were trying to get to their homes—50 miles away.) The lack of transportation and the ruggedness of the terrain compound the problem.

As a result, most children on the reservation starting at the age of 6, only see their parents on occasional weekends, if that often. At these times parents are usually "allowed to check out their children"—if the child's conduct in school warrants it, in the opinion of the school administration. If he has been a "problem" (e.g., has run away) parents are often not allowed to take him until he has "learned his lesson." This may take up to a month to accomplish. This may tend to cut down on runaways, but it would seem that we should work toward eliminating the cause, rather than punishing the results.

However, these are often the lucky children. I have no evidence of this, except the word of teachers who are directly involved, but I have been told of schools (e.g., Toadlena Boarding School) at which parents are not allowed to check their children out on weekends, in order to eliminate runaways (except for emergencies).

When children are taken from their homes for 9 months a year, from age 6 onward, family ties are severely strained, and often dissolved. Even brothers and sisters in the same boarding school rarely see each other, due to dormitory situations, class, and dining hall arrangements. The children become estranged from relatives, culture, and much-admired traditional skills. (For example few of my students have been able to learn the art of rug weaving, or are familiar with Navajo legends, and sandpaintings.)

Yet, this could almost be understood if we were replacing it with something strong on which they could build a new life. We are not. We may be providing some opportunities for academic training—but that is all we are doing.

For example, my own school, the Tuba City Boarding School is the largest on the reservation, housing 1,200 elementary students. This alone creates immense problems. I don't believe any public school system in the country would tolerate an elementary school of this size, for the simple reason that the individual student would be lost in the crowd. We have them here, not only for an ordinary school day, but 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 9 months a year.

The problems of properly running any institution of this size are enormous—be it hospital, prison, or whatever. However when we are involved in what is actually the home situation of young children from another culture, we had best do

everything possible to provide a secure, pleasant, stable, and enlightening environment for them. We aren't.

For instance, if day schools are not possible, could we not at least provide some overnight guest facilities for parents who would like to visit their children? Nothing elaborate or expensive would be necessary—a hogan would suffice and could be put together easily by Navajos in the vicinity. Or, a small frame building might be constructed.

Yet, as far as I know, this is not done anywhere. This might tend to make the school more of a Navajo school, and less a white school for Navajos.

There are many other ways in which the schools could serve. For instance, they could be opened in the evening to provide training, or formal courses, or just things of interest, to the people. Areas which require instruction, such as English, or writing, could be taught by the teachers themselves. In many depressed areas, teachers earn extra money by such professional means. Why not here? Also, many talented Navajos might wish earn extra money by conducting courses in the weaving of quality rugs, or in teaching oral English to the people. Consumer and health education could be included, with field trips to make them meaningful. The possibilities are endless. Yet nothing is being done in this area. \* \* \*

However, no matter how lacking our program may appear to be, we always manage to consider the academic department to be high quality when we compare ourselves with our dormitory counterpart, the "guidance" department. Herein lies the most serious deficiency of the entire boarding school system, for these people are in charge of the children 16 hours a day, 7 days a week, yet they are understaffed, underprogrammed, undersupervised and overextended. For example, each dormitory has only one teacher, and it is extremely difficult to find suitable personnel for these crucial, demanding positions. Yet, even the finest teachers could accomplish little, when they are working with 150 children of a different culture, and are responsible for their care and welfare 7 days a week.

Of course, there are aids working with the teachers—usually two, but occasionally only one on duty at a time. However, what with trying to mend clothes, supply linens, check roll, keep order, fill out forms, prepare children for meals, bathing, school, and bed, there is little time to do more than keep the walls from being pulled down. There is nothing to take the place of the homes they have left behind, or the personal interest and training they would have received from their families. The social relationships and interaction which brings about stability and contentment are denied them.

Even an effective guidance program could not replace that. But the truth is, we don't have an effective guidance program, only a "maintenance" program, due to the shortages of guidance personnel, funding, and planning. This accounts for the high degree of regimented confusion that abounds after the



school day ends. Vast blocks of time are filled with boredom or meaningless activity. There are no learning activities, and few recreational or craft areas being worked in.

The children search everywhere for something—they grasp most hungrily at any attention shown them, or to any straw, that might offer escape from boredom. You can't help but see it in their faces when you visit the dorms of the younger children. At the older boy's dormitories, they are used to the conditions—you can see that too. They no longer expect anything meaningful from anyone. Many have lost the ability to accept anything past the material level, even when it is offered. Unless you lived with them over a period of time, and see the loneliness and the monotony of the daily routine, you cannot appreciate the tragedy of it but it's there.

Because of the shortage of personnel, there is a tendency—a pronounced tendency—to “herd” rather than guide. The boys and girls are yelled at, bossed around, chased here and there, told and untold, until it is almost impossible for them to attempt to do anything on their own initiative—except, of course, to run away. The guidance people indefinitely need help.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the historical precedent of extensive utilization of Federal day schools in the 1930's and the fact that means have been found to bus 2,300 Navajo Headstart children on a daily basis to 115 different sites across the reservation (by leasing smaller buses), the usual reason put forward for the existence of elementary boarding schools is the lack of all-weather roads on the reservation. It is surprising, therefore, to discover that two-thirds of the Navajo children in elementary boarding schools live 25 miles or less from the school they attend, and 90 percent of them live 50 miles or less. In light of this information (which the BIA had not been aware of until requested to prepare the data for the subcommittee) one would assume there would be an integrated school and road construction plan. However, according to a recent report of the House Appropriations Committee investigating staff, “BIA has never requested or required a study on the Navajo Indian Reservation which would show the effect of road construction on proposed school construction and operations. There are no present plans to revise the 10-year road construction plan to take into consideration BIA school construction or operations. BIA procedures require that separate proposals be submitted for road construction and for school construction.”<sup>26</sup> The subcommittee hearings in Flagstaff also revealed the fact that Navajo families and communities are never involved in the planning or the site selection for new schools. They have objected vociferously on numerous occasions but have as yet to be listened to.

Despite a general agreement that elementary boarding schools are destructive, no concerted effort has been made to do anything about them, and a thorough study of the problem by an independent team of consultants has never been requested or conducted. In May 1967 the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health requested that such a study be conducted. Nothing has happened to date.

<sup>25</sup> Hearings, Subcommittee on Indian Education, pt. 5, 1968, pp. 2130-2133.

<sup>26</sup> Hearings, Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1969, pt. 2, p. 597.

Because of this lack of sufficient data, the subcommittee held public hearings in the fall of 1968 to gain additional information. At those hearings two psychiatrists, Dr. Karl Menninger and Dr. Robert Leon, testified that elementary boarding schools were destructive and should be abolished. Dr. Robert Bergman, the psychiatrist presently serving the Navajo reservation, has pointed out in a paper prepared for the subcommittee that the boarding schools have a negative effect on the Navajo family and social structure as well as on the children.

Among the young adults who are the first generation of Navajo in which the majority went to school, there are many severe problems. The problems that occur with excessive frequency are ones involving the breakdown of social control: drunkenness, child neglect, and drunken and reckless driving. Alarming numbers of people have lapsed into an alienated, apathetic life marked by episodes of delinquency and irresponsibility. \* \* \* I have encountered many mothers who take the attitude that they should not have to be burdened with their children and that the hospital or some other institution should care for them. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that their having been placed by their own parents in an impersonal institution contributes to such attitudes, and it is noticeable that the boarding schools provide children and adolescents with little or no opportunity to take care of other children or even of themselves.<sup>27</sup>

The Meriam Report in 1928 had noted the same thing.

Indian parents nearly everywhere ask to have their children during the early years, and they are right. The regrettable situations are not those of Indians who want their children at home, but of those who do not, and there is apparently a growing class of Indian parents who have become so used to being fed and clothed by the Government that they are glad to get rid of the expense and care of their children by turning them over to the boarding school.

## 2. OFF-RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS

As early as its first hearings in December of 1967, the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education was made aware of the mental health problems associated with Indian boarding schools. Since that time, the subcommittee has sought to gather as much information as possible about those boarding schools which appeared most problematic: the elementary boarding schools on the Navajo Reservation and the off-reservation boarding schools in which students with a variety of “social” problems are enrolled.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs operates boarding schools in all, with a total student population that exceeds 34,000. More than 12,000 students attend the 19 off-reservation boarding schools; approximately 10,000 students are enrolled in the 13 off-reservation boarding schools in which subcommittee staff and consultants have conducted formal evaluations. (These are published in a separate Committee print).

<sup>27</sup> Hearings, Subcommittee on Indian Education, pt. 3, 1968, p. 1126.

The following criteria are used as the basis for admission:

*Education criteria*

1. Those for whom a public or Federal day school is not available. \* \* \*
2. Those who need special vocational or preparatory courses, not available to them locally, to fit them for gainful employment. \* \* \*
3. Those retarded scholastically 3 or more years or those having pronounced bilingual difficulties. \* \* \*

*Social Criteria*

1. Those who are rejected or neglected for whom no suitable plan can be made.
2. Those who belong to large families with no suitable home and whose separation from each other is undesirable.
3. Those whose behavior problems are too difficult for solution by their families or through existing community facilities. \* \* \*
4. Those whose health or proper care is jeopardized by illness of other members of the household.

The determination of "eligibility" of students enrolled under one of the social criteria is made by Bureau social workers on the student's reservation. Although parental approval and approval of the reservation superintendent are also required, social workers usually initiate the application process and are the primary decision agents. As John Bjork notes in his evaluation of the Flandreau School:

Decisions to send children to boarding schools are made at the local level and may well be one of the most vital effects upon his life that a child will ever encounter. Once in the boarding school system he is not likely to leave it.<sup>28</sup>

Mr. Bjork recommends that the decisionmaking process by reservation school administrators, social workers, tribal councils, and the courts is worthy of "determined study and analysis." The subcommittee concurs.

As the evaluation reports make clear, the student population of the off-reservation boarding schools is one with special social and emotional problems. At the Albuquerque Indian School, 50 percent of the students were enrolled under the social criteria; at Busby, 98 percent; Chilocco, 75 percent; Flandreau, 90 percent; and Stewart, 80 percent. Further, the Bureau estimates that at least 25 percent of the students in these schools are public school dropout (or pushouts). Others have accepted boarding school placement as an alternative to a reformatory. And many move from school to school year after year.

Student mobility among boarding schools causes its own particular problems. Reporting on the Pierre school, Bjork notes that

The academic record of a child generally accompanies him without too much difficulty; the system fails, however, if the child moves frequently. Social summaries continue to be brief and outdated in many instances.<sup>29</sup>

And, at the Intermountain school, the evaluation report cites the staggering administrative problem caused by the arrival of hundreds of students without records of any kind. This year there were over 600.

<sup>28</sup> "A Compendium of Federal Boarding School Evaluations," Committee Print, vol. 3, October 1969, Subcommittee on Indian Education.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

Scattered among the boarding school students who are enrolled for social reasons are those whose presence is derived solely from the inaccessibility of education close to home. Several of the evaluation reports highlight the difficulties of such heterogeneity. The Bureau's Intermountain evaluation, for example, states:

A decision needs to be made about the direction of the school and the type of student it will serve. At present Intermountain School has such a varied student body that it is impossible for the present staff and faculty to meet all needs of all students. And, again we heard the comment, we do not know what our mission is, are we going to serve as a dumping ground for youngsters the reservation schools do not want, do we operate a vocational high school with some terminal training, or do we operate a comprehensive high school program?<sup>30</sup>

The effects on Chilocco, as observed and reported by Richard Hovis, a student teacher, are similarly distressing:

The few delinquents at Chilocco give the whole school a reform school atmosphere. A small number of the students are sent there because they can't get along anywhere else. These students force the administration to be very strict with rules and regulations. As a result, many teachers categorize all the students as delinquent cases and treat them as such. It is no wonder that the students have little to say in class when they are thought of as poor, ignorant, Indian juvenile delinquents.<sup>31</sup>

At Flandreau, the report quotes the principal's remark that he is not sure anyone knows or agrees upon the goals of the school. To the agency social worker and the superintendent, Flandreau is a dumping ground. The principal stated:

Students now come for social reasons, but the staffing hasn't changed one bit to meet the social reasons . . . We talk social problems yet respond in an academic manner.<sup>32</sup>

The same lack of appropriate response to social problems is presented by Dr. Anthony S. Elite in his report of the Phoenix Indian School. Dr. Elite says:

At the Phoenix Indian School alone, for example, out of an enrollment of approximately 1,000 students, over 200 come from broken homes. Five hundred and eighty students are considered academically retarded. There are at least 60 students enrolled where there exists a serious family drinking problem. From September to December of 1967, there were 16 reported cases of serious glue sniffing. The school is often pressured into accepting students with a history of juvenile delinquency and overt emotional disturbance.

With this great change in the profile of the student body there has not been a concomitant change in staffing skilled workers or training existing personnel to cope with these problems.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

The situation has reached crisis proportions.<sup>33</sup>

Although one would expect that the program offered to Indian students in off-reservation boarding schools would differ from the standard secondary fare, reviewers discovered quite the opposite.

The Oglala team, for example found the following:

The curriculum is basically college preparatory. During the freshman year, each student is required to take a course in the practical arts; but, the advance offerings in this area are very limited. During our visitation with students, they expressed a desire for courses which would better prepare them to go directly to employment. The present curriculum has no department which is providing terminal education.<sup>34</sup>

At Busby, the evaluators conclude that "The program has practically no relevancy to any student needs." About Flandreau, Bjork writes:

The school appears to have resolved the old "saw" of whether schools are providing "terminal" education with a firm negative response from everyone, except those staff members concerned with other than academic education.<sup>35</sup>

At Stewart, the evaluators found students who required intensive remedial work. Instead, they were offered "watered-down 'easy' curriculum".

The mathematics program provides a good example. The first course for "high school" students teaches addition and subtraction. The second-level course deals with all four basic operations plus fractions. The next course is concerned with proportions for simple algebra, while the top course is finally algebra.<sup>36</sup>

The Stewart evaluation concludes:

One of the major problems at Stewart is that no one seems to have identified the fact that Stewart is a specialized school dealing almost exclusively with problem children who are low achievers. Eighty percent of the students are assigned to Stewart for this reason and yet the school is operated as though this wasn't true.<sup>37</sup>

After reading these reports, it is not difficult to understand why the academic performance of boarding school students, as measured by standardized tests in school after school, falls 2½ to 3 years below grade level, sometimes more. Not only do the students bring learning handicaps at entry, but the educational program proceeds in complete oblivion of their need.

If the evaluation teams found the schools' programs sorely in need of change, their impressions of staff adequacy were hardly more encouraging. In many cases, neither the quality nor the quantity of personnel was judged satisfactory. The reports frequently cite insufficient numbers of dormitory personnel and lack of training for these positions as especially serious flaws.

The summary of the Seneca evaluation comments:

The boarding school staff is almost entirely Indian, with the median age in the forties; many of them have attended board-

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>34</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>35</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>36</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

ing school or have spent all or most of their working lives in boarding schools. Their approach to dealing with youth, whatever it may be, appears to be based on this background.<sup>38</sup>

An evaluator of the Sherman Institute writes:

\* \* \* A rapid survey of the Institute produces the impression of a rigid, uncompromising, bureaucratic, authoritarian, non-innovative feudal barony in which students are "handled" or "processed" rather than educated.<sup>39</sup>

And, in the reports on Flandreau and Pierre, these statements appear:

Staffing patterns should be adjusted to needs of the pupils. If the schools continue to be operated for children in trouble of one kind or another, the proportion of education specialists capable of remedial instruction, social welfare, guidance, counseling, analysis, and recreation should be sharply stepped up. These services are vitally needed now and there is probably no circumstance of redefinition of the schools' mission which should not include at least a modest increase in these kinds of personnel. If schools assume a parental role and provide a home, they should be vastly more concerned for the hours of pupils outside the classroom—in recreation, games, entertainment, work, study, and personal growth.

Pre-service and in-service preparation of teachers must be organized and pushed. It is not humane nor efficient to allow teachers to learn their profession by practicing on the defenseless. The preparation and development of instructional aides and matrons is a matter of high priority.<sup>40</sup>

Neither the program nor the personnel, and obviously the two are related, suit the majority of the student body of the off-reservation boarding schools. In his report on Flandreau, John Bjork offers his understanding:

The schools are operated solely by educators for students referred, in the main, by social workers. The schools accept, knowingly, a wide variety of complex social, psychological, educational and cultural disorders. Social workers and educators "use" the outmoded idea that sending people far from the scene of their social and emotional problems will somehow, almost miraculously, solve the problems. (The demise, years ago, of orphanages and, more recently, large isolated state mental hospitals, attest to the abandonment of this theory in social and psychiatric thinking.) Further, it is commonly acknowledged by BIA social workers and educators alike that when social histories are written, the sophisticated referral includes just enough damaging evidence to "justify" removal of the child from his home community, but not enough to preclude his acceptance at the school. The school is, indeed, a dumping ground. Should the adjustment process prove too difficult for school or student, he is returned home or passed along to another boarding school, day school, public school, training school, state hospital, or lost completely. For the

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>39</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

student, the psychosocial nomadism and chameleon responses, described by the Flandreau Papers, set in. For the staff, distrust and alienation are heightened.

The situation demands imaginative and cooperative child health, welfare, and education programming at the local level. Fragmentation of effort is rampant and the power structure is well established.<sup>41</sup>

Not only at Flandreau, but all the off-reservation boarding schools, the institutions are operated solely by educators for students referred primarily by social workers. They are not equipped to deal with the problems for which the students were referred. Once the referral is completed, there is little communication between the educators and the social workers. Nor is there adequate communication between the Division of Indian Health personnel and the school staffs. Clearly, much of the blame for these schools' failings must be attributed to this fractionalization of responsibility. Its effects are well described in the Busby evaluation:

It is not doing any kind of a job of rehabilitating the misfit children in its boarding school program; but then it was not designed, funded or staffed as a mental health clinic. The Busby school, both day and boarding, seems to be operating primarily as a custodial institution, designed and functioning to give Indian children something apparently relevant to do until they are 18 years old while creating a minimum of anxiety for all concerned—pupils, parents and staff.<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps the greatest irony of all is that even as custodial institutions, the Bureau's off-reservation boarding schools are not satisfactory. Several reports point to examples of overcrowding in dormitories or classrooms, of lack of privacy for the students, of inadequate areas for study and recreation, of unappealing meals, of rules which irritate older students by their rigid enforcement and inappropriateness to the student's age, and of punitive discipline. That the dormitories are like "barracks": that the living conditions are "sterile" and "unimaginative" and "institutional"—these are the descriptions that reappear.

If the boarding schools acted only as custodial institutions, criticism enough could be directed at their failing to educate and at their failing to meet the psychological and social needs of the students as individuals. A strong case can be made, however, that the boarding schools contribute to the students' mental health problems. In testimony before the subcommittee, Dr. Robert Leon reported the following:

Some of the effects of Indian boarding schools are demonstrated by the very people who are now working in the boarding schools. Many Indian employees, most of whom are guidance personnel, are themselves a product of the Indian boarding school. I have found that some of these people have great difficulty in discussing their own experience as Indian students. Many of them show, what I would call, a blunting of their emotional responses. This I would attribute to the separation from the parents and the oppressive atmosphere of the boarding school.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Hearings, Subcommittee on Indian Education, pt. 5, 1968, p. 2152.

Another observer, Dr. Thaddeus Krush, reported his "Thoughts on the Formation of Personality Disorder" after a study of an Indian boarding school population. He concluded that the students' "frequency of movement and the necessity to conform to changing standards can only lead to confusion and disorganization of the child's personality. The frequency of movement further interferes with and discourages the development of lasting relations in which love and concern permit adequate maturation."<sup>44</sup> Other mental health experts have expressed similar concerns about the effects of boarding school institutionalization. If they continue to exist, it is painfully obvious that their mission, staffing and program must be freshly tailored to the very special needs of their student bodies.

Of that, the summary of the Stewart evaluators leaves little doubt:

Stated succinctly, we feel Stewart is a tragedy. Historically an isolated school for problem children, it is now the school to which Indian children from the Southwest are sent as the only alternative to dropping out of education entirely. At Stewart these children are passed from one vocational department to another, never receiving sufficient training to prepare them for jobs, and never receiving the remedial programs necessary to cope with their deficiencies in reading and writing English. They graduate from the school with a high school diploma and a ninth-grade education. \* \* \*

The teachers at Stewart know their task is hopeless. They accept the "low potential" of their students, and expect to prepare them for the lowest of occupations. They are indifferent, uncreative, and defeated. The guidance staff attempts to ameliorate the schools' archaic social rules, but must fight dormitory aides who were educated at Stewart and who believe in and enforce strict discipline and puritanism. The principal believes in trying new approaches and remedial programs, but must work with teachers whom he has not chosen, and a completely inadequate budget. The students must obey rigid social rules characteristic of reform schools, while living under the lie that they are actually receiving a high school education. They have almost no contact with the world outside the barbed-wire boundaries of the campus, and cannot even return to their homes for Christmas. That they remain vibrantly alive human beings at Stewart is neither an excuse for the schools' existence nor a negation of the tragedy. They remain children confused and threatened by White America, deprived of an adequate education and subjected to inhumane rules restricting every aspect of their lives.<sup>45</sup>

Dr. Jones M. Kilgore, Jr., a psychiatrist who since 1960 has been a consultant to the Public Health Service and has worked with students at the Phoenix Indian School, has made the following recommendations in a report to the subcommittee:

In my rethinking the problems of a boarding school off the reservation, I have arrived at several conclusions. There are tremendous problems involved in managing a boarding school off the reservation in terms of teaching and taking care

<sup>44</sup> Op. Cit. Committee print, vol. 3, October 1969.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

of the students as well as meeting their emotional needs and giving them guidance in developing into young adults. Most of the students come to the boarding school because they are having problems on the reservation with the schools that are locally available to them or with their parents and many have rather severe psychological problems imbedded within their early personality development. \* \* \* It is my opinion that the boarding school, if it is to continue and be allowed to exist, should be made into a "residential treatment center school" with emphasis not only on giving adequate education, but also providing adequate foster parents and appropriate plans for mental health development and treatment of mental disorders.<sup>46</sup>

A similar recommendation for transforming the off-reservation boarding school was made to the subcommittee by Dr. Robert L. Leon in his testimony on October 1, 1968. Dr. Leon phrased his recommendation this way:

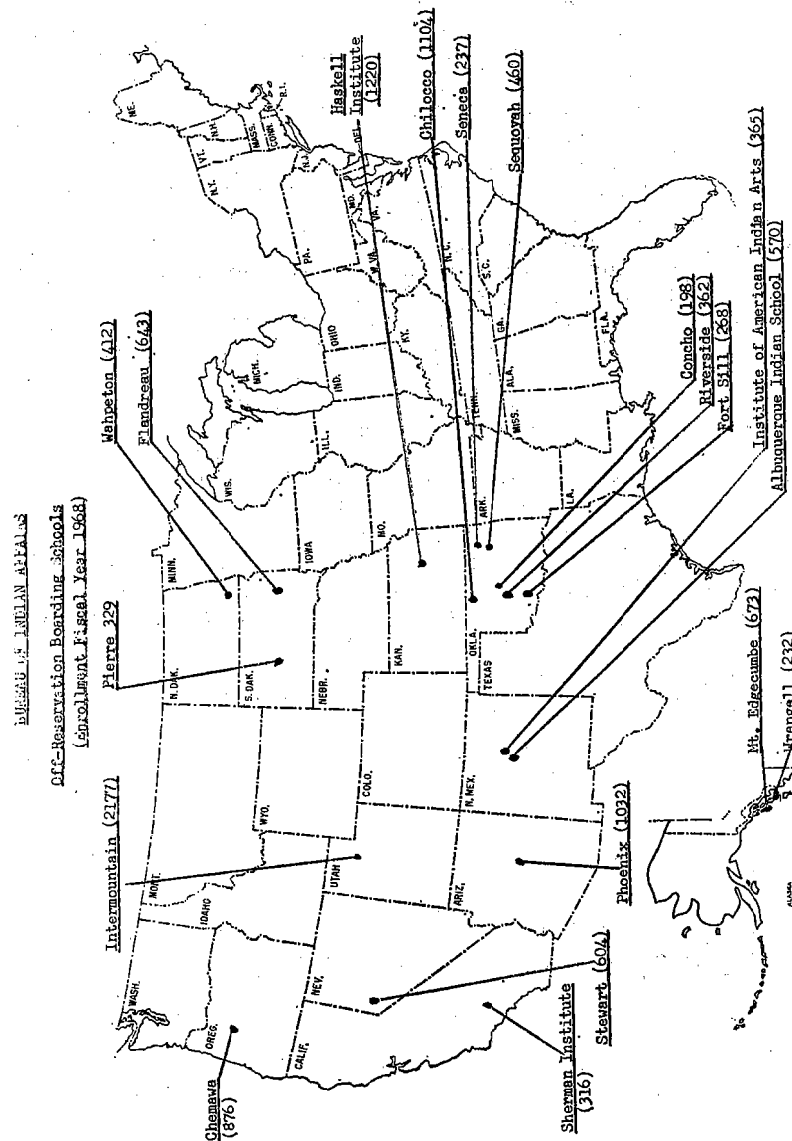
I propose to you that funds be made available from the Congress to convert many of the Indian boarding schools into residential treatment centers for emotionally disturbed children. The schools which are converted into residential treatment centers should be administered by mental health personnel. The program should be planned and developed jointly by mental health and educational personnel. All educational and dormitory personnel should have training in the care and treatment of emotionally disturbed and socially deprived children.<sup>47</sup>

In making this recommendation, Dr. Leon contends that the present inadequacy of the boarding schools to treat the emotional problems of the student nullifies the educational effort; that, bluntly, the boarding school experience "does more harm than good. They do not educate; they alienate."

Dr. Kilgore and Dr. Leon are not unprecedented in their suggestion. The Meriam report, some 40 years back, suggested that some of the off-reservation boarding schools "might well become special schools for distinctive groups of children":

For the mentally defective that are beyond the point of ordinary home and school care; for \* \* \* extreme "behavior problem" cases, thereby relieving the general boarding schools from a certain number of their pupils whose record is that of delinquents, who complicate unnecessarily the discipline problem, and for whom special treatment is clearly indicated.

Since so many of the students in the off-reservation boarding schools do comprise a group with special psychological problems, these recommendations make eminent good sense. It is unfair not only to these students, but to their more fortunate classmates, to treat them in an undifferentiated curriculum. It is overly harsh to send these young people to off-reservation boarding schools because of "social" reasons and then to fail to provide assistance for their problems.



<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Hearings, Subcommittee on Indian Education, pt. 5, 1968, p. 2155.

## D. SPECIAL PROGRAMS

## 1. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

In 1928, the Meriam report criticized the inadequate and ineffective vocational training programs being offered by the BIA. As a result, a number of changes were made and new programs initiated.

Vocational courses were improved and an attempt was made to relate them to the economic base of the reservations. Although academic courses were upgraded and increased and provision was made for higher education, vocational education still dominated the Bureau's approach to Indian education.

It was the Bureau relocation program, begun in 1952 that spotlighted the deficiencies in the Bureau high school vocational program. The relocation program was designed to provide the means whereby Indians could leave the economically depressed reservations and go to an urban area where jobs were more plentiful.

The Indian family or single adult was transported to certain cities where the BIA had established relocation field offices to receive them. Field office staff provided general counseling to the relocatees and assisted them in finding employment and housing. Financial support was provided until the relocatee was employed and receiving wages.

It soon became apparent that the undereducated, poorly trained Indian with his rural background and cultural differences had not been adequately equipped to compete in the labor market or make an adequate social adjustment to his new environment.

As a result of these deficiencies, between 1953 and 1957, three out of 10 relocatees returned to the reservation in the same year they had been relocated. There are no statistics which would show how many eventually returned, but the rough estimates run as high as 75 percent. A follow-up study conducted by the Bureau in 1968 of Indians relocated in 1963 indicated that only 17 percent were still in the area to which they had been relocated.

The general failure of the relocation program to achieve the objectives for which it had been established had a major impact on vocational education in the BIA and generated a response in two areas. New legislation was passed in 1956 to provide training for Indian adults so that they could meet the labor market standards of the cities where they were relocated.

The second impact of the relocation debacle was on the Federal school system. The failure of the program brought into sharp focus the shortcomings of the vocational education program provided in high schools operated the Bureau. In 1957, a period of study and evaluation began and in 1963, a new policy was set forth which, in theory, ended vocational education in Bureau high schools.

Under the new policy, BIA high schools would now provide only prevocational education. Thus, at the high school level, a prevocational curricula would be adopted that would qualify students for admission to post-secondary schools. Such a curricula would include, at the ninth grade level, emphasis on reading, writing, and arithmetic, a series of "practical arts" courses which would teach purchasing, packaging, money management, etc., and field trips to acquaint students with various occupational fields. At the 10th, 11th, and 12th grade level, the

curricula would be focused on preparatory or "exploratory" shop courses which would give the student a basic knowledge and experience in occupational fields.

With a curricula now giving primary emphasis to academic courses and offering only prevocational education, the Bureau established a goal of 90 percent graduation rate by 1970 with 50 percent of those graduating going on to college and 50 percent attending postsecondary vocational schools.

Recent data demonstrates that the 1963 policy for Bureau high schools falls far short of the goals set for 1970. The 1967 statistics reveal a 40 percent dropout rate of students entering high school with only 28 percent of those who finish high school entering college. Of the 28 percent going to college, only one-fourth graduate. It appears that 45 percent of the high school graduates continue their training other than at college, but information is not available on how many complete their training. BIA schools maintain very inadequate followup records or no records at all.

The success of the prevocational program is dependent upon the adequacy of the academic program, the ability of the students to master the program, and the adequacy of vocational guidance counseling. Several studies have been made of the achievement level of Indian students entering high school. Many of these studies indicate that Indian students have an achievement level 2 or 3 years below grade level when they enter the ninth grade, and fall even farther behind in high school. Obviously, such students will have great difficulty in post high school training programs.

Other studies point out a desperate shortage of trained guidance counselors in the Bureau schools. Coupled with this is the fact that many of the qualified counselors in the Federal schools are not being used effectively or are not being used at all in their professional capacity. Moreover, qualified counselors rarely have a background in vocational education. Counseling in the field of vocational education requires special knowledge. One study states that there is a "built-in bias" in all high schools in providing counseling for college-bound students, but very little guidance for those students interested in vocational schooling. Reports from Bureau personnel confirm that this attitude is even more prevalent in Bureau schools.

Another source of information on how well the 1963 policy is functioning with regard to prevocational training are the evaluations of Federal Boarding Schools conducted by the subcommittee staff and consultants. The following excerpts and comments on the evaluation reports of four BIA schools point up dramatically the inadequacy of the present high school program.

*Stewart Indian School.*—" \* \* \* the Stewart experience falls far short of an academic challenge." Students see the school "as an easy place." The "watered down" academic curricula is " \* \* \* given secondary consideration to the vocational program."

However, the vocational program (prevocational except for house and sign painting) is not much better.

Initially, students are rotated from one vocation specialty to another \* \* \* until the junior year, after which they spend one half day of each school day in one vocation \* \* \* The

boys who do best are encouraged to take painting or carpentry, while the "low" achievers are placed in general farm work and heavy equipment operations. The girls may choose from one two fields—general and home services (domestic work) or "hospital ward attendant" training, which the girls considered a degrading farce—a euphemism (they say) for more domestic work.

\* \* \* the children \* \* \* are passed from one vocation department to another never receiving sufficient training to prepare them for jobs. They graduate from the school with a high school diploma and a 9th grade education and expect to compete with other Indians as well as non-Indians in post-graduate vocational schools and the job market.<sup>48</sup>

It is readily apparent from such a description that not only does the high school prevocational effort at Stewart fail to prepare the student for employment, but it also fails to prepare him for further vocational training.

*Flandreau Indian Boarding School, Flandreau, South Dakota.*—The Flandreau school receives many of the academically retarded and "social problem" students and is considered a "dumping ground" for this purpose. The curricula is intended to be prevocational, but the evaluation team found considerable confusion as to the specific goals of the school.

The students appear to want more vocational training as "[they] are spending more time in the shops than they did the previous year when classes were an hour long." \* \* \* Students progress at their own rate [in the shops] and take tests when they feel they are ready. \* \* \* Of the upper classmen who do not take shop, half can't because they've failed required courses. \* \* \* Mr. Mullin [an instructor] admitted that some of the training was being given with obsolete equipment."<sup>49</sup>

In defense of the administrators of the Flandreau school, it can be said that the "confusion" as to its purpose and goals reflects the indecision and vacillation at the policy-making levels of the Bureau.

*Chilocco Indian School, Chilocco, Okla.*—As with the Flandreau and Stewart schools, Chilocco receives many of the academically retarded and socially maladjusted Indian students. Also, as in the Flandreau school, there is pitiful lack of program direction. The evaluation report states that, "There seems to be a question of whether Chilocco should provide a vocational, comprehensive, or academic program."

According to the administrators, "Chilocco is de-emphasizing its vocational program in accordance with the 1963 policy statement, but 50% of its students entering 9th grade fail to graduate," and "the number of graduates entering college is practically nil." One evaluation team states that, "\* \* \* the program at Chilocco is inadequate in every respect." The classes are too large, there is not enough equipment, and what equipment they have is obsolete and inoperable.<sup>50</sup>

*Sherman Institute, Riverside, California.*—The evaluators of this school summarized their findings as follows:

<sup>48</sup> Op. cit., Committee print, vol. 3, October 1969.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

1. Inadequate outside evaluation.
2. Inadequate staff, both administrative and qualitative.
3. Inadequate administrative skill in budgeting, use of surplus property, etc.
4. Inadequate vigor in defending the interests of the students.
5. Inadequate admissions criteria.
6. Inadequate feed back of results.
7. Inadequate funding.
8. Inadequately identified goals.
9. Inadequate plant facilities.
10. Inadequate vocational training.<sup>51</sup>

Even had the vocational program of the school been found adequate, it could not have operated effectively in light of these serious general deficiencies.

The evaluators found that the industrial arts courses appeared to be "hobby shops."

The shops and labs are pro forma. Metal and wood working machines and tools are limited in scope and are of World War II vintage. By most minimal vocational training standards, they are inadequate in size, equipment, and staff.<sup>52</sup>

One theme running through these evaluations is that the vocational programs lack a central, unified, coherent structure and focus, both within each school and within the Bureau system. In summary, although the current philosophy of the Bureau is to prepare students for off-reservation employment, it does ". . . not prepare students academically, socially, psychologically, or vocationally for urban life." It can equally well be said that the limited prevocational program in BIA schools has no relevance to manpower needs or economic development of the Indian community.

## 2. HIGHER EDUCATION

In an average class of 400 Indian students in Bureau high schools, 240 can be expected to graduate from high school. Of those 240, 67 can be expected to attend college. Of these 67, only 19 will graduate from college.<sup>53</sup> According to October 1966 statistics, 2.2 percent of the national population was enrolled in college. Only one percent of the Indian population was in college at that time.<sup>54</sup>

Yet despite the few number of Indians in college, and the even fewer number who graduate from college, Indian students have expressed a definite desire to attend college. The study by ABT Associates, Inc., found that three-fourths of the Indian students in Bureau schools wanted to go to college.<sup>55</sup> Three percent desired graduate studies at the masters or doctoral levels. Less than 18 percent wanted their education to end after high school. The study found the students' aspirations unmatched with their teacher expectations, though. According to the report, "The majority of the teachers not only did not consider

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Report of ABT Associates, Inc., Cambridge, Mass., prepared for BIA, 1969.

<sup>54</sup> Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>55</sup> ABT Study, p. 46.

college preparation the primary objective, but almost totally rejected graduate education as a goal."<sup>56</sup>

There are many reasons why there aren't more Indians in college, and why, once they are enrolled, they are more prone than non-Indians to dropping out. The expectations of teachers, as cited above, are most important. If a teacher doesn't think his pupils are worthy of college, the pupil begins to internalize the teacher's belief, and looks upon himself as unfit for college. The subcommittee hearings record several examples of teachers and counselors discouraging Indians from higher education, in some instances, just because they were Indian.

Dr. Lionel H. de Montigny, Deputy Director of the Division of Indian Health in the Public Health Service at Portland, Oregon, reported the following incident in a letter to the subcommittee:

David Butler, a Makah Indian, wanted to enter college with the hope of entering medical school at a later date. His local advisers told him that it was out of the question. No Makah had ever applied before and he could not be expected to make it. He was advised to become a cook.<sup>57</sup>

Guidance counselors in Bureau schools often serve more as dormitory managers and disciplinarians than as persons interested in guiding Indians into higher education. Bureau guidance counselors meet civil service requirements, but very few are State-certified professional counselors. A 1969 survey of the Navajo area school system showed that only 30 of 160 guidance counselors were professional counselors certified by the State.<sup>58</sup>

When many Indians get into a college they find themselves inadequately prepared academically to deal with college work. Most Indians graduate from high school about 2 years behind the average non-Indian high school graduate in the United States. The language difference also serves as a handicap to many Indian students. McGrath's study of more than 600 Indian college students in the Southwest found that facility with English, as measured by standard tests and instructors' evaluations, was definitely correlated with success in college.<sup>59</sup> Another study showed that the bilingual college student lacked self confidence, felt unprepared to deal with the college environment, and, on the whole, had a more difficult time learning and retaining class material.<sup>60</sup>

The emotional and social adjustment problems the Indian encounters in college also play a part in his inability to succeed in college. Although most college students have problems in this area, studies indicate the problems of Indians to be of a more serious nature. Many are thrown into a new environment with different customs and different values, and they never fully recover from the trauma. McGrath's study indicated that difficulty in participating in social events, difficulty in making non-Indian friends and difficulty even in making Indian friends were all related to academic achievement. He said that Indians

with such difficulties—and several studies reported Indians as having such difficulties—tend to receive lower grades and eventually drop out of college. Other studies have suggested that the difference in values held by Indian groups and those held by the American educational system hamper Indian adjustment to the college environment. As Zintz stated:

The value system which gives direction to living and determines life goals for Indians has not established the kinds of motivations, aspirations, and thought patterns necessary for success in college.<sup>61</sup>

Another contributory cause to the small Indian college enrollment is insufficient funds, especially for clothing and spending money. The research of Artichoker and Palmer found this to be one of the decisive factors in the Indian's academic failure.<sup>62</sup> Financial difficulties were generally found to be most severe for those who attended college at least a year.<sup>63</sup>

Attempts have been made to deal with the causes of Indian dropout from college, but they have not adequately solved the problem. Loan and grant programs available to Indian students, for example, have increased considerably in recent years, yet still don't begin to meet the need.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs made scholarship grants to 2,669 of the approximately 4,300 Indians attending college on a regular basis in 1968. The grant averaged \$859 per student.<sup>64</sup> The total expended for scholarships that year was \$2,296,009. Just 5 years earlier, in 1963, the Bureau was spending only about \$56,000 for scholarships. The Bureau hopes to increase its scholarship program so that by 1975, more than 7,000 Indians will benefit from it.<sup>65</sup>

In addition to the BIA program, national defense loans and work-study programs are also available to Indian students. A number of States, including New York, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Wisconsin, have State scholarship programs for Indians.<sup>66</sup> A number of tribes have their own scholarship and educational loan programs. McGrath reported, for example, that 14 of 37 Southwestern tribes studied awarded scholarships. The United Scholarship Service, a private nonprofit corporation in Denver, Colo., has aided Indians in finding scholarships.

But despite the growing number of scholarship and financial aid programs, the full need is not being met. The number of applicants is increasing yearly, and so is the cost of tuition and the other expenses that are a part of college. The Bureau has been able to provide only limited funding for graduate students. It estimated that some 400 Indian graduate students will be requiring money.<sup>67</sup>

Because the Bureau scholarships do not provide any additional subsistence for married students, such Indian students, especially those

<sup>61</sup> Zintz, Miles V. *Education Across Cultures*. William C. Brown Book Co., Dubuque, Iowa, 1963.

<sup>62</sup> Artichoker, *ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Berry, Dr. Brewton, *The Education of American Indians, a Survey of the Literature*. P. 77.

<sup>64</sup> Branch of Public School Relations, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

<sup>65</sup> Bureau of Indian Affairs.

<sup>66</sup> Subcommittee hearings, pt. 1, p. 200.

<sup>67</sup> Branch of Public School Relations, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>57</sup> Letter from Dr. Lionel H. de Montigny to Adrian Parmeter.

<sup>58</sup> Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>59</sup> McGrath, G. D., et al. *Higher Education of Southwestern Indians With Reference to Success and Failure*, Arizona State University, 1962.

<sup>60</sup> Artichoker, John, and Neil M. Palmer. *The Sioux Indian Goes to College*, Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, 1959.



with families, must suffer serious financial problems or withdraw from school. Between 350 and 400 Indian students attended school under these circumstances in 1968. The Bureau reports that "many others could not accept single grant amounts and, therefore, did not attend a college at all."<sup>68</sup> Bureau regulations exclude from grant assistance most Indians living away from the reservation. The Bureau estimates there are at least 500 applicants in this category who need supplemental aid.<sup>69</sup> Indian students less than one-quarter degree Indian blood also do not qualify for Bureau scholarships—regardless of their financial need. The Bureau is authorized to grant loans and scholarships only "after all other sources of funds are considered."<sup>70</sup>

A number of attempts are also being made to make the transition from high school to college less traumatic for the Indian student. The programs attempt to satisfy both remedial skill building and self-control development objectives.

The Office of Economic Opportunity initiated a pilot program in 1965 to accomplish these tasks. The program, Upward Bound, brings high school students from low-income families together at college for a special program which emphasizes use of such skills as reading, writing, developing thought processes, and explaining ideas. Some programs are being conducted on or near Indian reservations, but the number of Indians participating is small compared to the number who could benefit from this experience. Of the 10,000 Upward Bound students who graduated from high school in 1968, only 4 percent were Indians. Approximately 1,200 of the 24,000 youngsters in the program are Indian. The program has had an enviable record of preparing students for college. For example, of the students who participated in 1967 and graduated from high school, 80 percent were admitted to college. In April 1968, 92 percent of these were still in college.<sup>71</sup>

Another program aimed at bridging the high school-college gap is the summer precollege intercultural program at Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colo. The 6-week program provides an intensive study of the English language for bilingual students, as well as a guidance and counseling program, a tutorial program, and an intensive math program. About 200 students, 90 percent of whom are Indian, participate in the program, which is in its second year. It is federally funded by title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Students need not plan to attend Fort Lewis College in order to participate in this summer program. College officials report a 10 percent reduction in the Indian dropout rate since the program's inception.<sup>72</sup>

The University of Alaska, in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, began an Upward Bound-type program for Alaskan Natives in 1964 called Project COPAN (College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives) which ran for four summers until funds were no longer available for it. The 6-week program sought to increase the native student's chances of academic success and social adjustment by combining work in language develop-

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> 62 Indian Affairs Manual, 5.1.

<sup>71</sup> "Upward Bound: A Study of Impact on the Secondary School and the Community," by Greenleigh Associates, Inc., January 1969, p. 11.

<sup>72</sup> Letter from Buford Wray, director, Fort Lewis College Intercultural Program, to Adrian Parmeter, May 12, 1969.

ment with a better understanding of his original culture and its relationship to the dominant society. The need for such a program to be reinstated is indicated by the fact that more than 50 percent of Alaskan natives entering the university drop out during the first year, and that only 4 percent graduate after 4 years.<sup>73</sup> The University of Alaska has graduated only one native teacher.<sup>74</sup>

Dartmouth College's ABC (A Better Chance) program is another means of academically strengthening disadvantaged students, including Indians, to prepare them for college. The students spend two or three of their high school summers in the program. Ten Indians were in the program this year. The college is seeking funds from the BIA to increase Indian participation to 20 youths.<sup>75</sup>

The National Indian Youth Council, together with the University of Colorado, have proposed an American Indian Academic Year Institute which would provide a continuing program for the Indian college student which would improve his personal adjustment and his learning experience. The program calls for development of a curriculum which would serve both functions. Faculty would be experienced in teaching Indian students, students would receive adequate financial support, and research and field experiences would be designed not only to increase skills, but to broaden the student's ability to adjust to differing roles and situations. An Indian coordinating and advisory committee has been established to formulate policy for the institute and coordinate curriculum.

Several universities already have special programs for Indian students or for students who will be working with Indians. The University of New Mexico, for example, has a special program for Indian law students. Arizona State University has established a special curriculum for teachers and administrators who will be working with Indians. Such programs are promising, but to date they are meeting a very small percentage of the total needs.

Beginning in 1963, the Bureau of Indian Affairs conducted an Upward Bound-type precollege orientation program for Indian youngsters at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kans. The program attempted to provide a simulated college atmosphere and to prepare students academically with accelerated instruction in English, mathematics, and science. Another objective was to develop within the students self-sufficient attitudes and positive self-concepts. More than 530 students have attended the program since it began. Unfortunately, the Bureau has not collected enough follow-up data on the students to determine how successful the program was in keeping students in college. Due to a shortage of funds in regular program operations, the summer program was not held in 1969. It appears unlikely that the Haskell summer program will be resumed.

The Bureau's Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, N. Mex., by stressing cultural roots as a basis for creative expression, has helped to develop in many Indian students the self-affirmation necessary to enter college with pride and confidence. The Institute permits students to continue their education for a 13th and 14th year,

<sup>73</sup> The COPAN program—"Education for Survival," abstract by Prof. Lee H. Salisbury, director, COPAN program.

<sup>74</sup> Subcommittee hearings, pt. 6.

<sup>75</sup> Letter from Thomas M. Milcula, director, Project ABC, Dartmouth College, to Adrian Parmeter, May 8, 1969.

thus giving many of them the additional educational background to pursue a college education. Between 1966 and 1968, 86.2 percent of the graduating students continued their education beyond high school—23.2 percent to college and 63 percent to the Institute's post-graduate program or formal vocational training. Students who graduated in their 14th year showed a college entrance figure of 42.2 percent, thus indicating the value of this approach in preparing and motivating Indian students for college.<sup>76</sup>

Indian students have expressed the desire for college educations. The consistently high dropout rates of Indian students, though, indicate the need for a more adequate education in the preparation for college and a better understanding by teachers, administrators and counselors of the problems and needs of Indian students. A lot needs to be done to upgrade the elementary and secondary education Indians are now receiving. More programs are needed to assist, academically and emotionally, Indian students in college. More scholarships are needed so that Indian students can attend college without financial problems hanging over them.

### 3. ADULT EDUCATION

In the past, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has made only token attempts to respond to the need for adult education on Indian reservations. Adult education personnel of the Bureau have been expected to perform such duties as certifying Johnson-O'Malley funds, overseeing boarding school applications, or serving as truant officers or public school relation specialists. The press of these other duties prohibited them from performing much meaningful adult education. Only within the last 2 years has adult education been recognized as a program with a priority of its own.

The adult education program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has traditionally defined candidates for literacy training as those having less than 5 years of formal schooling. Estimates of the extent of the problem can be derived from census figures, and a recent study by the Arizona Employment Security Commission concerning the Navajo reservation.

If functional literacy is defined as the ability to read and write at a fifth grade school level, some statistical data is provided by the 1960 census. This in no way assures, however, that all who spent 5 years in a school have a fifth grade level of competency in literacy. In fact, the contrary can be assumed and the target population is actually much larger than the statistics indicate.

AMERICAN INDIANS WITH LESS THAN 5 YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETION

Age group	Number	Totals by ages	Number
14 to 19.....	5,685	Over 14.....	71,346
20 to 24.....	4,660	14 to 64.....	57,448
25 to 34.....	11,282	14 to 45.....	32,059
35 to 44.....	10,432	20 to 45.....	26,374
45 to 64.....	25,388	20 to 65.....	51,763
65 and over.....	13,898		

<sup>76</sup> "Native American Arts," by Indian Arts and Crafts Board, U.S. Department of Interior, p. 12.

Comparison with the total society shows that for the 25 and over age group there is a national average of 8.3 percent who had less than five years of schooling (based on the 1960 census). But for the American Indian the rate was three and one-half times that at 27 percent.

It is not unrealistic, based on the above figures and the probability that fifth grade completion does not assure fifth grade competency, to estimate that there are possibly 75,000 Indian adults who are not functionally literate.

Further cause for concern is the report by the Arizona Employment Security Commission concerning the Navajo reservation. The report reveals the following information:

Of an unemployed labor force of 20,300 persons (representing an estimated 62 percent of the total labor force on the Navajo)—

- (1) Sixty-three percent have less than sixth grade education (12,800 persons).
- (2) Forty-two percent cannot speak English (8,526 persons).
- (3) Fifty percent cannot read or write English (10,150 persons).

The report goes on to state that the lack of education of the labor force indicates that an extensive program must be undertaken to bring them to a state of employability adequate for entry level occupations.

Though basic literacy is a prime objective and a need, it is only a beginning. More and more jobs are demanding high school competency. Yet, in the 1960 census it is reported that only 18.5 percent of American Indians over the age of 25 had completed high school. This compared with a national average of 41.1 percent. This clearly dramatizes the need for opportunity for high school equivalency study on reservations.

### EVALUATION OF CURRENT SITUATION

The adult education program in the Bureau of Indian Affairs was revised and recognized in mid-1967. Statistical information on the program has only been available since that date. The subcommittee has determined that no high school equivalency certificates were awarded in 1967. In 1968 there was a jump to 333 certificates awarded. A recent report from Bureau of Indian Affairs provides the following information:

NUMBER OF PEOPLE SERVED IN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM

	Fiscal year 1967	Fiscal year 1968
Formal classes.....	12,402	33,883
Counseling.....	13,661	27,510
High school equivalency certificates awarded.....	(1)	333

<sup>1</sup> None reported. Only 416 individuals were reported as prepared for this certificate through individual study or classes.

The Bureau reports that of the above number, 2,165 individuals were studying in basic literacy classes and 1,353 were preparing for the high school equivalency certificate.

These figures reflect a mere beginning in meeting the needs of Indian adults. It should be noted that the above program provides more than just basic literacy and high school equivalency preparation. The definition of responsibility outlined by the Bureau's adult education program is:

To provide educational opportunities and learning experiences for Indian adults that will enable them to gain the intellectual and social skills necessary to function efficiently and effectively in the dominant culture at their desired level of participation.

Thus, in addition to the basic literacy and high school preparation courses, the activity offers courses and conferences designed to develop social skills, in such areas as consumer buying, family care, parent-child relations, citizenship, and other areas of special interest to various groups of adults on any given reservation.

Although the adult basic education program has been improved and expanded, it is providing only a small fraction of the educational opportunities needed by the adult Indian population. It seems highly unlikely, given the present funding base, that it can significantly increase its scope.

#### E. RECENT ATTEMPTS AT INNOVATION

In the fall of 1968, Dr. Leon Osview, professor of educational administration at Temple University, served as a consultant to the subcommittee. He conducted a thorough investigation of the present structure and operation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Education Division. His report was received on December 6, 1968.

Dr. Osview's finding was that, "the present structure (BIA—education) not only serves to reward unaggressive behavior and docility but punishes, usually by transfer, those who persist in behaving like educational leaders. The reward system of BIA discourages leadership, on purpose. It is therefore not possible to conceive of change and improvement in the present structure."<sup>77</sup>

In arriving at that conclusion Dr. Osview makes the following points:

1. Education is not the BIA's highest priority, despite some verbalized recognition of its centrality and despite its large share of the BIA budget \* \* \*

2. It is my deeply considered judgment that the present \* \* \* administrative structure makes dramatic improvement in education fundamentally impossible. \* \* \* The structure enforces, I believe, a secondary role for the Assistant Commissioner for Education in favor of a primary one for the Area Director \* \* \*.

3. For education, such a structure is disabling. It stifles initiative, makes education no more vital than, say, land management, and systematically makes the education officials bound by the iron constraints of protocol to noneducation offi-

<sup>77</sup> Hearings, Subcommittee on Indian Education, pt. I, 1968, p. 300.

cial. To speak of the possibility of an "exemplary" Indian education under these circumstances of structure is pointless.

4. \* \* \* the education function requires professional leadership more than it does managerial skill \* \* \*. Even in public school systems, there is no more common course for mediocrity and failure than the superintendency's being discharged in managerial rather than leadership terms.

5. The Area Director can not be an educational leader, and because he now has the powers of one, the result is that management actually displaces leadership. There is an Alice-in-Wonderland quality about doing this sort of displacement on purpose.

6. From the perception of the field, the budget is an Area Director's document. He decides who gets what \* \* \*. Obviously, budget decisions are policy decisions \* \* \*. Area Directors are incompetent to make educational policy.

7. Nothing like the relationship that exists between the education official and the Area Director exists in public schools. Few professional educators \* \* \* would willingly allow their expertise to be so diminished by a middle echelon manager who makes professional decisions for them. The way it is, to use an analogy, is what it would be like to see an M.D. submitting his surgical procedure plan to the \* \* \* hospital administrator for approval, and then following variant orders. Unthinkable? Not in the present BIA structure. All that saves the situation from surrealism is that people try to behave rationally \* \* \*.

8. It can be no accident that education officers are not recruited as such from public schools. Rather, they grow up in the BIA service, learning the system and its demands long before they get to occupy education officer positions. Of course the system does get inbred that way \* \* \*.

9. It is doubtful that very much could be done with or to the people in the organization, given the present structure, to encourage innovative educational practice. Recent changes are the exceptions which prove the point. Most modest recent changes are almost entirely a function of ESEA title I. \* \* \* The truth is that the title I proposals were virtually all old ideas which had never been able to work their way through the budgeting process for funding.<sup>78</sup>

He recommends that if the Federal school system is to be substantially improved it must undergo a radical restructuring and assume an almost completely autonomous status within the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "The authority of the area director for any educational function must be abrogated . . . the divorce line must be complete."

In light of this severe structural deficiency one would assume that recent attempts at innovation and change in the Federal schools would have suffered accordingly. This is exactly what was found in the subcommittee evaluation of the new BIA programs funded under title I of Public Law 89-10 and a detailed case study of the new BIA kindergarten program.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289-300.

## 1. ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

Under the so-called "setaside" provision of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Bureau of Indian Affairs receives title I funds through the U.S. Office of Education. Title I money is to be used for programs for disadvantaged students. The following amounts of money have been appropriated under title I for Federal Indian schools:

January 1967.....	\$5,000,000
Fiscal year:	
1968 (\$161 per child).....	9,000,000
1969.....	9,000,000
1970.....	8,100,000

A breakdown of how the money was spent in 1969 is as follows:

Inservice training.....	\$1,800,000
Teacher aides.....	1,625,000
Pupil personnel services.....	1,426,000
Curriculum development.....	925,000
Enrichment (field trips, etc.).....	750,000
Language arts.....	455,000
Health, food, etc.....	125,000
Kindergarten (classrooms—not training).....	82,000
Math and science.....	29,000
Other.....	1,300,000

Administrative involvement of the U.S. Office of Education (OE) in these programs is minimal. The usual practice is for the BIA to submit a list of its proposed projects to the Office of Education, which then automatically dispenses the funds to BIA. The BIA has developed no system of priorities in regard to how title I funds should be used. Although the Office of Education may question some projects, it feels awkward about regulating another governmental agency and therefore tends to give the BIA carte blanche authority over the funds. In 1969, one of 92 projects proposed by the BIA was refused funding by the Office of Education. OE conducts no field inspection of BIA-administered title I programs.

## PARENT-STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

Meaningful involvement in the planning and evaluation of title I programs by Indian students and parents was generally nominal. Students were practically never involved, partly because the vast majority of projects were at the elementary level and partly because of the BIA's traditional approach to education. Exceptions were Chemawa school in Oregon and Intermountain school (Navajo area) in Utah, which did involve their high school students in planning and implementation of projects.

A majority of reservation schools and agencies have developed parent advisory boards through title I. In a few cases it was found that these boards had been actively consulted, and listened to, in designing title I proposals. In most instances, however, school administrators used the boards as a forum to explain their own plans for title I funds.

## ACCOUNTABILITY

Because of the centralized method of accounting used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, financial audits of BIA title I ESEA projects can-

not be performed at the local level. Most administrators of individual projects are uncertain as to the amount of funds expended on their projects. They must rely upon the area offices to distribute the project grants approved by the central office. In some cases the area offices used project funds for their own expenditures. Such procedures, coupled with inadequate bookkeeping procedures at the central office and local levels, lead to an almost complete lack of accountability for title I funds. In many instances title I money is mixed with the regular BIA school budget and is used for basic operational expenses, such as teacher salaries. The central office staff has been too small (usually one person) to conduct any significant field inspection or evaluation.

## OTHER PROBLEMS

(1) A freeze on Federal hiring and a BIA job-ceiling delayed implementation of some programs and eliminated others.

(2) Rather than being used for supplemental projects which would meet the special needs of poor children, title I ESEA money is often used to offset the deficiencies in the BIA's regular program—deficiencies often caused because of the inadequate funds provided by Congress.

(3) Those who write title I proposals do not adequately define objectives, design programs to meet objectives or design evaluative means of assessing the programs.

(4) The central office has spent considerable money on long-term curriculum development projects which do not provide the payoff in services to children which was intended by title I. Project Necessities, a program to revamp social studies curriculums in grades kindergarten through 12 in all BIA schools, has already cost \$300,000 (for fiscal 1969) of an estimated \$1.5 million. It will be another 6 to 8 years before the project will be ready for introduction into classrooms, and there is no way the Central Office can compel its use then.

(5) Late funding and the temporary status of title I positions make the recruitment of qualified personnel difficult. The problems involved in hiring personnel for only 9 months are particularly serious in BIA schools since the employees often have to live in isolated areas with inadequate housing. Civil service procedures also tend to delay a person's employment.

(6) Most title I projects lack impact because instead of concentrating funds on one aspect of a problem, the money is usually spread out among all the students.

Title I, in its third year in the BIA, has provided an influx of funds for special programs. Most teachers and administrators state that any innovation and experimentation is due to title I funds. Many believe that BIA could not have operated this last fiscal year, in the face of considerable inflation and increases in enrollment, without the additional funding.

Because of the great differences between operating a State project and operating a program spread over the entire Nation, it is difficult to compare State title I and BIA title I programs. According to Dr. Samuel Alley who conducted the formal evaluation of the BIA title I program, "having read an assortment of State evaluations, it is my impression that the problems and shortcomings of the BIA program

are similar to those of most States. Poor evaluation, poor accountability, difficulty in community involvement and diluted impact are commonly mentioned in State summaries."

There are grave problems with the manner in which title I projects were planned, administered, implemented, and evaluated. Some projects were not appropriate to the spirit of title I legislation. Still title I has made certain valuable contributions to the children involved. It has allowed for funding of innovative and exemplary projects which would not have been likely under regular budgeting.

#### ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. *Innovative Programs.*—Input of extra funds through channels other than regular budget allocations has allowed the introduction of projects of an innovative type which would not have been likely even if standard funding had been increased.

2. *Community Involvement.*—There has been a significant increase in community involvement due to title I—although in absolute terms participation by Indians is still minimal in many instances. Because of the need for a "write off" from CAP agencies, they were at least consulted on all local projects, and in several instances took part in the planning of the program. There seems to be a trend toward contracting projects (particularly personnel contracts) out to tribal groups to circumvent civil service and other governmental red tape.

3. *In-Service Training.*—Prior to title I, little in-service training existed on any level. Since title I, almost all staff has participated in some form of training funded through title I. Introduction of new techniques such as teaching English as a second language, behavior modification, micro-teaching, and so forth, has provided a stir in a system which was generally isolated and stagnant. Most in-service training projects could be criticized for lack of adequate selection for participants, lack of follow-up, and so forth, but the fact of involvement of universities and private firms in training has been a rejuvenating force. Unfortunately, in local schools the training for title I staff, particularly in teacher aides, has been ignored or has been of poor quality.

4. *Provision of Teacher Aide.*—Perhaps the most popular outcome of title I has been the input of paraprofessionals in the classroom. Most aides are Indian. This has served to bridge cultural gaps between teacher and child as well as school and community. These jobs have provided employment and upward mobility for many Indians. Unfortunately many aides are still in functionally "dead end" positions. Many teacher aides are involved in inappropriate tasks. Aides should not be used simply as janitors, dishwashers, or clerks—nor should they be given full classroom responsibility.

5. *Broadening of Services.*—Boarding schools, by necessity must assume greater responsibility for the leisure time of their students. These needs have been frequently neglected by the BIA. Title I has provided an input of funds for the vital needs of students for leisure time activities and for more and better dorm staff, for guidance and counselings. Students have seen the after-school arts and crafts program and recreational activities as one of the most important contributions of title I.

#### 2. BIA KINDERGARTEN PROGRAM—A CASE STUDY

"Kindergartens are over a hundred years old as a proved educational practice," Dr. Leon Osview points out in his consultant report. "It took a new Assistant Commissioner determined to get the practice installed to break through the barriers. And even so, his success in doing so has been less than total. Had it not been that Headstart experience proved so successful in creating the demand among Indians themselves, there might still be no kindergartens."

The Bureau of Indian Affairs implemented a kindergarten program in response to a mandate by President Johnson on March 6, 1968. According to a BIA progress report on the kindergarten program, February 24, 1969:

Approximately 717 children are enrolled in 34 kindergarten classes supported by regular BIA budget, at an average cost of \$24,000. This provides for a teacher, an instructional aide, instructional equipment and supplies, food and transportation costs. An additional 105 5-year-old children in nine groups are enrolled in classes through title I funds.

The above kindergarten programs are planned on a comprehensive child development basis, with provision for health and social services, parent and community involvement—including concerned tribal groups, related public programs such as Headstart and Follow Through.

The BIA kindergarten program is a conscious attempt to carry out the President's "new policy" mandate of an exemplary program with maximum Indian participation and control. Its stated program objectives include:

1. Strong involvement of parents and Indian community.
2. Providing continuity with his previous experience, using individual and cultural strengths of the child.
3. Optimal physical, psychological, and cognitive development of each child.

The subcommittee has found serious inadequacies in the program and the accomplishment of these objectives.

The first objective, strong involvement of parents and the Indian community, went almost completely unaccomplished. In a survey of 27 kindergarten classes by BIA early childhood education specialists, only one class was rated excellent in parent involvement. Nine were rated poor, and in 17 classes there was no parent involvement. Regarding community involvement, one was rated excellent, three were fair, one was poor, and 22 registered no community involvement at all.

At the national level the kindergarten training program had been contracted to an outside agency. An Indian resource group was set up to participate in the planning and execution of the training program. Their criticisms and suggestions about the kindergarten program were not seriously considered by the contractors or the BIA, and many of the personnel the Indians admired and identified with were dismissed. According to the Indian Resource Group spokesmen, they were not consulted on the 1969 contract negotiations until plans were already written and approved, although they had specifically requested the opportunity to participate from the start.

The second BIA objective, like the first, also has gone largely unaccomplished: Providing continuity with the child's previous experience, using individual and cultural strengths of the child. The summary of site visits reports that out of 27 kindergarten classes, only five had developed a strong bicultural approach—14 had none, and four were very poor, one was poor, and three were fair.

According to one member of the training staff and team leader on one of the reservations, "Many of the students were reprimanded for speaking their native language in the classroom." Perhaps the most outrageous violation of the bicultural approach was the fact that some 5-year-old children were separated from their parents and placed in BIA dormitory facilities. This practice is completely contrary to BIA policy. The subcommittee has not been able to ascertain the extent to which this was done, but several instances have been cited. In her report from the Shonto school on the Navajo reservation, Mariana Jessen reported that "17 children, 4-to-5-year-olds, were in the group, all housed in the dormitory together with . . . [the] . . . other children. This gross violation of BIA policy was questioned." (It should be noted that BIA transferred the kindergarten at Shonto to a second location, because of the administrative deficiencies).

The third objective, providing comprehensive child development services, was a major failure. According to the BIA summary survey, the quality of food service was poor at 16 kindergarten programs and fair at eight others. No food service was reported at one location. Regarding health services, 10 programs had none, 16 were rated poor, and only one program was rated fair. Remedial services and social services were rarely available. Only two schools had remedial services, and they were both rated poor. Only seven programs offered social services, and they were all rated poor.

There was a significant lack of equipment and materials. A survey in December 1968 found that "all classes but one surveyed had no outdoor equipment or supplies, and the one was "poor." Meanwhile, inside supplies ranged generally from "very poor borrowed" to "poor improvised," with only a few passable.

*Recruitment.*—Attempting to avoid the inadequacies of the recruiting office in Albuquerque, recruitment was conducted by the BIA central office in Washington, D.C. However, lack of well-specified and appropriate criteria and a good recruitment strategy resulted in well-qualified people being excluded and many talented persons not even contacted. Only 3.7 percent were Indians, and there seems to have been no organized Indian involvement in recruiting trainees.

Many teachers were unsuitable for working with young children. Most of those recruited were not liberal arts graduates, as planned. Six of the 34 teachers were over 50 years old, the range being from 23 to 69. Six did not have degrees, three had M.A.'s, most had B.A.'s in education. At least five of the 34 kindergarten teachers never received any training at all.

Dr. Mary Lane, director of the 1968 training program, questioned BIA's assumption that qualified people were not available. She reported to the subcommittee staff the availability of young, eager, and creative people interested in working in the program, in addition to

interested persons with strong backgrounds in early childhood education. It had apparently been decided to recruit liberal arts graduates to teach in the kindergarten classes since it was assumed that individuals with early childhood education would be difficult to recruit. No concerted effort to find early childhood education personnel at major training centers was made. Fifteen students from Lane's department at San Francisco State had applied, but only one had received even an acknowledgement of application.

The recruitment program apparently also suffered from disorganization which (combined with poor timing) led to positions not being filled, positions being filled on a crash basis at the last minute, and many serious breakdowns in communications. The effect was to seriously jeopardize the implementation of the elaborate 6-week training session. At the start of the training program, less than one-half of needed trainees were present.

Also, there was a great deal of confusion about who was to be at the training sessions at Dilcon Boarding School and why they were to be there:

Many of those who came to Dilcon who were not kindergarten teachers had little or no interpretation as to why they had been sent. A few were informed only by the clerk that they were to come. A great many had had only a few days' notice and inadequate briefing. Consequently, many came with a negative attitude. Since the number of kindergartens was cut from 70 to 35, the individuals for whom the training had been specifically designed were in a minority. The remainder of the trainees were Johnson-O'Malley teachers from kindergarten through third grade, instructional aides, dormitory aides, special personnel. The majority of these individuals were vague about their reason for being in the program and many had made other summer plans which were reluctantly canceled so they could come to Dilcon.

Some key people simply did not arrive at all:

The 20 ancillary services personnel who were included in the proposal to be trained did not materialize as did not the eight early childhood education supervisors.

The 55 elementary school principals who were included in the proposal to come in the last 2 weeks dwindled to a very few—perhaps 12 or 15. Only three or four were there at the beginning of their period of training and after a hurried call went out to them, several came or sent substitutes who were unclear about why they had received "an urgent call to get over to Dilcon."

It follows that the failure of the recruitment program seriously affected the success of the training program (and the kindergarten program). The failure is particularly discouraging in light of the large investment devoted to the training project for the teachers and aides in summer 1968. In fiscal year 1968, \$332,986 of title I funds were directed to the planning and implementation of the training program. In fiscal year 1969, \$278,633 title I monies were used for the program. This

massive injection of training money was supposed to be a substitute for competent, well-qualified teachers. This was an unreasonably expensive and highly dubious procedure, according to Dr. Lane and the independent evaluators of the program. In short, the program was severely crippled before it got off the ground.

It is estimated that at least one-third and possibly as high as 50 percent of the teachers are not continuing with the program the second year. At the same time, there is no procedure for training of replacements, in a program where training is deemed so important by the administrators. Although many teachers attempted to proceed by plan, some teachers did not follow the training program philosophy or procedure when they got to their respective schools. It was often found that few of the concepts stressed in the workshop carried over into classroom operations, sometimes due to interference by local school administrators.

Although BIA's prime objectives regarding the kindergarten program were not fulfilled, the actual effectiveness of the program is difficult to determine, due to inadequate evaluation. The BIA invested upward of \$1,460,000 (regular funds plus \$611,619 in title I funds) in this program. Yet there were no provisions for pretesting or post testing of participants, or any other means of collecting hard data at the school level. None of the classrooms even had a plan for regular program review. In addition, there was little effective supervision of kindergarten programs by BIA administration.

A further deficiency of the kindergarten program was blatant mismanagement of financial resources. Congress had appropriated \$25,000 for each of the 34 kindergarten programs. Unfortunately, much of the money did not reach the children or the teachers at all. "Creaming" of the funds had taken place at many levels.

According to Dr. Mary B. Lane, in a hand count at the Albuquerque followup training session, more than half of the kindergartens had received little or nothing of these directed funds beyond the salaries of teachers and aides. Instead, it appeared the money went to general education funds in the school or was siphoned off by the agency or area offices and not even used in the education budget. Even at the local level, the remaining funds available were often very poorly used. One serious consequence was the severe lack of equipment and needed materials.

Mismanagement of personnel resources was a third factor behind the program's failure. Kindergarten aides—Indians who speak the language of the children and are considered trained to be assistant teachers essential to the program were often used in low-level non-instructional roles, in some cases for several weeks at a time, to wash school lunch dishes, drive the school bus, do dorm duty, watch older children on the playground, substitute in other classes, substitute on field trips, or work in the office as clerk-secretaries. Other duties included in various schools heavy janitorial work, work as handymen and cooking. In one case, according to the Indian resource group, an aide working in an office was put in the classroom only when M. Jessen arrived for evaluation. Is this the "career ladder concept for teacher aides" BIA talks about in its progress report?

It was obviously impossible for these Indian aides "to not only help the teacher" but also to act "as a parent substitute to the children

during their new experience away from home." In addition, many of the ways in which teacher aides were used were demeaning and resulted in hostility and disillusionment. An added discouragement was the breaking of the agreement to employ Indian aides during the summer.

Recognizing the problems and mistakes with which any new program is confronted, it is still difficult to believe the kindergarten program will ever be successful while administered by BIA. A major obstacle to change is the inability of the BIA to accept constructive criticism or suggestions. For example:

1. Dr. Mary Lane, 1968 Training Program Director, Kindergarten Program, was not rehired because of her disagreements with BIA policy.

2. Many 1968 training staff members were not rehired for the 1969 program. Some believe it was because they were not in accord with BIA attitudes.

3. At the training program, an attempt was made to build Indian dignity, involve Indians in decisionmaking, and attempt to learn from them. "When they got in their schools," writes a staff member to the subcommittee, "some of them were told in effect, that 'those days are over; you are to speak no criticism of BIA or the school personnel if you wish to keep your job.'"

4. Teachers and aides during the school year were prohibited from corresponding with the training staff members, unless the letter was signed by the principal. In one case, apparently, a principal was reprimanded for signing the teacher's statement because it cited too many problems.

5. There was an incident of a teacher having her personal mail opened by her principal as a form of censorship.

6. Many teachers were put "on report" (two "on reports" mean automatic dismissal) for stating problems to a staff member.

The BIA has thus failed badly on all three objectives which they set for themselves and demonstrated some incredibly poor management in the process. Boarding 5-year-old children and "creaming funds" is outright malfeasance. There is little reason to believe that the program will be much improved in its second year. Under these circumstances, it would make more sense for the money to be used to strengthen present programs rather than add low quality new ones. Early childhood education is important, but Headstart under tribal control would appear to be a far superior approach.

## F. SUMMARY OF FEDERAL SCHOOL FINDINGS

### I. Education Budget

*The education budget of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is grossly inadequate to provide an equal educational opportunity for its Indian students.*

A. The BIA presently expends about \$1,100 per student per year in a Federal boarding school. This compares very unfavorably with other residential programs. Schools for the physically handicapped often expend \$3,000 or more per student. Boarding schools in the East often expend \$4,000 or more per student.

B. When inflationary factors are taken into account, the BIA budget decreased from 1958 to 1966 and has only slightly increased since then. The BIA estimates that a \$158 million increase over its present budget level will be necessary to achieve minimum standards.

C. In fiscal year 1969, the BIA applied severe restrictions to educational expenditures, and still ended the year \$5 million in the red. This has necessitated many cut-backs in the fiscal 1970 program, including not purchasing needed textbooks and supplies. The BIA presently spends only \$18 per child on textbooks and supplies, compared with a national average of \$40.

D. The BIA operates many inferior school facilities and some that have actually been condemned. They estimate the money needed to bring their facilities up to minimum standards at more than \$178 million. As a result of a lack of high school facilities in Alaska, over 1,200 Alaskan natives are sent to boarding schools in Oregon and Oklahoma.

E. Thousands of Navajo children are in damaging elementary boarding schools on the Navajo reservation because of inadequate appropriations for roads and day schools.

F. The BIA suffers from gross deficiencies in both quantity and quality of personnel. For example, there is only one psychologist for the 226 Federal schools and the ratio of dormitory aides to Indian children often exceeds 1 to 100. There should be at least a five-fold increase in expenditures on dormitory personnel.

## II. Academic Performance

*The academic performance of Indian students in Federal schools is seriously deficient.*

A. Forty percent of the students dropout before graduation.

B. Students graduating from Federal schools are on the average more than 2 years below national norms on achievement tests. Many students graduate with little better than a 9th-grade level of proficiency.

C. Only 28 percent of the students go on to college compared with a national average of 50 percent.

D. Only one out of four of the students who enroll in college graduate.

E. Only one of 100 Indian college graduates will receive a master's degree.

F. In summary: In an average class of 400 students entering a BIA high school, only 240 will graduate. Of those 240, 67 can be expected to enroll in college. Of these 67, only 19 will graduate from college. The chances are 99 out of 100 that the college graduate will never get a master's degree.

## III. Goals and Operational Philosophy

*Teachers and administrators in Federal Indian schools still see their role as one of "civilizing the native."*

A. The teachers and administrators stress citizenship and socialization and set educational goals far below those set by the student.

B. School personnel believe in a quite obsolete form of occupational preparation, for which the students show little enthusiasm.

C. School personnel believe that Indians must choose between being an Indian and living in poverty on the Reservation, or complete assimilation into the dominant society.

D. The goal of BIA education is to direct students toward urban life, while at the same time it fails to prepare him academically, socially, psychologically, or vocationally for urban life.

E. There is almost total neglect of reservation life and problems in the Federal schools.

## IV. Quality of Instruction

*The quality and effectiveness of instruction in BIA schools is very unsatisfactory.*

A. The primary cause of low achievement of Indian students is the inadequacy of instruction. A large proportion of the teachers in BIA schools lack the necessary training to teach disadvantaged Indian students effectively.

B. The curriculum used in BIA schools is generally inappropriate to the experience and needs of the students. The schools fail to deal effectively with the language problems of the students, there is little understanding of cultural differences, and the vocational training is archaic and bears little relationship to existing job markets.

C. Teachers often blame their own failures on the students.

## V. Guidance and Counseling

*There are extremely serious deficiencies in the guidance and counseling programs in BIA schools.*

A. The present ratio of guidance counselors to students is 1 : 600. It should be 1 : 250. Many of the counselors lack professional training and certification; career and occupational counseling is rarely offered and psychological counseling is practically nonexistent.

B. The present ratio of dormitory aides to students is well over 1 : 100. The ratio should be 1 : 25 or less. In elementary boarding schools, it should be 1 : 15. Dormitory personnel are very poorly trained and are often of low quality. Yet they have the very important responsibility of being surrogate parents to the children, an impossible task under present circumstances. There is also a serious lack of coordination between the dormitory staff and the instructional staff.

## VI. Discipline—Student Life

*The environment of BIA schools is sterile, impersonal, and rigid, with a major emphasis on discipline and punishment which is deeply resented by the students.*

A. There is a serious lack of social and recreational activities in BIA schools. Student activities are closely regulated and little interaction between the sexes is allowed. Weekends are noted for their boredom. Some students resort to drinking and glue-sniffing to relieve the boredom.

B. Students have little privacy, are locked into rigid schedules, and are placed under an oppressive number of rules and regulations.

C. Most dormitories resemble Army barracks and some actually are. Furnishings consist of double-decker beds, in closely spaced rows, with steel lockers lining the walls.

D. From the standpoint of social, emotional, cultural, and intellectual environment, BIA schools must be rated grossly inadequate.

## VII. Parental Participation and Community Control

*Indian parents and communities have practically no control over the BIA schools educating their children. The white man's school often*



*sits in a compound completely alien to the community it supposedly serves. It does not serve as a community resource nor does it recognize community needs or desires.*

A. Despite a Presidential directive more than 2 years ago, only one of the 226 BIA schools is governed by an elected school board.

B. Parents visit BIA schools only on rare occasions and usually feel unwelcome. Parental visitation is actively discouraged in a number of schools.

C. Teachers and administrators of BIA schools rarely visit Indian parents in their homes. In many schools, this is actively discouraged as "going native."

D. A result of the lack of control over the schools by Indians is that the instruction offered is inconsistent with the desires of the community. The school is alien to the community and the community is alien to the school.

E. Despite a Presidential directive 2 years ago, BIA schools are seldom used as a community resource or even for adult education.

### VIII. Organization and Administration

*The present organization and administration of the BIA school system could hardly be worse.*

A. Operationally, education is far from being BIA's highest priority, despite the fact that it expends more than 50% of the BIA budget. Land management appears to be the dominant concern and background of most administrators in the BIA hierarchy. Thus, noneducators make most of the important policy decision regarding the education program. Funds slated for education frequently are siphoned into other areas.

B. There is a tremendous lack of reliable data about the BIA education program. There is no attempt made to relate educational expenditures to educational results; nor are there well-specified educational goals, objectives, or standards.

C. The BIA schools are organized as if the municipal water commissioner controlled a city's textbook budget, and the parks commissioner controlled the school's facilities, equipment, and personnel acquisitions, with the city school superintendent only an adviser to the mayor, yet responsible for the effective operations of the schools.

D. The present structure of BIA education not only serves to reward unaggressive behavior and docility but punishes, usually by transfer, those who persist in behaving like educational leaders.

E. It is impossible to conceive of change and improvement without a radical reorganization of the BIA school system.

### IX. Personnel System

*The BIA personnel system has grave deficiencies which have contributed very substantially to all of the inadequacies already cited.*

A. Turnover rates are much too high and it is usually the most ambitious and promising teachers who leave the system first.

B. The centralized recruitment system is extremely cumbersome and ineffective and controlled by noneducators.

C. It is practically impossible to reward outstanding teachers and to fire incompetents.

D. The Civil Service System has made it impossible for Indian communities to have any control over teacher selection and training.

Parents are powerless to do anything about teachers that are incompetent, abuse their children, or denigrate their culture. Indian communities consider this to be the most critical aspect of their desired involvement in the schools.

E. BIA personnel from administrators to dormitory staff, frequently neglect their responsibilities and take no individual initiative, either from frustration or cynicism. A few dedicated individuals continue to exert themselves, in the hope that some Indian children will benefit by their efforts.

### X. Elementary Boarding Schools

*Over 7,000 Navajo children ages 9 and under are placed in elementary boarding schools which are emotionally and culturally destructive for both the children and their families.*

A. There is almost universal agreement that early separation of a child from his family is a destructive influence. The experience is even more traumatic when the child comes from a different culture and extended family background.

B. At best these schools are totally unsatisfactory as a substitute for parents and family. At worst they are cruel and barbaric. One school has been reported where children are beaten, pervasive attacks are made against their cultural beliefs, and teachers advocate the free labor of Navajo girls in their homes, doing laundry, scrubbing floors, etc., to teach them the American way of housekeeping.

C. The children rarely get to see their parents. There are no facilities for parents at the school and they are discouraged from visiting the children because it will "upset the child." Parents are allowed to "check out" their children only if the child has not tried to run away. It appears that one person in each school is assigned the responsibility of recapturing the AWOL's. Hundreds of children run away from the school. During the winter, some children freeze to death trying to get home. For the first 6-8 weeks of the school year, children are terribly unhappy and upset, and often cry themselves to sleep at night. Because of a lack of space, children often sleep two to a bed and at night there is one dormitory aide to 150 children.

D. The BIA states that the primary reason for the schools is a lack of roads on the Reservation. More than two-thirds of the children live 25 miles or less from the school they attend. The BIA has never integrated its school and road construction planning. Large elementary boarding schools are still being constructed on the Reservation.

E. Boarding schools have had a direct effect on the increasing social disorganization on the Reservation. Alarming numbers of young adults who have attended these schools have lapsed into an alienated, apathetic life marked by episodes of delinquency and irresponsibility. Drunkenness, child neglect, drunken driving, high accident rates, and an increasing suicide rate are characteristics of the first generation of Navajos who attended these schools.

### XI. Off Reservation Boarding Schools

*Most of the 19 off-reservation boarding schools have become "dumping ground" schools for Indian students with serious social and emotional problems. These problems are not understood by the school personnel, and instead of diagnosis and therapy, the schools act as custodial institutions at best, and repressive, penal institutions at worst.*

A. Although the student population of off-reservation boarding schools has changed dramatically in the last 12 years, no corresponding change has taken place in their staffing, goals, or curriculum.

B. A number of students have been ordered to attend one of these schools as a substitute for a reformatory. Approximately 25 percent of the students are referred because they are dropouts or pushouts from public schools.

C. Special programs and vocational education have been phased out in most of the schools, and they masquerade as strictly academic institutions, preparing students for college. In fact, mental health problems have reached crisis proportions in many of the schools. The interaction between students and professional staff has been described by consultants as malignant and destructive.

D. In summary, the schools do not rehabilitate, are not designed as therapeutic agents, and in fact they often do more harm than good. As one consultant to the subcommittee stated: "They are a tragedy."

## **XII. Adult Education**

The BIA has made only token attempts to deal with the need for adult education on Indian reservations.

A. There are approximately 75,000 Indian adults who have not completed a fifth grade education. There are thousands more who have completed five or more grades, but cannot read or write English at a fifth grade level. This constitutes a functional illiteracy problem of massive proportions—more than four times the national average.

B. Less than one-fifth of the adult Indian population has completed high school or its equivalent.

C. Functional illiteracy and a lack of high school graduates on Indian reservations are a major cause of severe poverty, a 50-percent unemployment rate, adverse health and housing conditions, and the failure of Indian children in school.

D. The adult education program in the BIA is barely scratching the surface of the problem. In 1968 only 2,165 Indians were studying in basic literacy classes, and 1,353 were working toward a high school equivalency certificate.