A STUDY OF THE KNOWLEDGES AND ATTITUDES OF NAVAJO INDIANS IN TWO COMMUNITIES TOWARD NAVAJO RESERVATION SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE KNOWLEDGES AND ATTITUDES OF NAVAJO INDIANS IN TWO COMMUNITIES TOWARD NAVAJO RESERVATION SCHOOLS

By

Thomas R. Reno

The purpose of this study was to determine how the Navajo Indian views two different types of schools serving the Navajo Reservation. Research in the area of Indian education indicates some major shortcomings in the education of the first American. Perhaps the most serious deals with the lack of local control, community and parental involvement in the Indian schools. This study measured and recorded the knowledges and attitudes of the Navajo Indian toward two schools holding differing philosophies and policies of organization and administration and program. Two separate Navajo Reservation communities with similar demography were selected for the survey. One of the communities is served by a school which is identified as community-oriented inasmuch as it concerns itself with everything that affects the well-being of all of the citizens within the community. In that school, the role of education is extended from the traditional concept of

teaching children to one of identifying the needs, problems, and wants of the community, and then assisting in the development of facilities, programs, staff and leadership toward the end of improving the entire community. The other community is served by a school which is identified as non-community-oriented, as it is characterized in philosophy, policy, and program to exclude meaningful community involvement and participation in the local school.

The review of the historical development of the Navajo Indian as a unique cultural identity indicated the need and necessity of Navajo involvement in the control and operation of Navajo schools. Yet, a look at the history of Navajo education and the Navajo school system pointed out very little involvement of the Navajo Indians themselves in the development, control, and operation of their schools.

A survey sampling of the Navajo residents' knowledge of and attitudes in regard to the local school in the two Navajo Reservation communities was accomplished through the use of the Kettering Foundation sponsored Gallup Poll instrument, How the Nation Views the Public Schools. Some modification of the instrument was done in order to reflect relevance to the population to be surveyed. A standardized translation into the Navajo language was established and testing of the instrument was done by Navajo-speaking persons at the Navajo Community College.

A Chi square analysis of the frequency counts was made to test the null hypothesis: there is little

difference in the Navajo Indian's knowledge and attitude toward his schools, whether the schools be community or non-community oriented. The inspection and analysis of the data findings allow for the generalization that the residents of the area with the community-oriented school have more knowledge and a more positive attitude toward the school than do the residents of the area served by the non-community-oriented school.

An inspection and review of all data presented through this survey indicates that there is a significant difference in the responses of the residents to the two Navajo communities in relation to the Navajo Indian's knowledge and attitude toward his schools. According to the findings of the study, it is submitted that Navajo Indians are more knowledgeable and have a more positive attitude toward the local schools when they are identified as community-oriented schools. On the basis of these findings, the null hypothesis is rejected.

The most obvious conclusion derived from this study is that Navajo Indians have more knowledge and a more positive attitude toward their local schools when the schools are identified in philosophy and program as community-oriented. The fact that the school in this study identified as community-oriented has meaningful local control through an all-Navajo school board, and that the curriculum and policies reflect local community needs, tends to imply that

other Navajo Reservation schools should follow more closely its community-orientation.

The history of American education is filled with certain concepts which long have been denied Navajo Indians. American education has had as its cornerstone and foundation the local community and the involvement of the people served by the school itself. However, Navajo education has been characterized by control by outsiders who in their positions of authority and expertise made the decisions and directed the way. The greatness of this nation lies not in faith in experts but, rather, in the faith that it places in the common man. In this way, and in this manner, Navajo Reservation communities with their community-oriented schools can keep with the highest ideals and the highest principles for which this nation stands. The implications and significance of this study may lie far beyond Indian education, for the greatness and strength of the entire nation is derived from the involvement of its citizens and from placing in their hands the nation's future.

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By

Thomas R. Reno

A THESIS

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Dr. Robert A. Roessel, Jr., who helped lead me to a knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of the first American. Without his gentle, but persistent encouragement, this thesis would probably not have been written. His patience and his sustained interest, good advice, and ever-readiness to help were the keys to the development of this dissertation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The topic of local control, parental and community involvement is of prime concern to the residents of the Navajo Reservation in northeastern Arizona. Most of the Reservation schools are operated by the federally-controlled Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior. These schools have come under attack in recent years by many groups, but none so strongly as a United States Senate subcommittee on Indian Education. The subcommittee, after a two-year study, has labeled Indian education a national tragedy and a failure of major proportions. The authors of the 220-page document were impressed by the low quality of virtually every aspect of schooling for Indian children. The subcommittee listed its findings and then proposed sixty recommendations for improving Indian education. At the top of this list was a recommendation to increasingly involve Indians in their own school affairs.[1] It is to this general topic that this study is addressed.

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[1]U.S., Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Indian Education, Indian Education--A National Tragedy--A National Challenge, Superintendent of Public Documents, 1969.

The history of Indian education is typified by paternalism inasmuch as Indians are often thought to be unable to handle their own school affairs. In a book-length report, the Citizens Advocate Center took a look at the Indians' lot in the United States. The editor maintains that the Indians are encouraged by the "brother's keeper" to live in a fabricated, artificial world that degrades, alienates, and destroys them. The "brother's keeper" is the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the bureaucracy overseeing the Indian problems of the nation, and a bureaucracy so large it now totals one official for every eighteen Indians.[2]

The indicators of Indian problems are appalling. Their life expectancy is forty-four years, compared with seventy-one for white Americans. The average annual income for each Indian family living on a reservation is $1500. The average years of schooling is 5.5, well behind that of both black and Mexican American. Unemployment ranges from a low of 20 per cent on the more affluent reservations to 80 per cent on the poorest. The birth rate of Indians is 2.5 times that of whites, and a majority of Indians are under twenty years old.[3]

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[2]Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America (Washington, D.C.: New Community Press, Inc., 1969), p. 34.

[3]"The Angry American Indian: Starting Down the Protest Trail," Time, February 9, 1970, p. 17.

President Nixon in his message to Congress, July 8, 1970, called for the establishment of tribal boards of education to take the place of federally-administered school systems. He has urged Congress to amend the existing law so that Indian education funds may go directly to Indian groups as well as to Federal and public school systems. In addition, he expressed his abhorrence of what he says is a history of white "aggression, broken agreements, intermittent remorse and prolonged failure" in treatment of Indians. He said that, "as a matter of justice and enlightened social policy," it was time for the 462,000 Indians living on reservations (and perhaps as many more in urban slums) to determine how best to use the federal help made available to them.[4]

One Navajo Reservation community has already taken steps to control and operate its own school. This school is the Rough Rock Demonstration School, Rough Rock, Arizona, which is characterized by its commitment to the involvement of Indians in their school. The school, governed by an all-Navajo school board and financed federally and privately, is regarded not just as a place for education of Navajo children, but as the focus for development of the total community.

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[4]Richard M. Nixon, "President's Message to Congress," New York Times News Service, July 8, 1970.

Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel are anxious to learn of the significance of this move toward community involvement in Indian schools. Indian tribal leaders and Indian educators need some objective evidence as to how Indians view their schools. The experimental school at Rough Rock wants to determine the degree of community knowledge and attitude toward the school and its philosophy and the effectiveness of its school and community programs.

It is the purpose of this study to measure and record the knowledges and the attitudes of the Navajo Indian toward Navajo Reservation schools, and to determine to what extent the community oriented school reflects upon and affects his knowledge and attitude toward the local schools.

Assumptions

For the purpose of this study, it is assumed that:

1. The instrument (a questionnaire) is reliable and valid.
2. The Navajo tribal census data are current and list all families in the survey universe.
3. At the time the instrument is administered, the knowledges and attitudes of the participants toward their schools are accurately measured.

4. It is valuable to know if there are significant differences related to how Navajo Indians view their schools.
5. It is valuable to know if there are significant relationships between local control of schools and how Navajo Indians view their schools.
6. It is valuable to know if there are significant relationships between federally-controlled schools and how Navajo Indians view their schools.
7. Parental and community involvement is basic to excellence in Navajo Indian schools.
8. A knowledgeable community with positive attitudes toward its school leads to excellence in Navajo Indian schools.
9. The community-oriented school assumes the responsibility for communication and program planning with the total community.

If these assumptions are accepted, then it is reasonable to assume that analysis can yield possible combinations of predictive items that can be used in assessing how different schools are viewed by their Navajo Indian constituents.

Hypothesis

The following questions were written to serve as a guide to this survey study as well as a preceding statement to the hypothesis:

1. Do Indian parents in a community-oriented school view their school with more knowledge and positive attitudes than do the parents in a Bureau of Indian Affairs school?
2. Does community participation in the local school lead to more knowledgeable parents with more favorable attitudes toward their schools?
3. Is there any relationship between the type of school serving the Navajo community and the attitudes of the Navajo Indian toward his school and education in general?
4. Can the kind and amount of information possessed by representative Navajo Indians regarding their local schools be determined?
5. Can it be determined how the Navajo Indians judge the quality of education in their local schools, and the criteria they use in arriving at a judgment?
6. Is it possible to determine the attitude of the Navajo Indian toward teachers, the teaching profession, the local school board, and the kinds of information the Navajo Indians would like to have regarding their schools?

Null hypothesis: There is little difference in the Navajo Indian's knowledge and attitude toward his schools, whether the schools be community- or non-community-oriented.

Definition of Terms

Navajo Indian Reservation: A large federal reserve set aside for Navajo Indians through the Treaty of 1868 and subsequent treaties. It is located primarily in northeastern Arizona, yet includes portions of New Mexico and Utah as well. The Reservation is approximately the size of the state of West Virginia in area, and is populated by some 110,000 Navajo Indians.

Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.): A federal bureau within the Department of the Interior serving as a trustee of the lands belonging to the Indians and a source of public services to them, as long as they are not yet absorbed into American life.[5]

Community-Oriented School: A school that concerns itself with everything that affects the well-being of all of the citizens within a given community. This definition extends the role of community education from one of the traditional concept of teaching children to one of identifying the needs, problems, and wants of the community and

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[5]Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1966, X, 635.

then assisting in the development of facilities, programs, staff, and leadership toward the end of improving the entire community.[6]

Non-Community-Oriented School: A school characterized in philosophy, policy, and program to exclude meaningful community involvement and participation in the local school.

B.I.A. School: A non-community-oriented school located either on or off an Indian reservation financed and administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior. The B.I.A. schools may be either boarding or day schools, both of which are federally controlled and required to follow all national and civil-service regulations.

Organization of the Study

This thesis consists of five chapters. In Chapter I, an introduction to the problem is presented telling of the need and purpose of the study. This is followed by the assumptions, the hypothesis, the definition of terms, the organization of the study, and a summary.

In Chapter II, the reader is offered a description of Navajo Indian history, culture, political organization,

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[6]Howard W. Hickey, Curtis Van Voorhees and Associates, The Role of the School in Community Education (Midland, Mich.: The Pendell Co., 1969), p. 31.

and religion, as well as a history of Navajo education and a current description of the Navajo school system. The information in this chapter provides the reader with the necessary data to understand the significance, implications, and findings of the study.

Chapter III includes a description of the sampling procedures, a description of the instrument, the research design, the population surveyed, as well as the description of the analysis procedures.

In Chapter IV, an analysis of the data and findings is presented.

Chapter V includes the major findings, implications, and conclusions, as well as a general summary.

Summary

This study hopes to examine how the Navajo Indian views his schools. The introductory chapter contains a description of the problems facing the American Indian and Indian education, and of the need to determine the relationship between the kinds of schools serving the Navajo Indian, and his knowledge of and attitude toward the local schools. In addition, a list of assumptions, the hypothesis, definition of terms and the organization of the thesis is provided. In the next chapter, pertinent information is presented in regard to the uniqueness and peculiarity of the Navajo Indian and how an understanding of the Navajo is basic to the understanding of the study.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the introduction to this study, it was pointed out that the American Indian has long been denied many of the traditional concepts of American education. Whereas American education has had as its cornerstone and foundation the local community and the involvement of the people served by the school itself, Indian education has been characterized by control by outsiders who in their positions of authority and expertise made the decisions and directed the way.

It is the intent in Chapter II to provide some historical, social, and cultural data concerning the Navajo Indian so that an awareness of the uniqueness of the Navajo might be developed. In addition, the chapter reviews the history of Navajo education, and the types of schools serving the Navajo. The chapter is divided into six sections: Navajo history, Navajo culture, Navajo religion, Navajo political organization, a history of Navajo education, and a description of the Navajo school system.

Navajo History

Navajo call themselves Dine'--The People. They are members of the Athabascan language group which migrated from Asia to the northwest Pacific coast of North America some 1300 years ago. The anthropologist tells us that perhaps as early as 700 A.D. groups of these Athabascans began a gradual migration to what is now the southwestern United States. Their southward drift may have been only an automatic filling of vacuums or the movement of hunters into undisturbed territories. The Athabascans did not possess a very highly developed culture in any respect; yet, if we may judge by their descendants, their cultural make-up included an important, durable element of individualism, a love of personal and familial freedom. They were not disorganized, but unorganized, and they preferred it to be that way. They grouped themselves into small bands, and any units larger than the family were changeable, loosely controlled, and easily dissolved. Some of them moved southward over the High Plains, skirting the Rockies, some must have come down the cordilleral valleys, crossing the Plateau and Basin areas, to end by settling in the Southwest. The Navajo migration legends raise the possibility that some might have come down along the West Coast and then turned eastward to join the main body. In any case, the first definite signs of their presence date about 1541 when wood from a Navajo hut was found in Gobernador Canyon,

forty miles north of what is now Gallina, New Mexico.[1] It was at about this same time that the Spaniard Coronado came through the Southwest with his Conquistadores.

Navajo history in the late 16th and early 17th centuries is sketchy at best. Spanish accounts do indicate that there were two separate bands of Navajo living in a vaguely defined area west of Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico.[2]

It was in the latter half of the 17th century that the transition from an agricultural to a pastoral economy occurred. Most authorities date this event from the time of the Pueblo Indian revolt against the Spanish in 1680 when the Navajo supposedly collected the stray sheep and horses produced by the general confusion.[3]

More than sheep and horses were acquired as a result of the Pueblo revolt. When the Spanish Governor de Vargas completed his re-conquest of New Mexico and the Pueblo villages in 1696, it was discovered that many of the Navajo had fled westward to the Pueblo villages of Acoma and Laguna near the Cebolleta Mountains. Although no one is certain of the magnitude or duration of this Navajo-Pueblo

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[1]E. T. Hall, Jr., "Early Stockaded Settlements in the Gobernador, New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, (1934).

[2]Frank D. Reeve, "Early Navajo Geography," New Mexico Historical Review, XXXI (1928), 305.

[3]Ruth Underhill, The Navajos (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 41-42.

intermingling, evidence suggests that it was crucial to Navajo cultural change. Weaving became a part of Navajo life, and wool produced changes in clothing. The Pueblo religious customs were merged into the Navajo theology, and intermarriage increased the population.[4]

It was in 1744 that two Franciscan friars entered the Province of Navajo to attempt conversion. Although only six days were spent among them, the missionaries reported the conversion of 5,000 Navajo, a beginning so promising that the King of Spain approved the establishment of four missions in the area. This overly optimistic decree was never implemented, yet, by 1749, two missions were established in the Cebolleta Mountains area, one near the present town of Cebolleta, New Mexico, where 500 Navajo were induced to settle, another nearby at Encinal. One year later, the friars were driven from the missions. Subsequent investigation revealed that the Navajo had become angered by the inability of the missionaries to furnish them with gifts and that they were frightened by the example of forced labor which they observed in the nearby Pueblo communities.[5]

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[4]Evon Z. Vogt, "Navajo," in Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 301.

[5]Frank D. Reeve, "The Navajo-Spanish Peace 1720's to 1770's," New Mexico Historical Review, XXXIV (1924), 25-40.

As Spain's control over her American colonies weakened in the early 19th century, the Indians of the Southwest were quick to sense her declining authority. After 1800, the Navajo emerged as the most impressive pastoral culture in aboriginal America and one of the dominant military powers in the Southwest. By 1820 their strength was felt from the Rio Grande valley to the land of the Hopi. When the Americans arrived in 1846 they experienced no difficulty with the Mexican authorities in Santa Fe, but the Navajo were not to be so easily quelled.[6]

Like the Spanish before them, the Americans had little conception of Navajo political and social organization. Believing that the Navajo were organized like an European nation or state, they attempted to make treaties with their leaders. Between 1846 and 1852 several treaties were negotiated, but raids continued. One report tells us that 800,000 sheep and cattle, as well as 20,000 horses and mules passed into the hands of the Navajo between 1846 and 1850.[7]

In 1852 the federal government established Fort Defiance in the heart of Navajo country, and relatively peaceful conditions then prevailed until 1858. Perhaps as much responsible as the army for this lull in the raiding

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[6]Vogt, "Navajo," p. 293.

[7]Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest (Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press, 1962), p. 216.

was the popular Indian agent, Henry Linn Dodge, who between 1853 and 1856 worked among the Navajo from his headquarters at Sheep Springs, just northeast of Fort Defiance.

In 1856 Dodge was killed by an Apache arrow. Two years later trouble erupted at Fort Defiance when the military seized a large area of traditional Navajo pasture land. After the post commander ordered some Navajo horses which had encroached on their new preserve shot, the Navajo retaliated by shooting his Negro slave. A punitive expedition succeeded only in antagonizing further the Navajo leaders Barboncito, Herrero, and Manuelito, who organized a force of some 2,000 warriors for an attack on the fort itself in April of 1860. Although the war party was repulsed, peace was not restored.[8]

The outbreak of the Civil War resulted in the withdrawal of the troops stationed at Fort Defiance. The Navajo, interpreting this as a confession of weakness on the part of the Americans, once again began to raid upon the new settlements on their land.

In 1863 Brigadier General James H. Carleton arrived in New Mexico from California to repel some Confederate forces. When he learned that the Confederates had fled before his arrival he began to cast about for some worthy task to keep his impatient men busy. Conferences with the

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[8]Ibid., p. 217.

territorial governor resulted in a decision to launch a campaign against the Navajo.

Carleton's plan went far beyond a mere punitive campaign. He envisioned nothing less than the establishment of permanent peace through the wholesale removal of the Navajo to a reservation in eastern New Mexico. Carleton stated it this way:

> . . . to gather them together, little by little, on to a reservation, away from the haunts and hills, and hiding places of their country, and then to be kind to them; there to teach their children how to read and write; teach them the arts of peace; teach them the truths of Christianity. Soon they will acquire new habits, new ideas, new modes of life; the old Indians will die off, and carry with them all latent longings for murdering and robbing; the young ones will take their places without these longings; and thus, little by little, they will become a happy and contented people, and Navajo wars will be remembered only as something that belongs entirely to the past.[9]

The famous mountain man, Kit Carson, then living in Taos, New Mexico, was commissioned field commander and given orders to bring the Navajo in, peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary. By summer of 1863, Carson had ended the menace of the Mescalero Apache. He then turned his attention to the Navajo who were given until July 20, 1863, to surrender.

Only a few bands of Navajo complied with the command. As a result, Carson invaded the Navajo country with

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[9]U.S., Congress, Senate, Joint Special Committee, Conditions of the Indian Tribes, James H. Carleton to General Lorenzo Thomas, September 6, 1863, 39th Cong., 2nd sess., 1866-67, Report No. 156, p. 134.

a small army. Wherever he encountered resistance, he destroyed the crops, rounded up the sheep, and shot the Navajo men. On March 6, 1864, 2,400 Navajo began the "Long Walk" to the Bosque Redondo on the banks of the Pecos River in New Mexico. By May, an additional 3,500 were on the way. Although an undetermined number successfully hid in the canyons and on the mountains, some 8,500 Navajo were eventually removed from their homeland. Ruth Underhill tells of the journey to Fort Sumner:

> The Navajo will never forget that journey to Bosque Redondo, known in their traditions as the Long Walk. Only the old, the sick, the infants rode in the carts, along with the piles of supplies. The able-bodied walked, and the boys of ten were proud to take every step of the three hundred miles. Three hundred miles, at fifteen miles a day! No wonder the Navajo felt they were marching to the ends of the earth.[10]

The writer still hears the stories of the Long Walk from the old Navajo in nearby hogans who remember their parents telling of wagon beds becoming flooded in crossing the many washes, streams, and rivers along the way, and how the babies floated out and disappeared downstream.

The utopia which Carleton had planned turned out to be a dismal failure. Aside from the reluctance of the dispirited and homesick Navajo to take up farming, drought, hail, and worms attacked the crops. There was friction with the Mescalero Apache and trouble with neighboring Comanche. The civilian agent, Michael Speck, quarreled

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[10]Underhill, The Navajos, p. 124.

with Carleton over the plan itself. Speck called it inhumane and unfruitful. And always there was the problem of money. The first twenty months of the experiment cost the War Department over one million dollars, and the average cost of rations between 1863 and 1868 was $750,000 per year. In 1867 the Navajo refused to plant crops, and during the winter several hundred deserted. In 1868 the Bosque Redondo scheme was officially abandoned and a treaty was signed permitting the Navajo to return to a new reservation in their former homeland.[11]

In the Treaty of 1868 made by the United States Government with the Navajo Tribe of Indians, a reservation of 5,468 square miles in their homeland in the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah was given to them with the provision that there would be no more raiding. (Since 1868, the size of the Navajo Reservation has been increased several times until the area now totals approximately 25,000 square miles, roughly the size of the state of West Virginia.)

One of the most significant provisions of the Treaty of 1868 concerned education. A school teacher was to be provided for every thirty children who could be

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[11] Ibid., pp. 128-43.

induced or compelled to attend school. It was only recently that this provision was fulfilled.[12]

Soon after the Treaty of 1868 was signed, the Navajo returned to their reservation. According to records, in 1869, the Navajo were placed in a large corral so that 30,000 sheep and 2,000 goats could be divided up among them to help furnish a livelihood on their return to the Reservation.[13]

The Navajo Reservation has a rainfall of less than ten inches per year, and the mean elevation is more than 6,000 feet above sea level. The region is characterized as one lacking in good water, land, and vegetation. Though it was difficult, the Navajo earned a good livelihood from their flocks and herds. In time, however, sheep raising as a means of livelihood failed. The price of wool fell, and in the early 1900's a very long cycle of dry weather reduced the grass production of the range. Navajo kept their sheep in corrals, and the traffic areas became denuded. This caused great eroded areas, and eventually was a reason among many for a very severe stock reduction program in 1932.

Elevation and aridity in this precarious and isolated environment have not been conducive to occupations

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[12]George I. Sanchez, The People (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Indian Service, 1948), p. 46.

[13]Frederick Webb Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 41.

other than the raising of sheep and a few crops such as corn and melons. In certain localities considerable interest is being shown in irrigation, but most of the Navajo land is still a desert.[14]

When the livelihood of the Navajo from livestock, weaving, and silversmithing became unprofitable, some of the Navajo dropped their pastoral economy and began to leave the Reservation for short periods of time to find employment as day laborers on large farms in irrigated areas owned by Anglos. Others found work on the railroad gangs.

The poverty of the land on which the Navajo were placed prevented willful infiltration by others and helped finally to produce a very closely-knit tribe. Kroeber says of the Navajo:

> The usual absorption by assimilation is not in the least in sight for them at present. The chief causes of this situation seem to be an old and skillful adaptation to a rather poor environment; growth in their numbers which made them a regional majority instead of a swamped minority; and this along with the preservation of assurance and even a sense of superiority.[15]

Better living conditions now prevail throughout the Navajo Reservation. The people have schools and hospitals and paved roads now criss-cross Navajoland. A sawmill, a

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[14]Ruth Underhill, Here Come the Navajo! (n.p., 1950), p. 262.

[15]A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1923), p. 431.

utility company, several light industries, as well as the Tribe's own community college are in operation on the Reservation today. With these, and through the valuable natural resources and other holdings of the Navajo Tribe, they have the means to further their ambition to become sharing citizens of the United States.

Navajo Culture

To understand the Navajo, one must understand his culture: the ways of life which these people have developed over centuries of experience in their natural and human environment in the American Southwest. A glimpse of Navajo daily life immediately gives one some understanding of their culture and especially a sense of difference of the ways the Navajo do things as compared to the ways in which most Americans live from day to day. It must be remembered that changes in recent years have been so rapid and have gone at such different rates in different parts of the Reservation that no series of brief statements will hold true for all Navajo.

When one probes a little deeper into the way of life of a group of people, he finds that there is more to it than the techniques they have for making a living, the ways they organize their families and communities, and the ceremonies they carry out to adjust themselves to the universe. There are always more pervasive values and goals which color their entire way of life and enter crucially

into the problem of adjustment with other societies. Some of these things are made very explicit by the Navajo. Health, strength, and industry are all good things of life for the Navajo. There is also a valuing of personal excellence, but the important dominant American cultural value of personal success is somewhat foreign to the Navajo view of life. A white man, for example, will continue striving for greater wealth even after he becomes a millionaire; whereas most Navajo, though also interested in accumulating possessions, will stop when he is comfortably off, or even sooner. Furthermore, riches are not identified so much with a single individual as with the whole extended family.

Most visitors to Navajoland find the Navajo interesting and attractive, both in physique and costume. There is no single Navajo physical type, and the range of physique is great.

The prevailing dress of most Navajo men and boys is a colorful variation of the cowboy costume. The women's long skirts and velveteen blouses reflect Spanish influence as well as the fashions worn by the wives of American Army officers in the late 1800's. Women often wear Pendleton blankets draped over their shoulders; men usually wear them only for warmth. The hairdress of the women and of the traditional long-haired men is an adaptation of hairstyles from the Pueblo Indians. Both long-haired and short-haired men sometimes wear a scarf tied around the forehead.

During the first several months of their lives, babies are kept in cradle boards which are effective devices for caring for the infants under the circumstances of Navajo life. The cradle can be easily carried by the mother on horseback and it keeps the baby from crawling into the open fire. The cradle can be propped up against a tree or wall of the hogan, giving the infant a chance to watch what is going on around him.

The traditional Navajo abode is called a hogan. The hogan is most commonly a circular structure, with a doorway facing east and a smoke hole in the center of the roof, but usually lacking windows. The wall is usually of logs, mud or rocks, depending on the availability of one or the other building material, and the hemispherical roof is formed of cribbed logs covered with dirt. The fire is placed on the hard packed dirt floor beneath the smoke hole, and a flap or hinged door covers the doorway. The occupants sleep on sheepskins, lying with their feet to the fire and their heads to the wall. Today, many hogans have stoves, chimneys, beds, and so on.

A small structure, conical in shape, made of upright poles and covered with earth, is used as a sudatorium or sweat house, largely by males. It is heated by placing hot stones within, and provides facilities for bathing in this area of scarce water.

The Navajo family typically rises at dawn. The men may go out to round up the horses, and the children may

take the sheep and goats out to grass in the cool of the morning while the women take out the ashes and start preparing a breakfast of bread, coffee, and sometimes mutton. When the men return with the horses, breakfast is served the family on the floor of the hogan.

After breakfast the men work in the fields or haul wood and water. The children, when they are not in school, take the sheep and goats out to grass again while the women remain home to care for the babies, weave rugs, and attend to general household tasks. A noon meal may be prepared, but often is omitted all together.

If the family is relatively well-off, a sheep or goat may be butchered during the day to provide meat. After the throat is cut, the animal is skinned and quartered and the meat hung up in a tree out of the reach of dogs. Occasionally there is a wagon or horseback or pick-up trip to the trading post, an event which is looked forward to by all the members of the family. At the trading post the family purchases such staples as flour, sugar, coffee, and lard and sometimes such luxuries as candy, pop, and canned tomatoes or peaches. There is always an exchange of news with the trader and other Navajo before the family starts home.

In the evening another meal is served, and this is often followed by the father or grandfather giving a talk, both educational and ethical in nature, to the children.

It is not too long after sundown when the family retires for the night, unless there are visitors, in which case discussion may continue until quite late.

The whole pace of Navajo daily life is leisurely and relaxed most of the time. The daily and annual round of life are geared not to the clock and calendar, but to the passage of the natural seasons and the position of the sun during the day.

No one has described the Navajo landscape as well as Vogt and Kluckhohn:

> Set a stretch of sagebrush interspersed with groves of small evergreens, mostly pinon and juniper, against a background of highly colored mesas, canyons, and buttes, and mountain masses clothed in deep green, roofed over with a brilliant sky of blue, and you will have a generalized picture of the Navajo landscape. But there are other natural settings within a few hours drive; splendid yellow pine forests, treeless wastes, canyons cut deep into red or orange or red and white banded sandstone mesas.[16]

As beautiful as Navajoland is, it still does not favor the economic survival of large numbers of people who have limited technologies and remain isolated from the main arteries of commerce. To gauge correctly the difficulties of travel in some areas of the Reservation, distances must be measured in terms of bad roads and intervening canyons and washes or other obstacles, rather than in terms of miles on a map.

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[16]Clyde Kluckhohn and Evon Z. Vogt, Navajo Means People (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 134.

Flowing water is rare and rainfall is scanty in most parts of the reservation. In nearly half of the land of the Navajo, rainfall averages eight inches per year. High temperatures during the summer and sub-zero weather during the winter, high winds, and sand storms are characteristic. These liabilities also affect the higher steppe regions, where annual rainfall is better than twelve inches. In the mountains, rainfall averages twenty-two inches, but the brief growing season of ninety days is often interrupted by killing frosts.

The basic unit of economic and social cooperation is the biological family, consisting of husband, wife, and unmarried children.

When a Navajo man marries, he usually goes to live with the wife's relatives. Two biological families are combined into extended families which usually consist of an older woman with her husband and unmarried children, together with her married daughters, their husbands, and unmarried children. This larger family grouping lives in two or three adjacent hogans and cooperates closely in agriculture and the care of livestock.

Besides these family groupings the circle of kinfolk is extended to people in the outfit or on into the clan. The outfit is a group of relatives who regularly cooperate on some occasions, such as planting and harvesting or giving an important ceremonial. Each Navajo belongs

to the clan of his mother, but he is also born for the clan of his father. These clan groupings are not united in one local area, but are spread widely over the Reservation. In the contemporary life of the Navajo, the principal importance of clan is that of limiting marriage choices. One may never marry within one's own clan or one's father's clan. But clan is also important in establishing the larger circle of one's relatives. They bind Navajo together who are not biologically related, who have not grown up in the same locality, who may never see each other, or may do so but once in a lifetime. This sentimental bond gives rise to occasional economic and other reciprocities. A Navajo will always go out of his way to do a favor for or show preference for a clan relative. Clan members are called brothers, sisters, fathers, or mothers, depending upon the sex and relative ages of the two speakers.

The largest and most effective unit of social and political cooperation on the Navajo Reservation is the local group or community. There are very few real villages and nothing that is comparable to Smalltown, U.S.A. One of the outstanding facts about Navajoland is the widely spread settlement of the small hogan groups. Many times they are five miles or more apart. Yet, throughout the Reservation, there are local geographical areas occupied by groups of Navajo who come together for large political meetings, and who cooperate in giving a ceremonial or celebration. Most

of these communities have names and elect head men who serve as leaders for many years at a time.

Navajo Religion

> Religion enters every phase of Navajo life. It is scarcely ever out of their minds from the time they are old enough to understand anything about it.[18]

The Navajo, largest and most colorful Indian tribe in the United States, is superficially the best known. Its members travel on horseback and wagons as frequently as in pick-ups and sedans. They crowd to the "squaw dance" where, within a few miles of the highway, their eerie singing and strange rites carry the ordinary non-Indian person miles from reality and back uncounted years into what he considers the prehistoric past. Occasionally he can watch a sand-painting being made and used for its original purpose. More often he sees reproductions which for him have an exotic appeal.

In general the Navajo religion is said to exist for the purpose of fulfillment of the requirements of life and the living. Nature takes care of one if he behaves as he should and does as nature directs. There is no modification of nature. The universe remains intact and constant, and man must adjust to it.[19] When a Navajo is troubled with

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[18]Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, The Navajo Door, An Introduction to Navajo Life (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945), p. 24.

[19]Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navajo (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947), pp. 227-28.

illness, bad dreams, fear, insecurity, or some other similar condition that seems beyond rational control, his feeling is that something has upset the harmonious relationship between him and nature and that immediate measures must be taken to regain the harmony.[20]

There are fifty-eight distinct ceremonies in Navajo religion, each of which has been described as a complicated ritual to cure illness of body and mind. Singing plays an important part in these ceremonials. Each ceremony has its distinct place in the relief of difficulties involved in life, such as warding off evil spirits or getting rid of the bad effects caused by an evil spirit.[21] The procedure for ceremonies seems to be that the person who gives the ceremony feels the need of a medicine man and has the necessary money. The person for whom the ceremony is to be given, and a few of his close friends and relatives and a hand trembler or diagnostician decide which rites are best suited to cure the malady.[22] Then the proper medicine man is sent for to perform the ceremonial. The medicine man decides what has caused the illness and prescribes the exact ceremony needed to cure the ailment.[23] Often sand paintings

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[20]Leland C. Wyman, Beautyway: A Navajo Ceremonial (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), pp. 6-7.

[21]Kluckhohn and Leighton, The Navajo, p. 171.

[22]Leighton and Leighton, The Navajo Door, pp. 27-30.

[23]Ibid., pp. 29-30.

are used in the ceremony. Making a sand painting is a very complicated and intricate procedure.

The writer has observed and taken part in many Navajo ceremonies. Several have been along with the eminent psychiatrist, Dr. Karl Menninger, who studies the Navajo medicine man and the Navajo religion for understanding of their techniques in psychotherapy and psychosomatic medicine. Dr. Karl believes the Navajo medicine man is years ahead of his Anglo contemporaries in this very significant and prevalent medical problem of psychosomatic illness.

A Navajo ceremony, or whatever it may be called, is a combination of many elements, ritualistic items such as the medicine bundle with its sacred contents; prayersticks, made of carefully selected wood and feathers, precious stones, tobacco, water collected from sacred places, a tiny piece of cotton string; song with its lyrical and musical complexities; sandpaintings, with intricate color, directional, and impressionistic symbols; prayer, with stress on order and rhythmic unity; plants, with supernatural qualities defined and personified; body and figure painting; sweating and emetic, with purificatory functions; vigil, with emphasis on concentration and summary. It is a selection of these and other elements and their orderly combination into a unit that makes the chant and ceremony effective.[24]

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[24]Gladys A. Reichard, Navajo Religion, A Study in Symbolism (New York: Pantheon Books, 1950), p. 34.

The three best-known Navajo ceremonies are the Squaw Dance, the Yeibichai, and the Corral or Fire Dance. Singing and dancing are features of each of these ceremonies.

All ceremonies are based on legends handed down from one medicine man to another. These legends tell myths which explain the meaning of the ceremonies and the reasons for the various happenings. The legends are told or sung by the medicine men in the ceremonial hogan which is erected or used as a base for the ceremony. Only those concerned directly with the ceremony are allowed within the hogan. The dancing, which goes on outside is the part which spectators are allowed to see and hear.

The Squaw Dance or Enemy Way ceremony is a summer ceremony, and it is given for a person who has been to war, or who has had bad dreams, or for a number of other reasons. The patient undergoes treatment from a medicine man. The affair lasts for three days, each day being located in a different place. Many ceremonies are connected with this healing rite, but the one best known to the outsider is the Squaw Dance itself. Here a girl chooses a man to dance with her to the accompaniment of singing and drumming, and after several rounds of the dance the man must pay the girl for having danced with her.[25]

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[25]"Something About Navajo Ceremonies" (Window Rock, Ariz.: Navajo Tribal Museum, The Navajo Tribe, 1968).

The Yeibichai is the major winter ceremony. It is based on legends concerning certain supernatural beings which have had a powerful effect on the lives of the mythical heroes. This is a nine day ceremony. The last night is most picturesque. Teams of dancing men in costume dance and sing in turn before the ceremonial hogan. The effect of the dance and the eerie singing late at night, the smoke from many campfires and the quiet, yet ever-moving crowd is something that no one will soon forget.[26]

The Corral or Fire Dance is also a winter rite. It receives its name from certain parts of the ceremonies, which are held within a large circle of branches, the "corral." At one point in the ceremony men race out, snatch firebrands from the fire and bathe themselves and each other in the flames, which are considered purifying. Feats of magic, in which plants grow and bloom in a few minutes, men swallow arrows, and other things are also performed. This dance is known to anthropologists as the Mountain Way.[27]

Aside from dancing, another important feature of a ceremony centers around the creation of a dry painting which, in essence, is a representation of the Holy People. According to Navajo mythology, these dry paintings were

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

given to the Hero Twins by the gods who specified that they be made of impermanent materials to prevent quarreling over the possession of them. Since designs are made of pollen, meal, crushed flowers, charcoal, and pulverized materials, dry painting is a more correct term than sand painting. These paintings are primarily curative and the patient believes that by sitting upon the representations of the Holy People he is identified with them.[28]

The Navajo religion is based on a central core of doctrine and philosophy which embodies broad ideas that one recognizes immediately as part of the reservoir of universal religious thinking. The ordinary Navajo probably has but an incomplete grasp of these ideas, as would the ordinary member of the Christian or other religion in regard to concepts of the same sort. The reservoir is in the mind of mankind, but by no means does all mankind draw from it.

Navajo Political Organization

Prior to the time of the Long Walk, the Navajo Tribe did not exist as a political entity. There were only local bands led by headmen who enjoyed varying amounts of power determined by their persuasive ability. Coalitions of headmen were few and their authority was of short duration.

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[28]Reichard, Navajo Religion, A Study of Symbolism, p. 39.

When oil was discovered on the Reservation in 1921, the Navajo organized a General Council Assembly to negotiate a developmental lease. Later, they established a business council and several tribal councils of varying numbers. The present Navajo Tribal Council, which draws its authority for a set of rules promulgated by the Secretary of the Interior in 1938, is composed of seventy-four delegate representatives elected by the people from some 100 communities. Some councilmen represent more than one community. The Council's presiding officers are a chairman and vice-chairman, who are elected at large. The present Navajo Tribal Chairman is attempting to develop and have approved a formal Constitution of the Navajo Tribe. Authorization for this was given by the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Act of 1950.[29]

History of Navajo Education

Prior to the signing of the Treaty of 1868 and the establishment of the Navajo Indian Reservation, the United States made no provision for the education of the Navajo people.

The Treaty of 1868 carried the following provision for the construction of schools and the conduct of the Navajo education program:

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[29]Robert W. Young, The Navajo Yearbook--1961 (Window Rock, Ariz.: Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Navajo Tribe, 1961), p. 374.

> In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as may be settled on agricultural parts of this Reservation, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that, for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher.[30]

In 1869, Miss Charity Gaston of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, was employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and was sent as a teacher to Fort Defiance, Arizona, where she attempted to conduct classes in a room set aside at the Agency headquarters. This first attempt was unsuccessful.[31]

In 1883, a boarding school was opened by the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Fort Defiance. The first year only twenty-four pupils were enrolled; and only thirty-three the following year.[32]

A few years later, in 1887, the school attendence of Indian children became compulsory, and thereafter it became the custom to use the police to locate school-age

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[30]Young, The Navajo Yearbook--1961, p. 7.

[31]Ibid., p. 8.

[32]"Navajo Agency Letterbook" (Window Rock, Ariz.: 1884). (Unpublished.), p. 27.

children and place them in school. Frequently, parents hid their children from the police, or voluntarily sent only the sick and weak, retaining the strong at home. Implementation of the compulsory attendance law almost precipitated violence in the fall of 1892 when Indian Agent Dana Shipley was besieged in a trading post at Round Rock, Arizona, by a force of Navajo under the leadership of a man known as Black Horse.[33]

During the first decade of the 1900's schools were constructed at Tuba City, Leupp, Tohatchi, Shiprock, and Chinle; and during the following decade similar facilities were built at Crownpoint, Toadlena, and Fort Wingate. In addition, Navajo students attended some of the off-reservation facilities constructed for purposes of Indian education in the 1880's and the 1890's.

In 1919, both the Congress and the Board of Indian Commissioners inquired into the Navajo school situation and came up with some startling results. Of an estimated 9,613 Navajo children eligible for school, the Board found that only 2,089 were actually attending school. The House Indian Affairs Committee in 1920 was startled by the comment of Superintendent Paquette in that 75 per cent of the children in his jurisdiction could not be given a pre-vocational education (grades 1-6) because of the lack of

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[33]Left-handed Mexican Clansman, "Trouble at Round Rock" (n.p., 1937), p. 9.

facilities. The reason he gave was a shortage of construction funds. Paquette also testified that in the absence of vocational schools on the Reservation and the reluctance of Navajo to allow their children to attend non-reservation schools, not only were the majority of the Navajo children receiving no education, but, of those who did receive the basic course, very few went on to trade or vocational schools.[34]

The formal educational system of the non-Navajo world lying outside the Reservation area did not meet the needs of the Navajo people, living as they did within the perspective of Navajo culture. Within the traditional society, the educational process was carried on at home, and was designed to teach children the traditional techniques of agriculture and stock raising, as well as the legends, taboos, and practices of Navajo culture. The ability to read and write an alien language and assume the ways of an alien people was not attractive to the Navajo people. Most of the unwilling students driven to school by the police in preceding years merely returned to the Reservation and re-established themselves as members of the Navajo society following their release from school or their successful evasion of the police.

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[34]U.S., Congress, House, Indians of the United States, Hearings, House of Representatives, 66th Cong., 1-3rd sess., Vol. 3, p. 730.

From time to time, long after the turn of the 20th century, there was friction between members of the Navajo Tribe and the administration over the subject of school attendance. At the Navajo Tribal Council meeting at Fort Wingate in July, 1925, many Navajo spoke openly against this forced educational policy which took their children away from them. The minutes record a Hosteen Nez:

> With a baby in your arms you kiss that baby a lot. We feel the same way about our children. But you want to come in and take the children and rush these poor children off to school. We have the same feeling for these children as you people have for yours. We want fair and square treatment. We don't want our children taken by force. About all the children we have left now is one year old, two year old, three year old--you have all the others.[35]

It was not until the mid-1930's, as part of the social and economic revolution that began during that period in the Reservation area, that serious thought was given to necessary expansion of the education system serving the Navajo Tribe. The Meriam Report of 1928 had described the eight boarding and nine day schools operating on the Reservation at that time as decrepit and the authorities who wrote the report looked with disfavor on the use of the boarding facilities, favoring the expansion of the day school system.[36] Those seventeen schools at that time could

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[35]Navajo Tribal Council, Minutes of Meetings of the Navajo Tribal Council meeting of July 7-8, 1928 at Fort Wingate, New Mexico.

[36]Lewis M. Meriam, "The Problem of Indian Administration," in The Meriam Report (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Indian Service, 1927), p. 97.

accommodate only 2,865 students who, under the guise of vocational training, were required to perform all of the drudgeries of institutional work, which allowed for economical school operation costing the federal government only 225 dollars per capita per year, and including food allowances of eleven cents per pupil per day. All remaining food was produced by the students on the school farms.[37]

With the temporary de-emphasis of the boarding school system, fifty new day schools were built during the 1930's on the Reservation. These added 3,500 new spaces for Navajo school children. The new system was designed to permit the children to reside at home, and use bus service to and from school.

The 1940's brought a growing awareness of the need for formal schooling on the part of the Navajo; and during the war period, temporary, makeshift school operations, built in some localities by Navajo parents themselves, kept the Reservation school system alive.

Military service in World War II opened the eyes of many Navajo to a new understanding of the role of education. Moreover, the war contributed to a change in the Navajo attitude toward formal education. Demand for labor was great throughout the nation, and all possible labor sources

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[37]Young, Navajo Yearbook--1961, p. 12.

were used. Even though many Navajo were illiterate, they were able to find jobs in off-reservation communities.

In May, 1946, a special Navajo Tribal Council delegation expressed itself to the Secretary of the Interior, Congressional committees, and others in Washington to the effect that formal education was considered by the Navajo Tribe to be its primary need. The demand for schools grew louder in succeeding years, and many non-Navajo throughout the country learned, with mixed feelings of dis-belief and chagrin, that there was a group of some 75,000 American Indians for whom not even the necessary school plants existed, and who, lacking an education, could not speak, read, and write the national language.[38]

It seems that the increase in the amount of education available for the Navajo has materialized chiefly because of the development of a desire for education and self-improvement by the Navajo themselves. In regard to education, Chee Dodge put into English the words of the great Navajo leader Manuelito:

> My grandchild, the whites have many things which we Navajo need. But we cannot get them. It is as though the whites were in the grassy canyon and there they have wagons, plows, and plenty of food. We Navajo are up on the dry mesa. We can hear them talking, but we cannot get to them. My grandchild, education is the ladder. Tell our people to take it.

During the period of 1946-1947, Dr. George I. Sanchez, a professor of education at the University of

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[38] Ibid., p. 14.

Texas, was employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to carry out a comprehensive study of school requirements on the Navajo Reservation. The data assembled by Dr. Sanchez pointed to the fact that two-thirds of the Navajo population had no schooling whatsoever, and that the median number of school years completed among members of the Tribe was less than one. This figure contrasted sharply with a median of 5.7 years for the Indian population in general of the United States, and even more sharply with the 8.4 years then characterizing the national population overall.[39]

It was in 1950 that Congress enacted the Long Range Rehabilitation Act. It provided for:

> The construction of school facilities on the Navajo Reservation to accommodate ultimately all school-age children on a boarding or day basis.
>
> Provision for the elementary and vocational education of Navajo children aged 12-18 years, who had not attended school previously, or who were three or more years retarded.
>
> Provision of high school opportunities on and off the Reservation as required.
>
> The transfer of responsibility for the education of Navajo and Hopi children to the public school system as rapidly as possible.[40]

During the initial phases of the Long Range Program, some progress was made in the direction of replacing unsafe, crowded and otherwise unsuitable facilities, converting existing school plants from a day to a boarding basis, but

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[39]Sanchez, The People, p. 38.

[40]Young, The Navajo Yearbook--1961, p. 16.

little progress was achieved in the direction of providing school opportunities for the total school-age population of which nearly half remained out of school due to the lack of accommodations.

From 1954 until 1957 the federal government put forth special efforts to improve the Navajo educational situation by instituting a comprehensive program called NEEP, the Navajo Emergency Education Program.[41] The NEEP program promoted Navajo enrollment in federal, state, and mission schools. In addition, the hogan and trailer schools were developed. The hogan and trailer schools were in or near Navajo homes. In the hogan school program, neighboring children often assembled in the hogan or house of a Navajo family and were taught by the hogan school teacher. At other locations, an itinerant teacher taught the elements of English daily to one or two children. A trailer school was a self-sufficient educational facility operated on the Reservation, usually in a remote location. Some trailer schools had one classroom, others had more.

School expansion for the Navajo children has remained high for the past ten years. Some of the schools for the Navajo have been built far off the Reservation, much to the chagrin and discouragement of Navajo parents. Just recently, the first Bureau of Indian Affairs high

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[41] Ibid., p. 18.

school ever to be built on the Reservation was dedicated at Many Farms, Arizona. However, it too, is a boarding facility. The Bureau plans to build one more high school on the Reservation in the Tuba City area. Thereafter, no more Bureau high schools will be built.[42]

The Reservation public schools have grown to assume an ever-increasing share of the educational burden. However, in view of the fact that these public schools can only operate on a day basis and cannot reach the total school-age population by bus service over the existing poor road system, the operation of boarding schools must continue for some time.[43]

As the Navajo education program has moved forward during the past few years, emotional and other problems affecting the adjustment of the children involved have increased. The need to attack and resolve these problems has been recognized by the Tribal officials, educators inside and outside of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, and by colleges and universities in the surrounding area.

The most significant, recent happening in Navajo education has been the establishment of the first Tribally

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[42]Abraham I. Tucker, Chief of Branch of Educational Liaison, Navajo Area Office, private interview at Window Rock, Arizona, January 28, 1969.

[43]Young, The Navajo Yearbook--1961, p. 31.

controlled and operated school. This school, located at Rough Rock, Arizona, seems to be the hope of the future of excellence in education on the Navajo Reservation.

> The school is operating on a demonstration basis right now, and all sorts of people are looking at us to see if we can do the job. I'm confident that we can.[44]

Navajo School System

The school system serving the Navajo Tribe is a highly varied and far-flung operation. It includes facilities operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, public schools, mission schools, and the Navajo Tribal School at Rough Rock, Arizona.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Operations

The Bureau of Indian Affairs operates a total of 67 educational and facilitating institutions for Navajo children. This includes: 3 boarding high schools, 47 boarding elementary schools, 8 day schools, 1 trailer school, 7 dormitories in off-reservation communities, and 1 reservation dormitory.[45] In addition to these schools and dormitories, the Bureau of Indian Affairs operate thirteen off-reservation boarding schools scattered

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[44]Allen D. Yazzie, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Education Committee and President of DINE', Inc., Rough Rock Demonstration School, private interview at Window Rock, Arizona, September 20, 1969.

[45]Tucker, interview.

throughout the West. These schools, however, are for students of all tribal background, and not exclusively Navajo. According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, their school construction program is well ahead of the anticipated enrollment. At the beginning of the school year 1968-1969, there were 4,000 seats not occupied.[46] In fiscal year 1968, there were 23,546 Navajo students enrolled in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in the Navajo Area.[47]

Reservation Public Schools

The lack of an adequate tax base on the Navajo Reservation requires the federal government to finance the public school system on the Reservation. The Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with the states and counties and school districts. Public Law 815 in 1953 aided school districts with heavy Indian enrollment by authorizing funds for the construction of school facilities on Reservation land, and for the expansion of public school facilities located outside the Reservation, wherever such schools were willing to enroll Indian children from the Reservation areas.[48]

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[46] Ibid.

[47] "Statistics Concerning Indian Education for Fiscal Year 1968" (Window Rock, Ariz.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1968), p. 10.

[48] Young, The Navajo Yearbook--1961, p. 54.

There are five public school districts on the Navajo Reservation; they enroll 18,999 Navajo students. This number includes 4,204 students who live in federal dormitories and attend public schools.[49]

Mission Schools

There are twelve mission schools operating on or near the Navajo Reservation. All have been established since 1897, and they have been financed entirely by church and other private funds. At one time there were twenty schools of this type, but the increasing cost of operation closed some of them down. The only federal assistance to the missions came with the Act of March 3, 1909, which authorized and directed the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents in fee simple to any duly authorized religious organization engaged in mission school work on any Indian Reservation for such lands as those groups occupied for mission or school purpose.[50]

Of the numerous mission schools operating in the Reservation area, the four largest remain those established near the turn of the century at Farmington and Rehoboth, New Mexico, and at Ganado and St. Michaels in Arizona.

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[49]"Statistics Concerning Indian Education for Fiscal Year 1968," pp. 10-11.

[50]Felix S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 242.

These four institutions accommodate a little more than half of all Navajo children attending the mission schools. Mission schools enrolled 3,136 Navajo students in 1968.[51]

Rough Rock Demonstration School

The school at Rough Rock, Arizona, is the only one of its kind on the Navajo Reservation. Other communities are taking steps toward the development of schools based on the Rough Rock model. The demonstration school is completely controlled and operated by the Navajo people, and it seeks to demonstrate that the Navajo are capable of setting up and operating their own school, a school which meets the unique needs of the people it serves.

Summary

Foundational to the understanding of this study is an awareness of multi-ethnicity and cultural pluralism in American society. This chapter included information leading to an understanding and appreciation of the Navajo Indian as a unique cultural identity.

A review of the history of Navajo education and the Navajo school system appears to indicate very little involvement of the Navajo themselves in the development, control, and operation of their schools.

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[51]"Statistics Concerning Indian Education for Fiscal Year 1968," p. 10.

A summation review of the Navajo as a people should include a description of what the future might bring for them and other American Indians. In the Southwest, for example, two approaches are currently in vogue when discussing the future of the Indian. The first predicts the imminent disappearance of native cultures into the mainstream of American life. The second is more vague and gaining in popularity; it speaks gently of the acculturative process, suggesting a thoughtful blending of the "best of the old with the best of the new," a sort of golden cultural sunset in which the Indian may remain quaint in his crafts, colorful in his religion, and wise in his philosophy. Change for the Indian is inevitable, but who else will change and for what purpose? As a nation the United States is strictly ethnocentric, eager to teach but reluctant to learn. The dominant American society has a disturbing habit of regarding all other peoples as merely undeveloped Americans, assuming that they must be dissatisfied with their way of life and anxious to live and think as they do.

The story of the American Indian is not yet finished. How it will end or if it will end remains to be seen. There is still time, however, to begin to think of our remaining Indian communities as valuable cultural resources rather than simply as perplexing social problems.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

The purpose of this study is to measure and record the knowledges and the attitudes of the Navajo Indian toward Navajo Reservation schools, and to determine to what extent the community-oriented school reflects upon and affects his knowledge and attitude toward the local schools. An unrestricted random sampling of adults in two Navajo communities is surveyed to determine their knowledge and attitude toward the local school. The local school in one area is community-oriented, while the other is non-community-oriented. The basic concern is that of Navajo involvement, control, and participation in the local school and whether this involvement is significant to the knowledge and attitude of the community residents toward the school.

Chapter III serves as a map of operation for the research methodology. The chapter includes a description of the two communities, the sampling procedure, the research design, and the instrument.

A random sampling of the residents of each of two communities on the Navajo Reservation was taken to ascertain

if the responses of the residents differ to a significant degree in regard to their knowledge and attitude toward the local school. The two communities selected in this study are served by schools having a basic difference in philosophy and orientation in regard to local control and community involvement. The first community, which may be considered as a control group and is identified in this study as "Group I," is Rough Rock, Arizona, located in northeastern Arizona some 120 miles distant from the nearest large town of Gallup, New Mexico. The other community, identified in this study as "Group II," is that of Lukachukai, Arizona, forty-eight miles east of Rough Rock and some eighty miles north of Gallup. Both communities have similar demography, with most inhabitants living in traditional Navajo way. The significant difference between these two groups, for the purposes of this study, is that Group I residents are served by a school governed and controlled by the local citizenry and includes programs for community involvement; Group II residents are served by a Bureau of Indian Affairs school which is characterized by civil service and federal control and excludes programs for meaningful community involvement. In other words, Group I is served by a "community-oriented school," and Group II by a "non-community-oriented school."

Interviewing Procedure

Two Navajo men were selected to assist the writer in interviewing. The two were chosen because of their knowledge, training, and experience as interviewers and translators. Both are fluent in the Navajo and English languages. Each was from a well-identified and well-accepted clan and had a reputation that allowed for effective communication between interviewer and interviewee.

Because it was anticipated that some of the adults interviewed would be fluent in Navajo language only, a systematic and consistent translation of the instrument was accomplished. Since Navajo is not a written language, a consistent pattern of and for the translation was set up, and a mutually agreed upon standard was established by the interviewers. Continued testing of the questionnaire and the interview techniques, as well as evaluation of the translation was done among Navajo-speaking faculty, staff, and students of the Navajo Community College at Many Farms, Arizona. After several "try-out sessions," adjustment and modification of the instrument and procedures were made, and the final format set.

The Navajo Tribal Census Bureau provided a listing by name and census number of all Navajo living in the two selected communities. The design of the sample is that of a replicated probability sample as was used in the Gallup Poll How the Nation Views the Public Schools. No

stratification was necessary in either community and sampling locations were selected strictly on a random basis. The interviewers had no choice whatsoever concerning the part of the community in which they conducted their interviews.

Instructions to the interviewers were the same as those used in the Gallup Poll: interviewers were given maps of the area to which they were assigned, with a starting point indicated, and required to follow a specified direction. At each occupied dwelling unit, interviewers were instructed to select respondents by following a prescribed systematic method and by a male-female assignment so that 50 per cent of the sample was male and 50 per cent female. This procedure was followed until the assigned number of interviews was completed.[1]

Because all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, that is, the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population surveyed had been interviewed, a procedure for dealing with sampling error is included along with and as a part of the analysis of data.

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[1]George Gallup and CFK, Ltd., How the Nation Views the Public Schools (Melbourne, Fla.: IDEA Information and Services, 1970), p. 91.

Descriptive Survey Research Design

This study is considered to be descriptive research, and the primary aim of this approach is to determine what exists. Van Dalen (1962) states that descriptive research studies may describe the rudimentary groupings of things by comparing and contrasting likenesses and differences in their behavior. They may classify order, and correlate data seeking to describe relationships that are discoverable in phenomena themselves.[2]

Galfo (1970) points out that descriptive research includes all studies with purposes aimed primarily to describe conditions as they existed at the time the research was conducted.[3]

In this survey research study, the elements in the sample can be classified into categories representing one or more characteristics. The classification process according to Wert, Neidt and Ahmann (1954) consists essentially of identifying the characteristics or responses of each individual in the sample and then enumerating the

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[2]Deobold B. Van Dalen, Understanding Educational Research: An Introduction (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 215.

[3]Armand J. Galfo and Earl Miller, Interpreting Educational Research (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, Co., 1970), p. 264.

individuals having been classified into each category.[4] Following this classification, an evaluation is made of the discrepancy between the number of sample cases which would be expected in each category on the basis of some hypothesis about the distribution of cases in the population. Chi square, wrote Wert, Neidt and Ahmann is the "statistical technique which enables the investigator to evaluate the probability of obtaining differences between the actual and the expected frequencies in the categories of one or more classifications as a result of sampling fluctuation."[5]

Chi square, according to Galfo and Miller (1970) is a mathematical distribution presented in table form that can be used to test the agreement of obtained and theoretical frequency distribution and to determine that the difference is not due to chance or random selection of the sample being studied. One form of the Chi square equation is:

$$X^2 = \frac{(O_f - E_f)^2}{E_f}$$

where O_f is the observed frequency and E_f is the frequency for what is expected for the given hypothesis.[6]

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[4]James E. Wert, Charles O. Neidt, and J. Stanley Ahmann, Statistical Methods in Educational and Psychological Research (New York: McGraw Hill, 1954), p. 146.

[5]Ibid., p. 46.

[6]Galfo and Miller, Interpreting Educational Research, p. 200.

A relatively small sample size is required for this survey study and the subsequent data analysis procedures. Fox (1969) contends that correlational surveys typically require between fifty and 100 subjects, and at least thirty in each of two samples for statistical purposes such as Chi square.[7] Galfo and Miller (1970) pointed out that statisticians have used a rule of thumb that expected frequencies in Chi square analysis smaller than five are unacceptable. He observed that the practice of combining categories to which some researchers resort when the expected frequency count is small is a direct violation of the assumption that sampling is random; when this is done, outcomes are being influenced by a non-chance factor. Their recommendation is that each expected frequency equal or exceed ten.[8] Wert, Neidt and Ahmann (1954) reviewed that the prevailing practices suggest that Chi square should not be employed whenever any expected cell frequency falls below five, and that in many situations this limiting nature of Chi square may be overcome by combining categories with small frequencies or by eliminating the row or column containing expected cell frequencies of less than five.[9]

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[7]David J. Fox, The Research Process in Education (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 428.

[8]Galfo and Miller, Interpreting Educational Research, p. 200.

[9]Wert, Neidt, and Ahmann, Statistical Methods in Educational and Psychological Research, p. 157.

On the basis of a Chi square analysis, it can be determined whether the observed frequencies in the sample differ significantly from the expected frequencies based upon the null hypothesis: there is little difference in the Navajo Indian's knowledge and attitude toward his schools, whether the schools be community- or non-community-oriented. If the Chi square is large enough, the null hypothesis is rejected at some level of confidence. Null is hypothesized since if the expected frequencies were the same as the observed frequencies, Chi square would equal zero. Sampling error can cause the observed frequencies to differ from the expected frequencies to some extent; but when differences between observed frequencies and expected frequencies are great, as measured by Chi square, in comparison to the expected frequency, a conclusion may be drawn that the differences are probably not a result of sampling error, and the null hypothesis is rejected.

Chi square does provide a way to make judgments as to whether frequencies found in categorized information are as expected, or if these frequencies deviate more from what was expected than can be accounted for on the basis of errors resulting from sampling.[10]

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[10]Galfo and Miller, Interpreting Educational Research, p. 199.

Instrumentation

How the Nation Views the Public Schools, a survey of the public's attitude toward the public schools in 1969 is the first in a series of national surveys to be sponsored by CFK, Ltd., of Denver, Colorado. Charles F. Kettering II, founder-president of CFK, Ltd. is chairman of the board of the philanthropic organization. The CFK, Ltd. was organized in 1967 with a primary focus on the improvement of the learning environment at the elementary and secondary school level. The Annual Survey of the Public Schools is only one of CFK's projects. Mr. Kettering and Dr. Edward Brainard, executive vice-president of the organization, said the survey would be repeated each year and was part of an effort to develop a national portrait of school opinion against which local community polls could be compared.[11] The attitude of the public toward two types of educational issues is surveyed through this instrument. The continuing educational questions constitute one type for which yearly surveys will provide a longitudinal study of historical value. Objectives of schooling and the cost of education are among issues in this category. A second type of educational question to be surveyed is that which changes from year to year. Current important ones of this nature are narcotics, sex education, taxpayer revolt, student unrest,

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[11] IDEA Reporter (Melbourne, Fla.: Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., Special Issue, 1970).

and curriculum relevancy. This poll has been reproduced in its entirety by the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., because of its correlation with the Institute's programs. The long-range goals of this project carry pertinent implications for those schools committed to meaningful change in their educational structure.

Through a series of test samplings of the instrument, a modified form of the Gallup Survey (see Appendix) was developed which was considered pertinent for residents of isolated Navajo Reservation communities. Interviewers were trained and evaluated in the standardization of the interview procedure.

As data were collected, it was key-punched on IBM cards and verified. Tallies and statistical analysis were done with the assistance of the Arizona State University Computer Center. A GE 425 Computer with Fast Fortran was used to implement a "CHI-CHI" program. The Chi square statistic, according to the ASU Computer Center Statistical Library, is used to determine the significance of association of two or more attributes or factors. Each attribute or factor is divided into a number of discrete categories (either nominal or ordinal). Frequencies are then tabulated for each cell in a so-called contingency table. The values of Chi square and of the alpha probability are then calculated. The CHI-CHI program will compute Chi square for several successive sets of data with the same format or

will compute Chi square for several sets of data of different size and format. The number of sets is determined by the user and has no limit.[12]

Summary

It was the intent of Chapter III to spell out the procedures followed in carrying out this study. Included in the chapter was an explanation of the interview procedure, the descriptive survey research design and Chi square statistical analysis, as well as a description of the instrument and its follow-through procedures. The following chapter will present and give a statistical analysis of the findings.

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[12] CHI-CHI Program (Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona State University Computer Center Statistical Library, October, 1970), p. 1.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

It is the purpose of this chapter to report the findings and statistical analysis of the survey instrument presented to a sampling of Navajo Indians in two distinct communities on the Navajo Reservation. The instrument is based upon the Gallup International's How the Nation Views the Public Schools. A copy is provided in the Appendix in addition to the modified instrument used in this study. The instrument is of the interview/questionnaire type and was given to forty-one heads-of-household in each of the two communities. "Group I" are residents of an area where the local school is identified in this study as "community-oriented." "Group II" respondents are from an area where the local school is identified as "non-community-oriented."

Following tabulation and statistical analysis, there are indications that many of the responses showed considerable difference in the knowledges and attitudes of the two groups surveyed. In response to the question dealing with the knowledge of the name of the elementary school principal, thirty-five respondents in Group I answered yes, while only fourteen in Group II answered yes (Table 1).

TABLE 1

Do you know the name of the principal of the elementary school?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	35	24
No	4	17
No answer	2	0
Total	41	41

Chi square = 12.098 with df = 2; $p < .01$

The question regarding control of the local schools showed a strong indication of community involvement in the Group I area where thirty-two respondents identified the "school board" and "the people" as controllers of the schools. Thirty Group II respondents indicated "principal," "superintendent," "teachers," and/or "B.I.A." (Table 2).

General questions dealing with how good a job the school board and the school is doing in educating the children of the community allowed Group I respondents to voice confidence in the school board with twenty-nine persons rating them excellent or above average. Forty respondents indicated that Group I schools were doing a good job in educating children of the community because they were "speaking English," "are happy," "are graduating," and "are getting jobs" (Table 3).

TABLE 2

Who do you think controls the local schools?

Responses	Group I	Group II
School board	22	12
Principal	5	14
Teachers	3	5
Superintendent	0	7
The B.I.A.	5	4
The people	10	2
Other	0	0
Don't know/no answer	0	0
Total	45	44

Chi square = 20.140 with df = 7; $p < .01$

TABLE 3

How good a job do you think the school board does?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Excellent	12	0
Above average	17	15
Fair	11	20
Poor, terrible	0	4
Don't know/no answer	1	2
Total	41	41

Chi square = 19.071 with df = 4; $p < .001$

Do you think the local school is doing a good job in educating the children of the community?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	40	24
No	1	15
Don't know/no answer	0	2
Total	41	41

TABLE 3--Continued

Chi square = 18.250 with df = 2; p < .001		
Why do you say that?		
Responses	Group I	Group II
They are graduating	7	4
They are getting jobs	6	6
They are speaking English	10	4
They are learning white man's ways	3	8
They are happy	9	0
They are not happy	0	4
They are not learning the things I think they should learn	4	5
Other	0	9
No answer	9	7
Total	48	47
Chi square = 28.016 with df = 8; p < .001		

Respondents in Group I showed greater interest in the local schools by indicating attendance at meetings of the school board, and other lectures, meetings and special occasions in the local school buildings. In addition Group I respondents indicated that the best source of information about the local schools was by "word of mouth," "meetings at school," and "school board." Group II respondents listed "word of mouth," "newspapers," and "meetings at school" (Table 4).

Thirty-four Group I respondents felt comfortable and welcome when visiting the local school because they felt "it is my school," and that "the people there are

TABLE 4

Have you ever attended a school board meeting?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	27	10
No	14	31
Don't know/no answer	0	0
Total	41	41

Chi square = 14.233 with df = 2; $p < .001$

Have you attended any lecture, or any meeting or special occasion in any school building in the community during the last year?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	35	18
No	6	21
Don't know/no answer	0	2
Total	41	41

Chi square = 15.786 with df = 2; $p < .001$

From your own personal viewpoint, what is the best source of information about the local schools?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Word of mouth	15	18
Newspapers	3	11
School board	9	0
School personnel	7	3
Meetings at school	14	6
Don't know/no answer	0	4
Total	48	42

Chi square = 22.343 with df = 5; $p < .001$

nice." Nineteen Group II participants did not feel welcome and comfortable because they "didn't know anyone there," and "the schools are for children" (Table 5).

TABLE 5

Do you feel welcome and comfortable when you visit the local schools?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	34	16
No	4	19
No answer	3	6
Total	41	41
Chi square = 17.263 with df = 2; p < .001		

Why do you say that? ("yes")

Responses	Group I	Group II
People there are nice	7	9
My friends are there too	3	0
It is my school	11	2
Other	9	5

Why do you say that? ("no")

I don't know anyone there	0	9
The schools are for children	2	6
I can't talk with the teachers	1	4
No answer	8	8
Total	41	43
Chi square = 23.389 with df = 7; p < .01		

Twenty-seven respondents from Group I indicated that the school provides services in addition to education of the children. These services included: "adult education," "recreation," "personal assistance," and "employment" (Table 6).

TABLE 6

Does the local school provide any services for you in addition to the education for your children?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	27	17
No	5	13
Don't know/no answer	9	11
Total	41	41
Chi square = 6.028 with df = 2; $p < .05$		

If yes, what kind of services?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Adult education	12	4
Recreation	11	3
Personal assistance	9	0
Employment	8	10
Other	5	0
No answer	14	24
Total	59	41
Chi square = 22.928 with df = 5; $p < .001$		

Reaction to the question dealing with the biggest problems with which the local schools must deal was quite varied. Group II listed "discipline" as the major problem which coincides with the national survey Gallup made.

Group I respondents listed finances, facilities, transportation and curriculum and other items above discipline (Table 7).

TABLE 7

What are the biggest problems with which the schools in this community must deal, do you think?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Curriculum	7	7
Facilities	10	2
Discipline	3	18
Finances	17	8
Teachers	4	5
Transportation	9	1
Student's lack of interest	4	11
Parent's lack of interest	1	6
Don't know/no answer	2	1
Total	57	59

Chi square = 31.446 with df = 8; $p < .001$

Both groups of respondents indicated a lack of confidence in the teachers. Thirty-four Group II respondents felt there were some teachers who should be dropped or fired. Their reasons indicated "incompetent," "lack of communication with children," "too old," and "don't know." Nineteen Group I participants felt some teachers should be fired, yet twenty-four listed "don't know/no answer," for the reason (Table 8).

Whereas both Groups I and II indicated similar responses to the local schools having a PTA, and about belonging and attending the meetings, there was a marked

TABLE 8

Do you think there are some teachers in the local school who should be dropped or fired?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	19	34
No	14	2
Don't know/no answer	8	5
Total	41	41

Chi square = 13.938 with df = 2; $p < .001$

If "yes," why?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Incompetent	4	15
Too young	1	3
Too old	2	6
Lack of communication with children	5	7
Personality problems	5	3
Other reasons	1	0
Don't know/no answer	24	9
Total	42	43

Chi square = 18.011 with df = 6; $p < .01$

difference in responses why respondents did not belong or attend PTA meetings. Most Group I responses listed "no answer," "transportation," and "no time," whereas most in Group II listed "no time," "no answer," and "not interested" (Table 9).

A little over one-half of the responses from the residents sampled in both Group I and Group II communities showed some similarity. Both groups felt they knew "some"

TABLE 9

Does your local school have a PTA or similar parents' and teachers' organization?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	27	29
No	0	6
Don't know/no answer	14	6
Total	41	41

Chi square = 9.271 with df = 2; $p < .01$

Do you belong to or go to the meetings of the PTA or a similar group?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	19	9
No	22	32
Total	41	41

Chi square = 4.393 with df = 1; $p < .05$

If "no," what are the reasons you do not belong or attend the meetings of the PTA or a similar group?

Responses	Group I	Group II
No time	5	12
Not interested	0	9
Transportation	14	0
Not welcome	0	3
Health reasons	2	4
Other	0	4
Don't know/no answer	21	10
Total	42	42

Chi square = 37.452 with df = 6; $p < .001$

or "quite a lot" about the local schools, and expressed interest in wanting to know more about the schools in the community (Table 10).

TABLE 10

How much do you know about the local schools?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Quite a lot	18	10
Some	16	22
Very little	7	8
No response	0	1
Total	41	41

Chi square = 3.288 with df = 2; $p < .20$

Would you like to know more about the schools in this community?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	36	33
No	1	8
Don't know/no answer	4	0
Total	41	41

Chi square = 9.575 with df = 2; $p < .01$

Neither group showed an awareness of school finance and the cost per child per year in the local school. Both groups identified a high drop-out rate among high school students (Table 11).

Both groups responded somewhat similarly in regard to receiving of newsletters, pamphlets, and other materials telling of the local schools. There were similar indications

regarding interest in becoming a school board member (Table 12).

TABLE 11

What is your guess as to cost per child per year in the schools in your community?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Gave a dollar figure	20	9
Don't know/no answer	21	32
Total	41	41

Chi square = 5.335 with df = 1; $p < .05$

Are there many high school drop outs in this community?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Quite a few	22	26
Almost none	8	3
Don't know	11	12
Total	41	41

Chi square = 2.650 with df = 2; $p < .50$

TABLE 12

During the last year, have you received any newsletter, pamphlet, or any other material telling what the local schools are doing?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	28	19
No	7	18
Can't recall	6	4
Total	41	41

Chi square = 6.963 with df = 2; $p < .05$

TABLE 12--Continued

If someone asked you to be a school board member, would you be interested?		
Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	20	13
No	19	24
Don't know/no answer	2	4
Total	41	41
Chi square = 2.733 with df = 2; p < .30		
Why do you say that?		
Responses	Group I	Group II
Those who say "yes"		
Am qualified	10	11
Other	4	2
No answer	8	0
Those who say "no"		
Not qualified	4	13
Don't have time	8	5
Not interested	0	4
Too much responsibility	7	4
Other	0	4
Total	42	43
Chi square = 23.981 with df = 8; p < .01		

Attitudes about teaching and teachers were expressed in about the same manner. Responses indicated similar viewpoints from both groups regarding their children taking up teaching as a career, salaries of teachers, teachers having automatic raises, getting and keeping good

teachers, and satisfaction of teachers with their pay and working conditions (Table 13).

TABLE 13

Would you like to have a child of yours take up teaching in the schools as a career?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	28	23
No	4	5
Don't know/no answer	9	13
Total	41	41

Chi square = 1.329 with df = 2; $p < .70$

Do you think salaries for the teachers in this community are too high, too low, or just about right?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Too high	6	12
Too low	9	4
Just about right	18	21
Don't know/no answer	8	4
Total	41	41

Chi square = 5.487 with df = 3; $p < .20$

Do you think teachers should be given automatic raises or should raises be given to some and not to others.

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes, automatic	8	9
No, not automatic	17	25
No opinion	16	7
Total	41	41

Chi square = 5.104 with df = 2; $p < .10$

TABLE 13--Continued

Do you think the local school has a hard time getting good teachers?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	27	26
No	8	11
Don't know/no answer	6	4
Total	41	41

Chi square = 0.893 with df = 2; $p < .98$

Do you think the local school has a hard time keeping good teachers?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	27	19
No	9	18
Don't know/no answer	5	4
Total	41	41

Chi square = 4.502 with df = 2; $p < .20$

From what you know, are the teachers in the community pretty well satisfied with their pay and working conditions, or dissatisfied?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Satisfied	29	25
Dissatisfied	7	8
Don't know/no answer	5	8
Total	41	41

Chi square = 1.055 with df = 2; $p < .70$

Their feelings about discipline in the schools, and the kinds of changes they would like to see made in the schools, indicated some comparability in both groups (Table 14).

TABLE 14

How do you feel about the discipline in the local schools?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Too strict	5	7
Not strict enough	15	24
Just about right	16	10
Don't know/no answer	5	0
Total	41	41

Chi square = 8.795 with df = 3; $p < .05$

If you were to become a school board member, what changes in the schools would you favor?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Buildings and facilities	17	8
Better discipline	0	10
Curriculum improvement	12	16
Better staff personnel	15	10
Transportation	10	5
No changes	2	4
Other	2	3
Don't know/no answer	0	0
Total	58	56

Chi square = 17.315 with df = 7; $p < .02$

Respondents in both groups answered similarly in regard to having attended the local schools and gave similar responses in questions dealing with education completed, annual income, and age (Table 15).

TABLE 15

Did you attend the schools in the community in which you now live?

Responses	Group I	Group II
Yes	16	18
No	25	23
No answer	0	0
Total	41	41

Chi square = 0.201 with df = 2; $p < .95$

Education of respondent

Responses	Group I	Group II
Elementary grades	21	13
High school incomplete	14	14
High school complete	4	6
College	2	8
Total	41	41

Chi square = 5.882 with df = 3; $p < .20$

Total annual income

Responses	Group I	Group II
Under $3000	19	13
$3000 - $5000	7	10
$5000 - $7000	5	8
$7000 and over	2	6
No answer	8	4
Total	41	41

Chi square = 5.680 with df = 4; $p < .30$

TABLE 15--Continued

Age of respondent

Responses	Group I	Group II
21 - 29 years	20	10
30 - 49 years	15	23
Over 50 years	6	8
Total	41	41

Chi square = 5.303 with df = 2; $p < .10$

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS

This study examined how the Navajo Indian views two different types of schools serving the Navajo Reservation. Recent research dealing with Indian education indicates some major shortcomings in the education of the first American. One of the more serious deals with local control, community and parental involvement in the Indian schools. It is the purpose of this study to measure and record the knowledges and attitudes of the Navajo Indian toward two schools holding differing philosophies and policies of organization and administration and program. One school is identified as community-oriented inasmuch as it concerns itself with everything that affects the well being of all of the citizens within a community. The role of education is extended from the traditional concept of teaching children to one of identifying the needs, problems, and wants of the community, and then assisting in the development of facilities, programs, staff, and leadership toward the end of improving the entire community. The other school is identified as non-community-oriented as it is characterized in philosophy, policy, and program to exclude

meaningful community involvement and participation in the local school.

A review of the historical development of the Navajo Indian as a unique cultural identity attempted to develop an appreciation and understanding of the Navajo, and to show the need for his involvement and control of his schools. A look at the history of Navajo education and the Navajo school system tended to indicate very little involvement of the Navajo themselves in the development, control, and operation of their schools.

A survey sampling of Navajo residents' attitudes and knowledge regarding the local school in two Navajo Reservation communities was accomplished through the use of the Kettering Foundation sponsored Gallup Poll instrument, How the Nation Views the Public Schools. Modification of the instrument was done in order to reflect relevance to the population to be surveyed. A standardized translation into the Navajo language was established and testing of the instrument was done by Navajo-speaking persons at the Navajo Community College.

A Chi square analysis of the frequency counts was made to test the null hypothesis: there is little difference in the Navajo Indian's knowledge and attitude toward his schools, whether the schools be community- or non-community-oriented.

An inspection of the data findings allows for the generalization that the residents of Group I with a

community-oriented school have a more positive attitude toward the local school, and are more informed and knowledgeable about the school than are the residents of Group II with its non-community-oriented school.

Based on the results of the study, there appears to be a need for more Navajo Reservation schools to become community-oriented schools. The Rough Rock Demonstration School, which serves the Group I community, may well be the model school and be established as the foundation and beginning of a movement toward more Indian control over Indian education.

Responses to the six guiding questions listed in Chapter I of this study indicate a rejection of the null hypothesis:

1. According to the findings of the survey, there is an indication that Navajo adults in a community-oriented school area view their school with more knowledge and positive attitudes than do Navajo adults in the non-community-oriented school.
2. On the basis of the data findings, evidence indicates that community involvement and participation in the local school activities leads to more knowledgeable residents with more favorable attitudes toward their schools.
3. A review of the data suggests that a community-oriented school is the type of school more

likely to bring about positive attitudes of the Navajo Indian toward his school and education in general.

4. A study of the survey responses reveals that it is possible to determine the kind and amount of information possessed by representative Navajo Indians regarding their local schools.
5. An investigation of the data acknowledges the uniqueness of the Navajo Indian in terms of what he judges to be the quality of education in the local school, and the criteria used in arriving at a judgment.
6. The results of the survey indicate that Navajo Indians served by a community-oriented school have a more positive attitude toward the local school board.

An inspection and review of all data presented through this survey indicates that there is a significant difference in the responses of the residents of the two Navajo communities in relation to the Navajo Indian's knowledge and attitude toward his schools. According to the findings of this study, it is submitted that Navajo Indians are more knowledgeable and have a more positive attitude toward the local schools when they are identified as community-oriented schools. On the basis of these findings, the null hypothesis is rejected.

The most obvious conclusion derived from this study is that Navajo Indians have more knowledge of and a more positive attitude toward their local schools when the schools are identified in philosophy and program as community-oriented. The fact that the school in this study identified as community-oriented has meaningful local control through an all-Navajo school board, and that the curriculum and policies reflect local community needs, tends to imply that other Navajo Reservation schools should follow more closely its community-orientation.

As an Indian educator, the writer sees the need for Navajo schools to become community-oriented schools, and to allow, as much as possible, options available to parents in the types of schools serving Navajo Indians. The Rough Rock Demonstration School started the revolution and is now serving as the foundation and beginning of a movement toward more Indian control over Indian education. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is still a major stumbling block toward meaningful community involvement. Some of their rhetoric has changed, but effective B.I.A. change will come about only when personnel in key area offices are changed for the better. The Bureau must have a major re-organization and should be established outside of the Department of the Interior.

The Navajo people, through their Navajo Tribal Council, are planning for the operation of their own schools and will soon set up a Navajo department of education which

will operate and administer all schools serving the Reservation. This Navajo school system would function much as a state department of public instruction would and would give Navajo people considerable autonomy in the operation of their schools.

A reader may be surprised at the large number of respondents that felt some teachers should be dropped or fired. Most respondents felt reluctant to give reasons and responded with a "don't know." The writer feels that Navajo parents are very concerned about their children's teachers, primarily because of the cultural bias held by many teachers of Indian children. Very few Navajo-trained teachers are available for the schools on the reservation, so most Navajo students are taught by non-Navajo teachers, many of whom are not adequately prepared to teach Navajo children. Non-Navajo values are taught and obvious prejudicial discrimination is often enacted within the school setting both in the classroom and in the dormitory. It is suggested that further research in the area of pre-service and in-service training of teachers for Navajo schools be undertaken, and that the development of the characteristics and qualification of a "good teacher" from the Navajo parents point of view be established.

It now appears to be fairly well established that American society can accept and tolerate cultural pluralism. Navajo and other Indian-Americans, as well as Black-Americans and Mexican-Americans, and other ethnic and

"different value-oriented" groups can exist and must exist to strengthen the society. This, perhaps, may be the greatest outcome of the societal changes in recent years.

Recommendations for Further Study

Even since the initiation of this study, several strong indications of change for the Indian-American have taken place. They are included here for possible follow-up and evaluation in regard to the Indian's struggle for involvement in the control of his schools. For example, Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, and Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts introduced legislation that would place the education of all Indians, reservation and urban, "back into the hands of the real experts on Indian education, the parents of the Indian children." The bill's major provisions include:

1. Establishment of a national board of Indian education to operate federal Indian schools and provide for locally selected school boards.
2. Per student federal payments to public schools educating Indian children, with the money to be spent on their special needs.
3. Grants for planning and operating pilot programs to improve Indian education and improve employment and educational opportunities for Indian adults.

In a speech before a Senate committee, Kennedy said:

> Our national policies for educating American Indians are a failure of major proportions. It is time we focused on a cure, rather than on the disease or its symptoms.

Mondale said:

> The red man doesn't want a white education. He wants an Indian education, an education that will tell him the truth about his tribe, his heritage, his traditions, his place in the world, and an education over which he will have some control.[1]

The National Study of American Indian Education (The Havighurst Report) is a three-year study supported by the United States Office of Education and directed by Robert J. Havighurst, reported that despite an average IQ of 101.5 on the Goodenough Draw-a-Man Intelligence test, American Indian students have a lower academic achievement and higher drop-out rate than white Americans. The study suggests that only through close co-operation and communication between school and family and local community can this situation be effectively dealt with. The report urged that decision-making about Indian education and implementation of these decisions be increasingly in the hands of Indians. The report turned in six major recommendations:

> Greater Indian influence on education by increasing the number of Indians on school boards, and greater activity by tribal education committees in public and federal schools.

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[1]United Press International, news article on federal legislation and Indian education, reprinted in the Arizona Republic, September, 23, 1970.

Added responsibility and powers for the two existing federal Indian education advisory committees.

Federal and state funds for special educational programs in cities which have at least one hundred school age Indian children.

Curriculum compatible with Indian needs to retain self-respect, identity and pride, including bi-lingual programs, Indian history and career development.

Pre-service and in-service training for teachers of Indian pupils.

Creation of a privately financed national commission on Indian education to survey continuously the quality of education for Indians and to develop a field staff of Indians to advise local communities.[2]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has recently contracted with the Ramah, New Mexico, Navajo school board to provide $368,068 to educate the youth of that community. This, in addition to the B.I.A. support of the Rough Rock Demonstration School serves as the precedent for a general movement toward Indian control of Indian education.

The Rough Rock Navajo Demonstration School has a $100,152 Ford Foundation grant to conduct an internship program to prepare American Indians as leaders of their own schools. The grant supports interns at the school who specialize in curriculum, bi-lingual and bi-cultural education, English as a second language, adult education, as well as general leadership and organizational experience.

The Dine' Bi'olta (Navajo Education Association) has just recently completed a study of the establishment of a department of Navajo education, which would be a new

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[2]Robert J. Havighurst, National Study of American Indian Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, December, 1970).

tribal division responsible for the schooling of Navajo people. Rather than eliminate the four school systems now in operation on the Navajo Reservation, the board would supervise, assist, and support the Navajo schools, evaluate the schools, set qualitative standards for teachers and curriculum, and help develop curriculum especially for Navajo students.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Navajo Area Superintendent, Graham Holmes, admits that the B.I.A. has now learned it is impossible to educate Navajo children without active involvement from parents and community. He sees the B.I.A. role as that of providing money and advice and supporting parents and local communities in the operation of the schools.[3]

> There is a great lesson to be learned here, not just for Navajos, but for American people in general. I don't know of many places where parents take the trouble and time and interest to concern themselves with the education of their six year olds as much as you people sitting here do. I think that when the chronicles of this program are written, it will have an application far beyond the Rough Rock School--to America in general.[4]

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[3]Graham Holmes, Navajo Area Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, speech at Navajo School Board Conference, Many Farms, Arizona, March 19, 1969.

[4]Joseph Colmen, Under-secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, address given to the school board and community members at the Rough Rock Demonstration School, Rough Rock, Arizona, November, 1966.

Summary

A general summary of the entire study is presented in Chapter V. In addition, conclusions based upon the findings of the study led to the rejection of the null hypothesis, and that Navajo Indians did indeed have more knowledge and a more positive attitude toward the local school when it is identified as a community-oriented school. The implications of the study point out the need for continuing improvement in the area of community involvement and community control of Indian schools. The results of the study may assist in bringing about effective change in Indian education toward the improvement of Indian children and adults and community.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

HOW THE NAVAJO INDIAN VIEWS RESERVATION SCHOOLS

APPENDIX A

How the Navajo Indian Views Reservation Schools

Code Number _____

_____ CO

_____ NCO

How much do you know about the local schools?
4-1_____quite a lot
4-2_____some
4-3_____very little

Do you know the name of the principal of the elementary school?
5-1_____yes
5-2_____no
5-3_____no answer

What is your guess as to the cost per child per year in the schools in your community?
6-1_____gave a dollar figure
6-2_____don't know/no answer

Are there many high school drop-outs in this community?
7-1_____quite a few
7-2_____almost none
7-3_____don't know

What are the biggest problems with which the schools in this community must deal, do you think?
8-1_____curriculum
8-2_____facilities
8-3_____discipline
8-4_____finances
8-5_____teachers
8-6_____transportation
8-7_____student's lack of interest
8-8_____parent's lack of interest
8-9_____don't know/no answer

During the last year, have you received any newsletter, pamphlet, or any other material telling what the local schools are doing?
9-1_____yes
9-2_____no
9-3_____can't recall

From your own personal viewpoint, what is the best source of information about the local schools?
10-1_____word of mouth (children and others telling)
10-2_____newspapers
10-3_____school board
10-4_____school personnel
10-5_____meetings at school
10-6_____don't know/no answer

Would you like to know more about the schools in this community?
11-1_____yes
11-2_____no
11-3_____don't know/no answer

How do you feel about the discipline in the local schools?
12-1_____too strict
12-2_____not strict enough
12-3_____just about right
12-4_____don't know/no answer

Would you like to have a child of yours take up teaching in the schools as a career?
13-1_____yes
13-2_____no
13-3_____don't know/no answer

Do you think salaries for the teachers in this community are too high, too low, or just right?
14-1_____too high
14-2_____too low
14-3_____just about right
14-4_____don't know/no answer

Do you think teachers should be given automatic raises or should raises be given to some and not to others?
15-1_____yes, automatic
15-2_____no, not automatic
15-3_____no opinion

Do you think the local school has a hard time getting good teachers?
16-1_____yes
16-2_____no
16-3_____don't know/no answer

Do you think the local school has a hard time keeping good teachers?
17-1_____yes
17-2_____no
17-3_____don't know/no answer

Do you think there are some teachers in the local school who should be dropped or fired?
18-1_____yes
18-2_____no
18-3_____don't know/no answer

If "yes," why?
19-1_____incompetent
19-2_____too young
19-3_____too old
19-4_____lack of communication with children
19-5_____personality problems
19-6_____other reasons
19-7_____don't know/no answer

From what you know, are the teachers in the community pretty well satisfied with their pay and working conditions, or are they dissatisfied?
20-1_____satisfied
20-2_____dissatisfied
20-3_____don't know/no answer

How good a job do you think the school board does?
21-1_____excellent
21-2_____above average
21-3_____fair
21-4_____poor, terrible
21-5_____don't know/no answer

If someone asked you to be a school board member, would you be interested?
22-1_____yes
22-2_____no
22-3_____don't know/no answer

Why do you say that? (Those who say "yes")
23-1_____interested in helping
23-2_____am qualified
23-3_____other
23-4_____no answer

(Those who say "no")
23-5_____not qualified
23-6_____don't have time
23-7_____not interested
23-8_____too much responsibility
23-9_____other

If you were to become a school board member, what changes in the schools would you favor?
24-1_____buildings and facilities
24-2_____better discipline
24-3_____curriculum improvement
24-4_____better staff personnel
24-5_____transportation
24-6_____no changes
24-7_____other
24-8_____don't know/no answer

Have you attended any lecture, or any meeting or special occasion in any local school building during the last year?
25-1_____yes
25-2_____no
25-3_____no answer

Have you ever attended a school board meeting?
26-1_____yes
26-2_____no
26-3_____no answer

Does your local school have a PTA or similar parents and teachers organization?
27-1_____yes
27-2_____no
27-3_____don't know/no answer

Do you belong or go to the meetings of the PTA or a similar group?
28-1_____yes
28-2_____no

If "no," what are the reasons you do not belong or attend the meetings of the PTA or a similar group?
29-1_____no time
29-2_____not interested
29-3_____transportation
29-4_____not welcome
29-5_____health reasons
29-6_____other
29-7_____don't know/no answer

Did you attend the schools in the community in which you now live?
30-1_____yes
30-2_____no
30-3_____no answer

Do you feel welcome and comfortable when you visit the local schools?
31-1_____yes
31-2_____no
31-3_____no answer

Why do you say that? ("yes")
32-1_____the people there are nice
32-2_____my friends are there too
32-3_____it is my school
32-4_____other

Why do you say that? ("no")
32-5_____I don't know anyone there
32-6_____the schools are for children
32-7_____I can't talk with the teachers
32-8_____no answer

Does the local school provide any services for you in addition to education for the children?
33-1_____yes
33-2_____no
33-3_____don't know/no answer

If "yes," what kind of services?
34-1_____adult education
34-2_____recreation
34-3_____personal assistance
34-4_____employment
34-5_____other
34-6_____no answer

Do you think the local school is doing a good job in educating the children of the community?
35-1_____yes
35-2_____no
35-3_____don't know/no answer

Why do you say that?
36-1_____they are graduating
36-2_____they are getting jobs
36-3_____they are speaking English
36-4_____they are learning white man's ways
36-5_____they are happy
36-6_____they are not happy
36-7_____they are not learning the things I think they should learn
36-8_____other
36-9_____no answer

Who do you think controls the local schools?
37-1_____school board
37-2_____principal
37-3_____teachers
37-4_____superintendent
37-5_____the B.I.A.
37-6_____the people
37-7_____other
37-8_____don't know/no answer

Sex of respondent
38-1_____male
38-2_____female

Age of respondent
39-1_____21-29 years
39-2_____30-49 years
39-3_____over 50 years

Education of respondent
40-1_____elementary grades
40-2_____high school incomplete
40-3_____high school completed
40-4_____college

Total annual income
41-1_____under $3000
41-2_____$3000 - $5000
41-3_____$5000 - $7000
41-4_____over $7000
41-5_____no answer