Towards a Redefinition of Indian Education

Eber Hampton

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

This chapter is an analysis of the problematic practice of so-called ‘Indian education.’ One purpose of the analysis was to clear the underbrush in my own thoughts about Indian education. The interviews I conducted were an attempt to think along with other Indians in the hope of making a reflective contribution to the conversation among Indian educators about defining and implementing an education worthy of our children and our ancestors.

The chapter is written for both Indian and white educators, and I request their patience as I belabour the obvious or drift into esoteric obscurity. I follow my impulse to interlace narrative vernacular with academic discourse. Hugh Brody, in Maps and Dreams (1981), dealt with a similar impulse by alternating chapters of social science discourse with chapters of narrative. I use whatever tools I have to understand and communicate. My hope is that the reader will think along with me and will take what is useful and leave the rest.

Even the most basic terms need definition. I was in the mail room at Mankato State University, where I was the only Indian faculty member, when a colleague, in all seriousness, asked if it would be better to say ‘Native American Summer’ than ‘Indian Summer.’ I respected his question. The
right of a people to define themselves and choose their own name is basic. I face a similar problem in referring to whites, sometimes calling them Anglos as is common in the southwest, non-Natives as is common in Alaska, or Caucasians. No name encompasses a people, and none is truly accurate. Correctness is not nearly so important to me as accuracy in feeling as well as in fact. Similarly, originality is subordinated to accuracy. I name sources when I can. But many of my words and thoughts were first spoken by my many teachers, and I cannot disentangle those that I now hear in my own voice. As I prepared to enter a sweat lodge ceremony in Minnesota, the leader of the sweat said, ‘Eber, I know you can’t pray in Indian, but pray in Indian in English.’ So, as much as I am able, I have written in my vernacular hoping thus to speak person-to-person about what I care so deeply about. I hope you will join the conversation and continue to do what you can to help Indian education.

The structure of the chapter is iterative rather than linear. It progresses in a spiral that adds a little with each thematic repetition rather than building an Aristotelian argument step-by-step. Working with other editors of the Harvard Educational Review on a special Third World issue, I became aware of how deeply ingrained this iterative structure is, not only in my own thoughts but in those of Third World writers. Almost all the pieces by Third World authors were criticized by the other editors as repetitious, while I found new meaning in each turn of the spiral. An iterative structure is made explicit in the six-directional patterns of heaven, earth, east, south, west, and north that I use in this chapter. It implies circular movement in both the natural and spiritual worlds. As a twentieth-century Native American, I worship and am comforted by the great mystery. There are many things I do not understand and many gaps that I have not filled. I ask you to read carefully not so much what I write as the way I write it, and especially what I do not write.

The Current State of Indian Education

For most Indian students, now as in the past hundred years, Indian education means the education of Indians by non-Indians using non-Indian methods (Hawthorn 1966-7; Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill 1986; National Education Association 1983). Far too few Indian students have contact with Indian educators who are attuned to their culture and who can serve as models of educational achievement (Edwards and Smith 1981). Native educators are needed both to encourage Native children who want to go to college and to teach them once they get there (Ortiz 1982; Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill 1987).

If Native nations are to have engineers, managers, business people, natural resource specialists, and non-Indians on equal terms, that makes mathematics, scientists. We need to train our students more comfortable with has been (Cheek 1984).

Most Indian parents want their students to remain in their future (Green 1978). Mathematics has become the key to attaining careers in high-tech occupations in the natural sciences. Many Native students report that they were not interested in mathematics because it has been perceived as too difficult.

For the vast majority of Indian education is a critical filter. In the last few decades the Native student who sees the benefits of Native education is the one who sees the benefits of Native education as a realistic and, in some cases, as beyond their future. The failure of non-Native people to provide an alternative to their culture. Fortunately, other meanings exist.

What Is Indian Education?

No aspect of a culture is more sensitive than education. As I have been taught, it is my duty and privilege to respect its necessity and power my view of the world. Consequently, my goal is to consider the cultural aspects of Penn State Indian Leadership education (Noley 1981).

As a first step towards redefining the meaning of Indian education, examine various meanings the words ‘Indian’ and ‘ethnic’ in spite of the agreement on the importance of education.
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natural resource specialists, and all the other experts we need to meet non-Indians on equal terms, then we must have educational leadership that makes mathematics, science, and computers accessible to our students. We need to train our educators so that the next generation of students is more comfortable with these tools than the previous generation has been (Cheek 1984).

Most Indian parents want their children to be taught those things needed for success in both the white and the Native worlds (Bradley 1980). We need educational leaders who can confidently deal with all aspects of modern society. Natives are most poorly represented among occupations in the natural sciences, the health sciences, and mathematics. Many Native students report being counselled against mathematics because it has been perceived as too difficult for them or as unnecessary to their future (Green 1978). In this increasingly technological society, mathematics has become the 'critical filter' that often prevents Natives from attaining careers in high-income fields (Sells 1980).

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

What is Indian Education?
No aspect of a culture is more vital to its integrity than its means of edu-
. As I have been taught, nourished, and sustained by my culture, so it is my duty and privilege to transmit it. I value my Anglo education and respect its necessity and power in this society, but my deepest values and my view of the world were formed within an Indian culture. Consequently, my goal is to contribute to what the former director of the Penn State Indian Leadership Program calls the 'redefinition of Indian education' (Noley 1981).

As a first step towards redefining 'Indian education,' it is necessary to examine various meanings that the term has had. The juxtaposition of the two words 'Indian' and 'education' has almost always been problematic in spite of the agreement by Indian parents and Anglo policymakers on the importance of education for Indians (Bradley 1980). Part of the
problem is that Indian education is inherently a bicultural enterprise that has been directed at two sometimes competing and sometimes complementary goals: assimilation and self-determination (Havighurst 1981). The relationship between these goals and the structures of Western education has not been defined. Currently, each Indian-controlled school, project, parent committee, or program adopts, adapts, or invents those methods or techniques that it feels will best serve its children.

I believe that the term 'Indian education' has five different meanings: (1) traditional Indian education, (2) schooling for self-determination, (3) schooling for assimilation, (4) education by Indians, and (5) Indian education sui generis. These five meanings are like five currents in a river. It is not always easy to identify the edges of the currents but some currents are stronger than others in a particular time or place.

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

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

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

(2) Schooling for Self-Determination was the establishment of schools whose teaching models were non-Native. Such vast differences in the goals of schooling size and schooling standards of Native education, controlled by the Chicks aslashes in Russian mission schools as the use of Native languages, good school-community relations rather than assimilation. Theacy and educational atta. Unfortunately, they were all so.

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(2) Schooling for Self-Determination. The second phase of Native education was the establishment of schools for Native children. Although schools as institutions were non-Native in origin and character, there have been such vast differences in the goals, methods, and outcomes that it is possible to distinguish two kinds of schooling for Natives: schooling for self-determination and schooling for assimilation. Although neglected in standard histories of Native education, there have been many examples of highly successful Native-oriented schools. For example, schools established and controlled by the Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Cherokee nations, as well as Russian mission schools among the Yup'ik people, were characterized by the use of Native languages, positive attitudes towards Native cultures, good school-community relations, and emphasis on self-determination rather than assimilation. These schools also had high success rates in literacy and educational attainment (Oleksa and Dauenhauer 1982). Unfortunately, they were all closed by the unilateral action of government.

(3) Schooling for Assimilation. Historically and in most contemporary situations, the education of Indians is carried out by Anglos using Anglo models to satisfy Anglo purposes (American Indian Policy Review Commission 1976). In contrast to schooling for self-determination, these schools for assimilation have been characterized by high failure rates in literacy and educational attainment, having assimilation rather than self-determination as goals, poor school-community relations, negative attitudes towards Native cultures, and prohibition or non-use of Native languages (Oleksa and Dauenhauer 1982).

(4) Education by Indians. Since the passage of the Indian Education Act of 1972 in the United States and of the Canadian government's adoption of the National Indian Brotherhood document Indian Control of Indian Education a year later, there has been a rapid development that promises to change the term 'Indian Education' to mean education by Indians rather than simply education of Indians (Chavers 1982; Havighurst 1981). In this phase, Native people began to take an active role in the schooling of Native children as board members, teachers, administrators, and resource people. Small numbers of Native personnel have been introduced into non-Native structures and some Native content is provided through Native Studies, elders in the school, and other programs. Most schools for Native children retain assimilation goals, lack Native-language instruction, and have high failure rates.

Although this phase of education continues, for most Indian students the increase in the number of Indian educators has prepared the way for a move towards Indian control through the establishment of Native-controlled schools and Native school boards. This is apparently a transitional phase
because even with Native control, most of the structures, methods, content, and faculty remain predominantly non-Native. A century or more of cultural conflict, non-Native-oriented schools, and non-Native-trained Native educators has left major obstacles in the way of Native-controlled schools. Native languages have declined, non-Native standards are usually used to evaluate Native schools and Native teachers, the development of Native curricula and Native educational methods is an enormous task, and funding is uncertain and usually controlled by non-Natives.

In spite of these difficulties, there are encouraging trends in Native-controlled schools in both the United States and Canada. The self-determination goals of Native education are being served in Indian-controlled schools and are strongly articulated by Native personnel in other schools; school-community relations have improved; a Native curriculum has and is being developed in most Native communities; the numbers of Native educators have increased dramatically; Native cultural values and languages are being actively promoted; and there is recognition of the need for Native approaches to educational methods and structures. 'What we ultimately need may not be a grafting of Indian content and personnel onto European structures, but a redefinition of education' (Noley 1981, 198). It is the last point that leads towards phase five: the creation of Native education sui generis.

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

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

Methodology
The lack of a theory of Indian also impedes the practice of Indian controlled school, project, program, or invention of a model of education to significant local improvement has been their reliance on the Indian education effort that has Indian education programs that have with little success.

I believe that the limited supply of Indians, the prevalence of isolation of Indian educational practice approach to Indian education, organize research, guide practice, and clarification.

This chapter cannot articulated to make explicit some of the preliminary empirical bases of interviews that I conducted with Graduate School of Education's purpose of these interviews by (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 1984), and participant observations of approaches. I draw on an analysis of my own experiences of education.

According to Pelto and Pelto, when the people is used to best advantage of the best observation. When the people have the 'event and has command of information he or she is in a systematic checking' with key reason of race, culture, professional observer in Indian education.

The generality of this study experience and my decision to participate. In the trade-off to the primacy of personal experience knowing (Colorado 1985) led to: stage I can make the greatest...
Methodology

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

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

This chapter cannot articulate a comprehensive theory, but I hope to make explicit some of the themes that such a theory should address. The preliminary empirical base of this construction of theory is a series of interviews that I conducted with Native graduate students at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. The exploratory and hypothesis-generating purpose of these interviews led me to conclude that grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967), qualitative analysis (Miles and Huberman 1984), and participant observation would be the most useful methodological approaches. I draw on interview data, the existing literature, and an analysis of my own experience to move towards a theory of Indian education.

According to Pelto and Pelto (1978), 'the method of interviewing key people is used to best advantage when it is closely integrated with participant observation.' When the researcher has observed and participated in the 'event and has command over a considerable portion of the relevant information he or she is in a position to vastly improve the data by systematic checking' with key people. This is, in essence, what I did. By reason of race, culture, profession, and inclination I have been a participant observer in Indian education.

The generality of this study is restricted by the specificity of my own experience and my decision to interview only American Indian Program participants. In the trade-off between depth and range of information, the primacy of personal experience and observation for Indian ways of knowing (Colorado 1985) led me to choose depth. I believe that at this stage I can make the greatest contribution towards a theory of Indian
education by careful work with what is close to me rather than by an attempt to gather all disparate tribes and communities into one grand model.

All research participants were Indians. Their tribes are Mi'kmaq, Skataoke, Chippewa, Oneida, Tlingit, Menomini, Apache, Uchi, and Blackfoot. At the time of the interviews, all participants were enrolled in the Harvard Graduate School of Education.

One of the criteria for admission to the American Indian Program is a demonstrated commitment to Indian education. The interview participants have an average of six years of professional experience in Indian education and variously hold the position of elementary teacher, secondary teacher, program administrator, community college teacher, and administrator. Not only have they worked as Indian educators in a wide variety of settings, but their experience as students covers the range of Indian education: public, private, federal, and Indian-controlled schools.

The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed, and I made written notes of what I took to be significant points raised in the interviews. I began each interview with a brief statement of the purpose of the research (Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike 1973). For the first two interviews, I used an interview schedule that I had prepared in advance. The interviewees attempted to answer the questions, but it was very apparent that the interview schedule disrupted the process of learning together that the more open-ended questions seemed to facilitate.

One of the consistent criticisms that Native scholars have made of Indian education research has been that it is most often designed around non-Indian concerns, usually articulated as an academic theory (LaFromboise and Plake 1983; Trimble 1977). The interview schedule had exactly this problem. I was embarrassed to hear myself asking such questions as, ‘How do you see the American Indian Program handling issues of change and continuity?’ and ‘On a scale of 1-7, how characteristic of the American Indian Program is emphasis on performance rather than outcome?’ The questions had originally interested me within their theoretical context but in the interview they seemed artificial, abstract, and incomprehensible without inordinate amounts of explanation.

The happy solution was to drop most of the questions from the interview schedule and to encourage the participants to elaborate by my active listening and co-participation (Spradley 1979). My introductory statements about the purpose of the research and the exploratory question, ‘What is Indian about Indian education?’ seemed well understood by the participants as they talked about their own experiences. I discussed with the participants my interest in the question, and I responded freely to their answers. I then revised the interview schedule on the basis of their input. I enjoyed and was satisfied with the interview process in Katz’s (1985) sense that the interviews seemed real in a way in that I felt that powerful happening.

I reviewed my notes after each interview that I began to create a process. This verbal understanding of reflective thinking, and allowing for openness to learning a topic that was of central importance to the interviewees as material for their development, was extended to include me, to build on the understanding of exponential way. Rather than the process of determining the fit derived from other areas, my gathering of our scattered though standing of Indian education.

The moments of shared insight were the most rewarding parts of the interview process was rewarding. As humans we always need to be in the moment. The interview helped me to make sense of the data analysis let me continue to see the implicit consensus.

A concrete example from an interview process. The following example is one of the few exchanges that I found particularly useful:

Eber (E): Yeah, that historical generation.
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Indians. Their tribes are Mi'kmaq,
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their answers. I then revised the interview process and continued to con-
duct interviews on the basis of an intuitive, ill-defined feeling of authen-
tic engagement on the part of the participant and myself. Even though I
enjoyed and was satisfied with the revised interview format in a way that
I had missed in the first two interviews, I was uncomfortable (vulnerable
in Katz's [1985] sense) with the lack of explicit structure and my inability
to describe the intuitive feeling that these interviews were good. The
Interviews seemed real in a way that was both exhilarating and frightening
in that I felt that powerful learning that I could not describe was
happening.

I reviewed my notes after each interview but it was not until the eighth
interview that I began to create a verbal understanding of the interview
process. This verbal understanding provided a label for the process,
'reflective thinking,' and allowed me to explain my feeling of vulnerabil-
ity as openness to learning and growth as a participant, as I explored
topics that were of central importance. The eighth interview participant
contrasted what he called critical thinking with reflective thinking. His
concept of reflective thinking described what I saw happening in the
interviews. They constituted neither question-and-answer nor a critical
discussion but a reflective discussion that enabled the participants,
including me, to build our thoughts together in a cumulative or some-
times exponential way. Rather than striving to achieve my original pur-
pose of determining the fit between Indian education and theories
derived from other areas, my focus had changed to using interviews for
gathering our scattered thoughts and experiences to create a better under-
standing of Indian education.

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

A concrete example from an interview may best convey the flavour of the
process. The following example was chosen haphazardly from an inter-
view that was at the top of the stack that I had shuffled many times. I chose
a few exchanges that I found personally interesting and that illustrate the
process:

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

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

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

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

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

The first step towards generating conceptual categories was coding the interview data. In qualitative data analysis, codes are retrieval and organizing devices that allow the analyst to sort quickly, extract, then cluster all the segments relating to the particular question, hypothesis, concept, or theme (Miles and Huberman 1984). Codes are purposely broad and subsume much detail. I sat down with the transcripts, scissors, and tape. As I read a transcript, I looked for themes that seemed to have some bearing on my central question of 'What is Indian about Indian education?' Each time I encountered such a theme, I coded it with a brief label which was close to the concept. Next, I clipped the coded quotes and stacked them in piles according to the codes.

The second step in my analysis of data was a process of comparing each incident within a coding category to all previous incidents within that category. By using this method, I felt I was beginning to get a sense of how propositions about Indian education could be stated. Very tentatively, I suggested the following propositions as steps towards a theory of Indian education:

- Spiritual concerns are an important part of Indian education.
- There are distinctive Indian style educational implications.
- For most Indians, education has features as well as providing self society.
- Indian education is part of both group bonds and stress.
- Indian education is service-oriented.

To recapitulate, my goal was not about education. Rather I was a group of highly articulate Indian stories of Indian education. The opinion attention for two reasons. First, the themes within this group I believe discussing across Indian groups. That they should not be foreign to the graduate students are likely to be near future.

Then I let the data gestate for pressure from the calendar, my computer disks and the shredded anew. This time I started by using procedure, only instead of paper result was that instead of a desk full of computer files, I did not refer back completed the second coding. The labels for the codes, collapsing twain of some new categories. This diversity in emergent categories arising on the data and by comparison.

After gathering all the instances read through each category and presented to other categories (in addition to triple-coded), I also made notes of develop propositions about the others.

This step, where comparisons between incidents and properties comparison of incidents, is the theory. As Glaser and Strauss describe
There are distinctive Indian styles of thought and communication with educational implications.

For most Indians, education has the dual purpose of promoting Indian features as well as providing skills and information relevant to non-Indian society.

Indian education cannot be understood apart from an historical analysis.

Indian education occurs in a cultural atmosphere that is permeated by both strong group bonds and great individual freedom.

Indian education is service-oriented.

To recapitulate, my goal was not to describe the views that Indians had about education. Rather I was working with interview data from a small group of highly articulate Indian educators to generate a preliminary theory of Indian education. The opinions of these particular Indians deserve attention for two reasons. First, in striving to identify the common themes within this group I believe I have found themes that are worth discussing across Indian groups. They may not be generally accepted, but they should not be foreign to the discussion. Second, these particular graduate students are likely to be important in Indian education in the near future.

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

After gathering all the instances of each category into a separate file, I read through each category and noted in the margins instances of reference to other categories (in addition to the ones I had already double- or triple-coded). I also made notes on other possible themes and began to develop propositions about the way the themes might relate to each other.

This step, where comparisons between incidents change to comparisons between incidents and properties of the category that arise from initial comparison of incidents, is the third step towards discovery of grounded theory. As Glaser and Strauss describe it, ‘In the beginning, one’s hypotheses
may seem unrelated, but as categories and properties emerge, develop in abstraction, and become related, their accumulating interrelations form an integrated central theoretical framework – the core of the emerging theory’ (1967, 48).

Following this process, I began a diagram to show the interconnections but quickly saw that everything was connected. So I began to search for a model, a metaphor, or a pattern that would somehow organize the themes and serve both as a mnemonic and a matrix for new ideas and actions.

**The Six Directions: A Pattern for Understanding the Data**

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

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

The six directions are not a model but a pattern or an organizing principle (see Figure 1.1). Models connote a small, imperfect copy of something more real. The six directions are a way of thinking about existing in the universe. This pattern organizes and clarifies thoughts. It directs us to think of Indian education as dynamic. There is movement. There is historical development. Each of the participants in these conversations, when asked to define Indian education, gave both an historical and a value-laden definition of Indian education. This is what Indian education was, this is what it is, and this is what it should be.

If we return to the six-directional pattern and place traditional Indian education at the east, with the east reminding us of spring, of green and growing things, of a time when the world was young – and then move to
Figure 1.1
The six directions

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The south, and the full light of traditional education as it developed and served the tribes of this continent for thousands of years – and then move
to the west, to the western twilight of European conquest – and to the north, the great winter of the reservation period, we see the hardy seeds of traditional cultures ready for rebirth, a new life, a new day in a new world. The pattern suggests hope where few but Indians would find it. In the turning of the seasons and in the natural processes of nature, we see a new spring. The European tendency to see history as a linear progression is different and does not nourish my hope so well.

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

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

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

The relationships between the six directions, interview categories (themes), and the standards for Indian education are complex. Generally, I let the directions and the interview data evoke meanings and I then summarized the meanings in standards. Figure 1.1 graphically states the relationships, which should be understood as dynamic and overlapping. The four directions (or winds) are commonly associated with the four seasons as well as with dawn, midday, sunset, and night so that seasonal and temporal as well as spatial concepts are evoked. The pattern is further complicated by my historical understanding of east as the time of origin, south as the flowering of traditional culture and methods of education, west as the period of European invasion, and north as the continuing conquest and subjugation. The ultimate source of rebirth. The cosmos had teachers from different necessarily limited by my reader to be cautious in interpreting. We can find out for yourself.

**Spirit**

Starting at the centre of the world we begin with the issues of internal development. That’s linked. External development is external and can’t be separated from internal development. My view of education is that of educating the mind with the heart.

I feel like internal development is spiritual. That’s linked. External development is external and can’t be separated from internal development.

The first standard of Indian education for the spiritual relates to the six-directional pattern, educating the mind with the heart. This standard is that of rethinking how we think of our people. I am one of those who find it hard to believe that prayer works. I am one of those who find it hard to believe that prayer works. I am one of those who find it hard to believe that prayer works.
of European conquest – and to the nation period, we see the hardy seeds of a new life, a new day in a new world few but Indians would find it. In the natural processes of nature, we see a history as a linear progression of hope so well.

This six-directional pattern of Indian life is one of a growing body of analyses. As part of an idea' and 'to root scholarship in living reality,' Kenneth Lincoln and Al Slagle in their book, *The Red Road: Passages into Native America*, offer a new way of understanding culture seriously. More than we can say (Polanyi 1964), the things that almost every culture is worth writing about, and if they also agree, are the simple things that almost every culture is worth writing about. In this section, I discuss the interview data in relation to my own experience and other stories. All quotes from the interviews include codes. Working from the interview data on Indian education, I find that education is complex. Generally, data are dynamic and overlapping. The data are evoked. The pattern is further defined as the time of origin, culture and methods of education, vision, and north as the continuing line of education.

conquest and subjugation of Indian nations. The remaining two directions, heaven (spirit) and earth, evoke meanings associated with the great mystery – the ultimate source – and mother earth, the sustainer and source of rebirth. The cosmology I describe is syncretistic because I have had teachers from different cultures. My understanding of these things is necessarily limited by my own experience and abilities and I ask the reader to be cautious in interpreting this writing, taking only what you can find out for yourself.

**Spirit**

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

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

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

The first standard of Indian education is spirituality. At its centre is respect for the spiritual relationships that exist between all things. In the six-directional pattern, education starts with prayer, standing in the centre of the world and looking towards the sky. The central prayer is, 'Help me for my people's sake.' Or as Brown (1971) translates it, 'Don't make me stick out that my people may live.' Another version that I have often heard is, 'Pity me ... for all my relatives.' The first time I fasted for a vision I remember that prayer working on me, defining me, creating deep within me an identity as an expression of my people. The prayer seemed at the same time to exalt and humble me as an autonomous individual in union with and able to work for my people.

It is through me no less than anyone else that my people live. As one of my teachers told me when I felt conflicts between being Indian and being educated, 'There is not just one way for an Indian to live because you are human.' The prayer is answered with identity, an unalienated self. On the second day of the fast, as I prayed I began to ask myself, 'Who am I?' Over the following days my identity expanded from my own skin outwards to family, friends, relatives, Indian people, other humans, animals, growing things, to finally reach the earth itself and everything
that is. I came away from the fast with a deep awareness of feeling at home, related to all that is.

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

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

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

They’re all programs that conceivably could make one better able to go back home wherever that is, whether it’s a reservation or whatever community that is. And utilize those skills. So they would then be able to make things better for others and would be role models for kids to grow up to be like. And they’d be able to run, conceivably would be able to help run tribal groups or tribal things so that outsiders weren’t necessary. I’m not sure it works that way, but that’s how I see it ideally working ... I said, have you ever worked with American Indian tribes? He said, no. I said, well, to be honest with you, working with tribal groups is the biggest pain in the ass I’ve ever experienced in my whole damn life. I think I’d almost rather take a beating with a stick than work with any tribal group on a long-term basis. That doesn’t mean I won’t go back and work with Indian people. That commitment’s there within me. And no matter what I do I always end up working with Indian people ... I’ll always do it and I’ll always bitch about it, and that’s the reality of it. And so until you’ve worked with them you can’t know what it’s like. So that’s, you know, I don’t know how much that answers it, but that for me is it ... (TM)

You get 99 per cent of Indian students what I want to do. I want to lead a life of some service to my people people to give the children some life. They can carry on, the next generation.

Indian education orient itself as individual as the life of the group individual is the strength of the group membership and individual and perhaps promote individual and that Levine and White (1986) find that the options is resolved in Indian culture. The individual does not form as the recognition the group as individuals. The second standard of Indian is the people. Its purpose is not in the Western tradition and glorify individual options over social connections that make inevitable conflict between Western schools and, as such, this point. The competitive success of Western schools and, as such, of group success through individual.

The Indian student enrolled in Anglo values but sets the individual the conflict between being Indian.

Going to [school], there’s a certain inherent in doing that. The person also don’t like it. There’s a mix.

It is no light matter for an individual purpose in his or her education that purpose, working with and for the people is a triumph of Indian people of the enemy (Wolcott 1987). The have not vanished, and are the core rooted in the spiritual value. These traditions stretch back is
You get 99 per cent of Indian students who come to school and say that's what I want to do. I want to learn something and go back and see if I can be of some service to my people ... It'll help. It is pretty strong in a lot of people to give the children something, a gift of some sort to them, that they can carry on, the next generation. (WM)

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

The second standard of Indian education is service. Education is to serve the people. Its purpose is not individual advancement or status. As Levine and White point out, Western society and education too often promote and glorify individual options for achievement at the expense of the social connections that make achievement meaningful. There is an inevitable conflict between Western education and Indian education on this point. The competitive success of the individual is an implicit value of Western schools and, as such, is in direct conflict with the Indian value of group success through individual achievement.

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

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

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

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

I began to smile at myself — finding rainbows in the car shit — and then
I laughed out loud. There frozen into the snow was a five dollar bill. I
chipped it out, folded it into my shirt pocket, and continued up the hill.
In the mail room at work I picked up the new issue of Accession Notes and
noticed an article by Gael High Pine, 'The Great Spirit in the Modern
World' (1973). Her first paragraph gripped my heart, 'It is not important
to preserve our traditions, it is important to allow our traditions to pre-
serve us.' And then the final paragraph changed my life. On the morning
that I found jewelled rainbow caverns in the car shit, I read, 'My children,
there is no modern world, there is no Indian world. There is only the
Great Spirit's world and the same Creator who made the beautiful forests
traces the cracks in the sidewalks and puts rainbows in the oil slicks on
city streets.'

Walking the circle of Indian education, facing the east, it is traditional
to pray for our children. It is an Indian tradition — it is a deeply human trad-
tion — to pray for future generations. Those traditions — those prayers, hopes,
and dreams of our Old Ones — mark us as much as, perhaps more than,
their defeats, their fears, and their errors. To educate ourselves and our chil-
dren, we must start with who we are, with the traditions, the values, and the
ways of life that we absorbed as children of the people. An elder told me, 'I
am just one day old.' This day connects our past and future, the child with-
in to the elder we hope to become. The identity of Indian people is that
which links our history and our future to this day, now.

A history of a people who relived their history for the sheer joy of danc-
ing and storytelling are almost forgotten. These old people were human
beings with failings of course. But their way of life, their history, their
peoples were so advanced — much older than the people themselves. And

these peoples' Chiefs flow
which was older than then

To answer the questions
identity — past, present, an
'What's an Indian anyway?'
ernment used over 100 diff
of Education commissioned
and held hearings from Bo
was that the more precisely
results were.

So who is an Indian toda
before a 1954 Senate comm

I just don’t think there is an
is an Indian for some purp
I am sorry, I cannot make a
erned with it also. We do
Lincoln and Slagle 1987, 68

My first foray into Indian
Mankato, Minnesota, the sit
thirty-eight Sioux Indians in
Mankato, the chamber of ce
students. The chamber want
tourist attraction, depicting
executive secretary propoun
the pageant, I saw in the fac
hundred and twenty years w
restless nights with their par
pageant. Our turn to speak

talk with a statement.
'I am Lakota ...'
'I am Creek ...'
'I am Ojibway ...'
'I am Chickasaw ...'
'I am Winnebago ...'
'I am Dakota ...'
Bewildered at last, the sec
statement that he had heard
of the east that reminds us of what is member an early spring in Minnesota. Snow, snow fouled by thousands of spring sunlight. Car shite I usually work. But this day was different. The reflection inside me. I had been in a tree, and I kicked through the car shite with eyes, I saw that the particles of dirt rmth and melted tiny caverns into the ith rainbow colours on their walls, ng rainbows in the car shite – and then into the snow was a five dollar bill. I dirt pocket, and continued up the hill. in the new issue of Accession Notes and ne, 'The Great Spirit in the Modern gripped my heart, 'It is not important sorant to allow our traditions to pre- changed my life. On the morning is in the car shite, I read, 'My children, i no Indian world. There is only the treator who made the beautiful forests nd puts rainbows in the oil slicks on ation, facing the east, it is traditional tradition – it is a deeply human tradition. Those traditions – those prayers, hopes, k us as much as, perhaps more than, tors. To educate ourselves and our child- with the traditions, the values, and the tren of the people. An elder told me, 'In ors past and future, the child with- The identity of Indian people is that re to this day, now.

their history for the sheer joy of danc- otten. These old people were human their way of life, their history, their ider than the people themselves. And these peoples' Chiefs flowed out of – but never away from – their life which was older than themselves. (Toghotthele Corporation 1983, 26)

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

So who is an Indian today? The BIA director in Sacramento testified before a 1954 Senate committee:

I just don't think there is any definition that you can give to an Indian. He is an Indian for some purposes and for other purposes he isn't an Indian. I am sorry, I cannot make a definition. We in the Indian Bureau are concerned with it also. We don't know how to define an Indian. (Cited in Lincoln and Slagle 1987, 68)

My first foray into Indian education other than as a student was in Mankato, Minnesota, the site of America's largest mass-hanging. In 1892, thirty-eight Sioux Indians were hanged there. The third year that I was in Mankato, the chamber of commerce asked for a meeting with the Indian students. The chamber wanted to organize an annual historical pageant, a tourist attraction, depicting the hanging. As I listened to the chamber's executive secretary propounding the educational and economic value of the pageant, I saw in the faces of the other Indians my own feelings. One hundred and twenty years were as nothing to the spirits who touched our restless nights with their pain, and I knew that there would be no pageant. Our turn to speak and each student in turn opened his or her talk with a statement.

'I am Lakota ...'
'I am Creek ...'
'I am Ojibway ...'
'I am Chickasaw ...'
'I am Winnebago ...'
'I am Dakota ...'

Bewildered at last, the secretary rightly focused his question on the first statement that he had heard from each of us, 'What is it that all Indians
have in common?' Iris Drew, the Creek, answered for all of us with the
ttrue bitter-sweet joke, 'The white man.' As so many Indians have pointed
out, Indian identity is essentially tribal. 'Indian' originated as a case of
mistaken identity. Columbus persisted in his error throughout his life and
gew to his grave convinced he had discovered a new route to India.
'Tribalism' is a good word to most Indians.

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

Indian education as it should be would focus on the values of individual
tribal groups, the kinds of things that the parents from those groups
wanted their kids to learn, specific to their tribe. Something that stresses
the language so the kids have the language. So kids understand that while
being Indian is different, that there is nothing negative about that. (CM)

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

[In white universities] you are encouraged to criticize your colleagues or
somebody you don't agree with and sometimes, to me, that looks kind of
harmful. Sometimes what you are learning is that you have to be critical
in order to succeed at what you are learning. That's hard. I understand
constructive criticism and not constructive criticism. But, it's just that one
of the things they teach is that critical thinking. It has its advantages. But,
the Indian child when he sits, he
ents. He's not going to criticize wh
trying to do what they say ... rep
like myself, I thank the old people,
they say. I take what they say and
days there is so little of that wisdom
A lot of the kids are growing up
language, their parents, the teache
ple. It's funny that it took that I
don't know what you're talking ab
hear young people say, 'You don't
it has its harmful effects: encourag
it. But, at times I do it. Reflective t
reflective thinking would also be se

Reflective thinking suggests a ha
a speaker's words and seeks in then
thought may underlie the longer
Indian speakers. Carol Barnhardt
Native students succeeded in Alas
Native faculty, studied video tapes
Native children. On first impres
use of a variety of conventional
of the tapes using a metronomer
'tuning in.' Both students and tea
their body movements and in the
in their classrooms, while Indian
student rhythms.

It would be misleading to fix on
ins in as characteristics of Indians
ough yet, and it would be too ea
gimmicks. What is essential to re
acteristic ways of thought and com
est in themselves and worthy of o
knowledge or interest in such

These ways of thinking are las
Pinxtten, van Dooren, and Harvey
Space, show a possible relationship
teaching of mathematics to Navajo
eating the spatial concepts embe
As so many Indians have pointed out, 'Indian' originated as a case of their tribal diversity back to the beginnings and reminds us that diversity is the third dimension, diversity, tribalism, and community point to the active implementers of a defining characteristic of Indian political good. There can be no true control. Anything else is white educational dependence on a specific Indian Community lives in multiple ways, the issue by requiring that they implement their multiracial definitions.

Focus on the values of individual parents from those groups and their tribe. Something that stresses age. So kids understand that while nothing negative about that. (CM)

It is reach back to the time of beginnings of relationships and has its own. There are enough general different cultures to point to some likely roots in our origins, but there are for the north and the earth. Distinctive peoples. We have our
ged to criticize your colleagues or metimes, to me, that looks kind of strange. That's hard. I understand the criticism. But, it's just that one thing. It has its advantages. But, the Indian child when he sits, he listens to his grandparents or his parents. He's not going to criticize what they say. And he is listening, trying to do what they say ... respectfully. And even when they're older, like myself, I thank the old people, and they tell me. I don't criticize what they say. I take what they say and I'm glad of it. Especially since nowadays there is so little of that wisdom.

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

Reflective thinking suggests a habit of mind that thoughtfully considers a speaker's words and seeks in them for what can be built on. This style of thought may underlie the longer 'wait times' commonly heard among Indian speakers. Carol Barnhardt (1982), in searching for reasons why Native students succeeded in Alaskan schools with more than 50 per cent Native faculty, studied video tapes of Native and non-Native teachers of Native children. On first impression, the teachers seemed similar in their use of a variety of conventional teaching methods, but closer examination of the tapes using a metronome disclosed a phenomenon she called 'tuning in.' Both students and teachers had a rhythm and tempo in both their body movements and in their talk. White teachers set the rhythms in their classrooms, while Indian teachers observed and then matched student rhythms.

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

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

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

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

Two of the people I interviewed deserve to be quoted extensively. Both are highly successful Indian educators who are doing excellent graduate work at Harvard. They still struggle with the difference between Anglo and Indian thought and communication styles.

It seems as if in the home they must have talked abou...t differed from the way we lo... I don't know...d if that real... that I can find... at that I've been... y connected and that you don... of itself. But I went to the s...h that white education and I...t came out still feeling thinking, somewhere that...m home, but I think I had a...and I wonder why so man... have that ability to look I look upon the whole. (L...
It seems as if in the homes and the upbringing of Anglo children, that they must have talked about things or looked at life a certain way that differed from the way we looked at things at home. I use the word holistic ... I don't know if that really describes what I mean but it's the best word that I can find, of how I view life or think about life, as things being very connected and that you don't separate and look at something just in and of itself. But I went to the same schools. I went to white schools, so I had that white education and I was able to compete pretty successfully and yet I came out still feeling like, as far as logical thinking and analytical thinking, somewhere that was not reinforced either in school or in my home, but I think I had a very similar education to most white people and I wonder why so many of them seem to think so much differently and have that ability to look at things in detail or see the details, whereas I look upon the whole. (LW)

You can follow a paper down and understand what they are saying, but you don't understand why they don't understand what you're saying, because, to you, your logic is there, but it's not recognized as being logical. Another thing is that – is always writing on obvious things, describing obvious things, and I don't know how to do it, I have a hard time doing that. If a white man wanted to describe a can, he could probably take up three pages describing that can! I would probably look at the things that were not obvious about a can, and yet, if you were writing a paper, that's how you would write a paper here, you would say, well, it's so tall, and it's round and all of these things, and yet, you or I would look at it and see that, I mean that would be obvious, so you wouldn't bother with those kind of things. We were talking a lot about that and what is logical to us and what is logical to the instructors here, or what is obvious to us and what is not obvious, I guess. We thought it was funny.

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

I remember being in a class one day, and the instructor wanted to start discussing the readings. So, he asked questions about the readings, 'What was so and so's theory?' and nobody said anything. The whole class was
just silent for about a minute, so it was obvious that very few people had done the reading. Well, I had done the reading, but I'm usually quite verbal in this course and I just decided to lay back and not say anything. So, about a minute of silence had gone by, and finally I said, 'Well, Joe, don't you know?!' (laughter). The whole class was cracked up, nobody got serious for the rest of the class. But, I think that exemplifies that we ask students, when we're teachers, we and teachers, you know, other teachers, they ask people the obvious. I've been fighting that traumatically at times. I came away from one class with a paper that I thought was fantastic. I was so proud of it when I handed it in. I just thought it was a great paper, I put a lot of time and effort into it. I put my heart into it, really thinking about things. When I got it back I felt like I was mutilated. I felt like someone just stood there with a knife and just cut me all to shreds. To me there were so many things in it that were obvious. I had my brother read the paper and I had other people read the paper because I was really trying to give a good paper. It was like the person who read the paper was stupid, and she is not a stupid woman; far from it, but the comments she made were that I hadn't explained what I thought were obvious points. It really shook me and made me start thinking about how we think and how we relate this in our papers. There is a big gap there, and I don't know how to close it. I'm trying very hard. (HW)

The fourth standard of Indian education is culture. Indian cultures have ways of thought, learning, teaching, and communicating that are different from, but as valid as, those of white cultures. These thought-ways stand at the beginning of Indian time and are the foundations of our children's lives. Their full flower is being one of the people.

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

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

In the interviews I asked a de pendants gave historically limitations. The responses of the partic dication of the persistence of tra

Back home character is stressed a nducation, I mean typical it was that they didn't separate educ ing's requirement. (SW)

The fifth standard of Indian ed ucation maintains a continuity with tradition. It is important to understand th other a rejection of the artifacts of back the clock.' Asking Natives to bank accounts in the name of 'presen the Chinese or the zero because it senity of a living culture that is in to have greater utility than a dog s bile will become one of the criteria 1971). The for most Native groups, summer Feasts, potlatches, ceremonies contain life. In all of the interviews I asked [American Indian Program at Har which you were involved, what simil ar response:

I suppose it's the potluck suppers time to where everybody brou mix and everybody gets together to eat. That's been a fairly typ Coming together, sit down and sh something after whatever. But it's thing which is very typical of Indi I've seen anyway, I sense that ln
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t solution to hard work. I used to really did was a lot of hard work to make that the sweat taught me was the way ting over every step of the process of putting together the sweat lodge, then the impact of that work becomes less because everything has so much meaning. (MW)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Europeans summed up their differences with Native forms of organization. Enough Indians, The individual is autonomy is a strength that lies in our Indian unity. I believe we would have invaded with a unified idea on the fact that each Indian is at heart a people.

The Indian program makes the statement that they are here to help each other rather than bringing each one in as a go your own way, do your own thing, and other become aware of each other. (LM)

The quality of the group is dependable and the strength of that group and the strength and clarity of the individual is not being Indian, being Native Indian You know, that no matter how much there is a core, an essence of being a person.

The sixth standard is respect. It’s the personal respect.

West

The west is the direction of autumn or of winter. On the great plains, the Lakota cosmology, the good red road of death runs east and west.

The coming of Western civilization Western forms of education, to the traditional Indian education. In the fall took our land, our lives, and our children. The loss is painful but the seen of the year, the grass dies and drops Perhaps the snow thinks the seed is blowing in the wind, or clinging to it.

How does the acorn unfold into
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Europeans summed up their difficulty in understanding and dealing with Native forms of organization by saying ‘too many chiefs and not enough Indians.’ The individual Indian’s sense of personal power and autonomy is a strength that lies behind the apparent weakness of disunity. I believe we would have indeed vanished if we had confronted the European invaders with a unified hierarchical structure. Our survival rests on the fact that each Indian is at heart a king or queen who serves the people.

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

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

The sixth standard is respect. Indian education demands relationships of personal respect.

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

The coming of Western civilization (meaning western Europe), with its Western forms of education, to this continent was the autumn of traditional Indian education. In the fall, the wild grass dies. The Europeans took our land, our lives, and our children like the winter snow takes the grass. The loss is painful but the seed lives in spite of the snow. In the fall of the year, the grass dies and drops its seed to lie hidden under the snow. Perhaps the snow thinks the seed has vanished but it lives on hidden, or blowing in the wind, or clinging to the plant’s leg of progress.

How does the acorn unfold into an oak? Deep inside itself it knows –
and we are not different. We know deep inside ourselves the pattern of life. The source of our traditions is present.

It is good that the pattern of six directions reminds us of fall and winter, because otherwise we might not speak directly of some of the harsh realities of Indian education. As often as I had been through the interview transcripts, by the time I came to write this section, I still could not recall any instances of conversations dealing directly with the European conquest and subsequent exploitation and domination. Even a thorough search failed to find these themes. Indirectly, the conquest influences almost all the themes. One of the participants in this research gently chided herself along with me for falling into a pattern of we-they thinking and speech. ‘Listen to us, “we-they.”’

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

I think that I might have been a more effective teacher if I had taken the perspective of regarding the teacher, me, as an enemy. By effective I mean that I would have remained more objective about my lack of success, and I would have been more sensitive to the high cost for each pupil by accepting me or my instructional program. Appropriate to antagonistic acculturation as manifested in school might be an analogy to a prisoner-of-war camp. The purpose of instruction is to recruit new members into their society by encouraging prisoners to defect, and achieving this by giving them the skills so that they can do so effectively. (p. 420)

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

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

Standard eight is relentlessness. Indian education is relentless in its battle for Indian children. We take pride in our warriors, and our teachers are warriors for the life of our children. The war is not between Indian and white but between that which has fought within ourselves as well seeds breaking through concrete.

North

North is the home of winter. It and feelings of those times. Both difficulties and their challenge temporary Indian education. Th survival; it teaches endurance and not enough to be good, or smart.

The current situation in India hint of light that makes it possible Native people are going through generations faced, and the always stronger bodes well for understanding both the statistics of.

The post-invasion story of Native story of white education applied and tribal educational initiatives but many individual stories of mental knowledge.

I start with the clearest example viewed Native culture. It is common project onto Native people the a that Native are seen as either nowhere found the stereotyping Colin Turnbull, The Forest People. The fact that he is writing about Americans in terms that are cor makes it clear that the books are.

Turnbull describes the Forest Native. Although innocent and noble in all respects. Even if we projection of alienated attribute seen as relatively free people admirable standards. By contrast They are hostile, suspicious, tom problems including devastating government allowances for Turnbull’s projects aspects of European society, in
Redefinition of Indian Education 33

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North

North is the home of winter. It is the time of night and evokes thoughts

and feelings of those times. Both have their positive aspects, but it is their
difficulties and their challenge that are in my mind when I think of con-
temporary Indian education. The north demands that we understand sur-
vival; it teaches endurance and wisdom. Its lessons can be hard and it is

not enough to be good, or smart. The north demands knowledge.

The current situation in Indian education is cold and dark with just a

hint of light that makes it possible to hope for spring. The horrors that

Native people are going through are not as bad as the horrors that pre-

vious generations faced, and the fact that we have survived and are in some

ways stronger bodes well for our future. It is important, therefore, to

understand both the statistics of pain and the rays of hope.

The post-invasion story of Native education is almost always told as the

story of white education applied to Natives. The other story of individual

and tribal educational initiatives is much harder to tell. It is not one story

but many individual stories of which we have only scattered and frag-

mentary knowledge.

I start with the clearest example in print of the way many whites have

viewed Native culture. It is commonplace to recognize the tendency to

project onto Native people the alienated attributes of European society so

that Natives are seen as either noble savages or degenerate races. I have

nowhere found the stereotyping so clearly drawn as in the two books by


The fact that he is writing about African Natives rather than Native

Americans in terms that are completely transposable between continents

makes it clear that the books are really about the European mind.

Turnbull describes the Forest People as noble savages: open, loving, cre-

ative. Although innocent and childlike, they possess wisdom and are

noble in all respects. Even if we make generous allowance for Turnbull's

projection of alienated attributes of European society, these people can be

seen as relatively free people enjoying a high quality of life by their own

admirable standards. By contrast, the Mountain People are a miserable lot.

They are hostile, suspicious, torn by crime, and have a full range of prob-

lems including devastating generation gaps. Again, we must make

allowances for Turnbull's projection, in this case of the undesirable

aspects of European society, in order to attain a picture of a people that
are relatively oppressed, fearful, with a 'low quality of life,' and overwhelmed by issues of day-to-day survival.

Several things are striking about Turnbull's work. First, there is his perverse ignorance of the different colonial contexts of these two peoples. He attributes their differences to culture or morality and seems blissfully ignorant of the vast difference in levels of oppression that the two groups endured. Everywhere on the globe at all times, history is unequivocal: colonization brings misery and societal dysfunction. Although Turnbull might argue the strength of the statement, he can hardly be ignorant of the general relationship. He is, however, quite capable of ignoring the single greatest determinant of the Mountain People's pain.

Second, it is instructive to read his descriptions of the two groups for parallels with Western society. Clearly, the Mountain People with their crime, suicide, and competition between generations are strikingly similar to Western societies. Nevertheless, he strongly, even desperately, argues that the Mountain People's children should be taken from them and raised by Europeans. He completely neglects the fact that European society is suffering from the same ills which he criticizes in the Mountain People, that the ills were inflicted on the Mountain People by the Europeans, and that his suggestion would see the children suffer even more than the parents.

Turnbull argues that the Natives' children should be taken from them for their own good. So must I lay aside my incredulity and patiently tutor him with the examples of Indian Affairs boarding schools? No, that would be misdirected and fruitless. The delusion is self-sustaining. What then shall we do to protect ourselves from those millions of whites, high and low, who believe that all others are deluded and that they know what is best for the Indian? I have heard countless white educators passionately, even desperately, argue for their vision of Native education. Their desperation to save the Indian on white terms makes me believe that it is their own world-view that the existence of Indians threatens. We are victims of the best intentions of white educators.

I believe it is clear that white educational systems and procedures are not competent to educate Indian peoples. This is not simply an inability to admit failure. I believe that Indian children struggle against a pathological complex endemic to North American society. The pathology is made up of the largely unconscious processes of: (1) a perverse ignorance of the facts of racism and oppression; (2) delusions of superiority, motivated by fear of inadequacy; (3) a vicious spiral of self-justifying action, as the blame is shifted to the victims who must be 'helped,' that is, controlled for their own good; and (4) denial that the oppressor profits from the oppression materially, as well as by casting themselves as superior, power-

ful, and altruistic persons. Individual attacks on their identity, their in

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my incredulity and patiently tutor

irs boarding schools? No, that would

usion is self-sustaining. What then

those millions of whites, high and

deluded and that they know what is

untless white educators passionately,

of Native education. Their despera-

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es of: (1) a perverse ignorance of the

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al of self-justifying action, as the

must be 'helped,' that is, controlled

that the oppressor profits from the

sting themselves as superior, power-

ful, and altruistic persons. Indian children face a daily struggle against

attacks on their identity, their intelligence, their way of life, their essential

worth. They must continually struggle to find self-worth, dignity, and

freedom in being who they are. I know that I participate in my own

oppression. I did not make the winter wind but I have sometimes carried

it to my children. I could not always shelter them but I am relentless in

my effort.

All Native communities suffer from these forms of oppression. It is a

mark of human strength and resilience that Indians continue to survive

and individual Indians manage to make productive lives despite the

extremes of the oppression that they face. The problem is how to paint a

picture of the horrors that is not overwhelming and that does full justice

to the strengths and resilience of Native people. We have been through

the fiery furnace of war for a continent, and we have been quenched in

the icy waters of indifference. We lost the continent, and for five genera-

tions we have been told that we are a 'vanishing race.'

Standard nine is vitality. Indian education recognizes and nourishes the

powerful pattern of life that lies hidden within personal and tribal suffer-

ing and oppression. Suffering begets strength. We have not vanished.

Statistics show the inroads of winter. Just as counting the dead plants is

an inadequate measure of the life of the seeds, so counting the deaths, the

alcoholism rates, the suicides, the murderers, and the dropouts is inade-

quate to measure the vitality of Native life. The horrors and indescribable

pain of Native existence after the European conquest cannot be mini-

mized. Neither can the vitality of Native resistance and resurgence.

Native education cannot be understood without the concepts of oppres-

sion and resistance (Iverson 1978; Churchill 1982; Jennings 1975; Deloria

1982). Cultural genocide is the open but unacknowledged policy of every

white educator who says, 'These people must learn what we have to

teach.' Wolcott (1987) has offered a provocative analysis of the teacher as

an enemy. He shows how the resistance and hostility of Native students is

an assertion of Indian integrity. If educators realize that they are agents of

cultural brainwashing rather than altruistic helpers, much that is other-

wise incomprehensible becomes self-evident.

Standard ten is conflict. Indian education recognizes the conflict, ten-

sions, and struggle between itself and white education as well as with educa-

tion generally. Western education is in content and structure hostile to

Native people. It must be straightforwardly realized that education, as cur-

rently practised, is cultural genocide. It seeks to brainwash the Native

child, substituting non-Native for Native knowledge, values, and identity.

The individual teacher, administrator, or counsellor may, indeed should,
attempt to mitigate or subvert the purpose of Western education but in so doing assumes a difficult and ambiguous position. I may seem to be overstating the case, so it is worthwhile considering carefully the inherent contradictions between Western education and Native cultures, as well as the plight of the well-intentioned educator.

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

The educator who sees education as culturally neutral is similar to the spouse of an alcoholic who denies the alcoholism. There are implications for practice, self-concept, and feelings that both are unable to face. Perverse ignorance is a particular form of the defence mechanism of denial. As such, it is an unconscious process that is ‘compelled, negating, rigid, distorting of intersubjective reality and logic, allows covert impulse expression, and embodies the expectancy that anxiety can be relieved without directly addressing the problem’ (Haan 1977, 34). It is understandable that the educator with a self-concept tied to the ideal of helping children, with preparation that does not include multicultural competence, with a curriculum that ignores or systematically distorts the culture of his or her students, and with unresolved personal issues of racism and ethnocentrism could not recognize the extent to which education is both culturally bound and actively hostile to Native culture.

Perhaps the most common st st variant forms is, ‘These kids have good.’ Of course, that is the retest of that do not appeal to our persion in the cross-cultural situation content and structure are part of are not subversive or hostile to the large extent in the subculture/do the student’s self-concept and si sciously recognizes this is free to a real problem while the educat defence mechanisms is caught in are denied, the less effective the to be defended.

Western education is hostile to and its personnel. First, the co Whether we trace the beginning attempt to standardize orthogr been central in perpetuating a North American school is a pol embody and transmits the value culture. The call for higher stan the standard of the whites. It is a tion of the knowledge of deval pressing social problems, higher etion of institutional racism. T races may have equally worth the minds of the proponents of that they possess the one true Blacks, Indians, Asians, or Chie challenge is not higher standards in chaos but the negotiation of world of many cultures, all of them necessary to devalue the standa they claim to be the only worth The structure of North Americ ways that seem unavoidable in rooms; Natives as janitors and kin and personal authority; learn observation and example; clock e
The purpose of Western education but in some position. I may seem to be over-sensing carefully the inherentization and Native cultures, as well as the concept of ignorance. By perverse ignorance about issues of culture or content educators make statements such as: 'seal than they do to farming.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Earth
The earth is our home. Our bodies come from and return to the earth.

The earth is stable through all changing seasons and celebrate the passing of life. The earth sustains and comforts us in this place—we belong to the land. My son, wiggling his toes in the Eternity, because I know the feel of the earth because the child I once was lives in this place. We have a place, it is here. Gene born. Her well-being is our grammar.

The earth reminds me of the in the way clearly linked to education is ‘back home,’ on the reservation in varied contexts.

It is a place to see other students that most of the students taking out a lot in the AIP office. Sort of that last year and I thought that the ed. school. So I guess basic (MW)

Running into AIP students down you know. You just kind of great papers or what we’re doing. Just the typical interaction. (HW)

Territory is important. The Az been located in the Read House when the program was tempos attempted to use that space for meeting room in another building successfully in importance of Indian people feel the pain of being of turf, a place that is Indian, a place of conventions of white society and being. In other institutions with the place, I have seen Native student office for their turf.

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

The earth reminds me of the importance of a sense of place. That theme was clearly linked to education in the interviews. Participants referred to ‘back home’, ‘on the res [reservation]’, and ‘the people at home’ often and in varied contexts.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even though we spend an awful lot of time together in here, I think in
reality it decreases our isolation from the rest of the university for a num-
ber of reasons. One is the geographical, physical location. We come here a
lot, which is easier to go to and from the library. To and from Longfellow
[building], to and from classes. To and from anything. It's very difficult if
you don't have a home base, and this is like a home base. Second, it helps
us be visible as students, working with each other. For our percent of
numbers, a good many of us are very involved in the other HGSE
[Harvard Graduate School of Education] community organizations. If you
really look at us by numbers, I think that we're very active. We're very
involved, and I think that if the AIP program wasn't here, where we all
get together, encourage each other, let each other know what's going on,
that we would be more isolated, we would tend to stay more in our rooms
or our apartments and go to and from classes. And I don't think we would
be as involved in the community, the HGSE community as a whole. But if
you really look at it, I think that we're very involved.

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

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

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

In Mankato, Minnesota, I walked down the stairs to a little convenience store. I stood in the aisle hesitating over the choice of soups when an old white man confronted me, 'Do you have a little time?'

I looked at him, shaking where he stood, bright eyes, open but complex face. I expected he wanted me to carry something and felt good to be chosen. I had the spacious time of youth and in his eyes I liked myself; strong, young, and respectful. 'Yes, I have time.'

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

turtle is uncomfortable, worn out and the small room is cluttered with fifteen students who use it. In spite of it seems a little freer there, laughter can feel at home with each other.
classrooms, and in sacred ceremonies. His question came from behind the box. ‘How many sides do you see?’

‘One,’ I said.

He pulled the box towards his chest and turned it so one corner faced me. ‘Now how many do you see?’

‘Now I see three sides.’

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

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

Note

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