Walt Wood

-ON NATIVE AMERICAN INDOCTRINATION-

Chemawa Indian School May 21, 1970

This report is the culmination of three month's observation of and participation in activities at the Chemawa Indian School, Chemawa, Oregon. We are midyear graduates of the Phillips Exeter Academy. Our presence here on campus was arranged through Mr. Gabe Paxton of the Washington office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Mr. James Bearghost of the Portland Area Office. This is volunteer work funded only by a weekly stipend of \$15,00 apiece. Our living quarters are in McNary Hall, a senior dormitory. Our service here encompasses the functions of teachers' aides, recreational aides, and tutors. We also conduct a French class three evenings per week.

This report is the product of our own initiative and expense, designed to justify our presence here at Chenawa in the hopes that other concerned individuals will be afforded the same opportunity in the future. We do not intend to portray the opinions expressed herein as absolute; they are personal convictions stemming from our experience. The paper, by nature, is highly critical; we feel our trouble-shooting to be more constructive tham rambling praise. No personal malice has contributed to our criticism. We sincerely believe any suggestions stated to be for the benefit of the

school as an academic community.

We would like to express our profound appreciation to those isolated individuals who have endeavored to make our experience as productive as possible. If further information is desired, please contact one of the following:

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-PRIMARY EVALUATION-

We believe that the relative good achieved by the BIA in educational concerns is outbalanced by the waste, ineffectiveness, and damage sometimes incurred. The very nature of the bureau hinders the functioning of the educational facilities in that its considerations, by being a branch of the federal government, are essentially political.

The function of the school, as stated by administrative authorities in "A Basic Information Form for the Preparation of Educational Specifica-

tions", is as follows:

"To raise the level of academic achievement from the present two four years below the national average to near or beyound the national average during the student's four years at Chemawa."

"To inform and provide opportunities for the Indian students to reacquaint themselves with their own Heritage and culture and to instill in them pride..."

"To provide a school climate which allows for sensitivity on the part of both students and staff in the recognition of the feelings, wants, and desires generated by members of the school community insuring that communication takes place and that resolutions to problems identified are solved through democratic processes."

"To develop within each student an understanding of himself, his.. self-identity."

"To maximize the student's decision-making abilities."

"To provide experiences necessary to the student's independent constructive functioning in the dominent culture based upon his habit patterns and the value system of the Indian sub-culture."

It is our belief that the school realized non of these standards.

-ACADENIC CRITIQUE-

The school suffers from the influence of previous miliary jurisdiction where one man is relegated total authority. While a superintendent may be sincere in his intention to initiate necessary reform, his role as politician restricts him. This position discourages communication with both faculty and students (Overheard following a speech presented by the superintendent was a student's comment: "Who was that guy, anyway?"). This isolation is amplified by any unpopular policy decisions, which often remain unexplained and ambiguous (Failure to respond when staff counsel with you on what is considered improper boy-girl relationship will definitely effect your tenure at Chemawa.") The campus layout, along, symbolically places administrative personnel in any ivory tower.

Referring to the administration, one staff member noted: "There is a definite reluctance on the part of the people who run this school to face reality." The reality of change frightens them because their fundamental values are questioned, and the prospect of failure deepens this indecision which thus far has retarded progress. To compensate for this tendency, the administration censors student exchange program, students from John Adams, a progressive Portland high school, were reluctantly permitted to visit Chemawa; yet the Indian students were denied the opportunity to experience the educational program in operation at John Adams. One of the supervisory teachers candidly explained the school's motives: They show these kids something they can't have?").

Far too often, the personnel are weak and incapable of making a decision entirely on their own. The responsibility is passed up through a lengthy chain of commad, yet anyone of those links feels slighted if not consulted. They find security and refuge in someone else's shadow. They insist on making simple issues complex, thus change is suspended in a network of bureaucracy (A staff member cited this incident: one student violated three separate rules in a short period of time. This staff member was responsible for reporting the incidents to the student's parents. He combined the three reports in one letter and was severely censured for not having feported the three infractions in separate letters. This time he was reproached for not combining the three incidents in a single letter.).

The administrative staff is exceedingly top-heavy. This engenders subtle power struggles, particularly among employees in the GS-11 & GS 12 classifications. This includes supervisory teachers (One supervisory teacher has been vying for control of an office ever since she temprarily filled a vacancy there. Supervisory teachers are required to teach a minimum of four hours per day, yet she teachers none, nor does she possess a secondary school teaching certificate. The purpose of a supervisory teacher, as we understand it, is to maintain contact with the students and faculty. This case is certainly a breach of definition, if not an inhibiting factor. The Indian advisory committee who surveyed operations here for a short period of time also indicated this problem and suggested strongly that it be dealt with.

A number of faculty members also have voiced extreme displeasure with the supervisory teach or department head system. This generates an internal power struggle within the department itself. Mistrust among teacher is common. The supervisory teacher is afforded sufficient powers so that his own prejudices may be exercised (a black teacher in one department was classified GS-7 by his supervisor while all other faculty members in the school recieve no less than GS-0.). Also, reverse prejudice is not uncommon (A white faculty member was replaced as head coach for the backetball team, regardless of student opinion in favor of an Indian. We believe this type of facade should be equally discouraged.).

The question of tenure is instrumental in this intra-departmental friction (When one supervisory teacher was absent for a week's period he designated another teacher to assume his responsibilites. However, a third teacher with longer tenure was ignored in the process, and she threatened to transfer to a different department.). Perhaps a more democratic method would be a distribution of power over an extended period of time. A rotating system of three year terms would afford each faculty member within a department an equal opportunity to function as department head. The question of tenure would determine only the order of succession rather than impose a permanent authority, a system prone to stagnation.

The existence of supervisory teachers inhibites the functioning of the faculty member as an individual within his own classroom (One social science teacher obtained a film on sex education to be presented to his class. Almost immediately, his supervisory teacher entered the classroom and confiscated the film, indiscreetly reproaching the teacher before the entire class. This obviously undermines his position of authority and respect, not to mention the absolute control placed upon his instructional methods and freedom.) We. in order to be present in various social science classes, were forced to consult the supervisory teacher rather than the faculty involved. This department head notified the teachers involved that we would present them with a list of proposals concerning our role in the classroom, while he advised us that he would meet with these teachers, who desired our presence, in order to ascertain our function. After several weeks of silence, we confronted the faculty involved and both parties realized that they had been played off against each other. Without the supervisory teacher's permission, we attended classes. On hearing of this later, the department head was furious, yet he took no steps to remove us from his department. It is evident that the powers of the department head must be circumscribed. His authority should encompass only the mechanical aspects of the department operation. The introduction of this rotation system would mean the elimination of the supervisory teacher status which at present interferes with the educational process.

The young faculty members are discouraged and persecuted for their ambition and initiative by the rigid structure of political rather than educational concerns. It is these creative faculty members who are most stimulating to and respected by the student body. Yet their jobs are threatened by their exercise of modern educational methods, and in not being granted free expression in their own classroom, they often are frustrated to the point of resignation.

They operate under outmoded educational methods which are ineffective, especially in dealing with a minority group whose cultural make-up is foreign and whose upbringing was disctating by a different set of priorities. These teachers refuse to take advantage of the in-service training program, and in as much have had little contact with the progress made in educational modes. If they are not concerned with education as their primary objective, why are they here? Some of them lack the essential qualifications to teach in a secondary school and

and could not operate in a locally controlled public school system. They find a security here in their tenure; they await retirement. There teachers are not only ineffective, but detrimental to the inspirational qualities of education. They breed apathy and inattention. In many classes, we observed that students, immediately upon entering class, insulated themselves against the condescension, and sometimes abuse, of the teacher (One social studies teacher, when berating the class attitude, constantly refers to them as "children" and "dumb Indians." The stoic front of the Indian student is misinterpreted by the white as insensitivity: "After four years of this place, my brother turned prejudiced against white men. I saw him change, and I didn't want it to happen to me. But it has. My mother's noticed it already...") Again, this is a failure on the part of some faculty to faculty to face reality.

The curriculum is often irrelevant, or taught in such a fashion as to make it unitelligible to the Indian mind (For example, time, for the Navajos) is a continum. There is no concept of future. Also, many students cannot conceive of such abstractions as points, lines, and planes.). The courses should be geared for the student's mode of logic and sence of relevancy. What is taught is not pursued in depth; homework is a rarity. Many students have commented that they had more homework in grade school. One student expressed a desire for teachers to make "students work harder so they will be prepared for the world." This is a blatant failure on the school's part to enable the student to adjust to a higher education. However, the administration is making an effort to provide more meaningful courses for the upcoming year. Hopefully these will provide the stud-

dents with the sense of purpose that is currently lacking.

(The difficulty of change towards a more modern course structure is exemplified by the obstacles which I confronted in attempting to establish a new mathematics course for next year. The course was to be centered about the utilization of surveying instruments in order to make the abstract concepts a more concrete phenonmenon. I was warned by the mathematics department that previous efforts had been made to arrange a similar course, and they had been advised by the administrative manager for his advice. After a minimum of inquity, hereferred me to an individual in the shops department who apparently possessed all the necessary instruments: They were collecting dust in a remote corner, yet he refused to let the mathematics department handle them because they belonged to his department and he would have been obliged to transfer their titles to another branch of the school. When asked if he would be considering "loaning" them out several times per week, he replied that"...just because those math teachers got college diplomas, it don't mean they got common sense. These are precision instruments and got to be handled by someone who knows the mechanics." I assured him that simply because a math teacher had a college diploma, it does not exclude the possibility that he harbors a certain element of common sence. Finally I contacted the principal, who assured the mathematics department that the instruments would be available for their use.).

Antoher aspect of the educational process which is harmful to the students is the frequent group testing. The tests (Metropolitan tests, California tests, etc.) are biased due to the white cultural orientation. Even the scope of the aptitude tests, as opposed to achievement tests, are limiting factors. The scores are reported on the student's records and testify against them permanently. Also,

though

a minor point, the tests interrupt the continuty of course schedules, and the amount of time lost through testing and make-up is astounding. A similar problem is that of frequent exousions on exchange programs and trips. Collectively, a great deal of time is lost; this would not hinder progress if the opportunities were evenly distributed. However, far too often the same small nucleus of students is invited to take part (dormitory councils, inter-dormitory council, student's council, etc.) As we understand it, this is misuse of 89-10 funds. The promotion of culturally broadening experiences does not always take every individual's application into consideration. In general, the students are not aware of the opportunities which the 89-10 funds afford them, and they, as individuals, are not encouraged to take advantage of them. While financial aid granted for such programs as recreation and orientation is beneficial, the distribution of 89-10 funds is often inappropriate and resulss in waste.

In contrast with an average public high school education, the relative quality of the Chemawa educational experience is substandard; while grammar schools have drastically retarded the educational development of Indian cupits, Chemawa, in itself, fails miserably to realize its objective of raising "the level of academic ahcievement from the present two to four years below the national average to near or beyound the national average...". Out of last year's graduating class of 260 students, only 22 were accepted by a college. Eleven of these attended; seven survived their first year at college. The students are not only unprepared educationally, but also emotionally, for higher education. There is virtually no self-discipline in relation to studies. Recognizing the students' complete dependency upon the BIA, counselors still advise the vast majority of students to continue their education under the auspices of the Advanced Vocational Training program. If this situation prevails, a two-track system (college & vocational) should be offered, at least temporarily.

These opinions are corroborated by the results of a recent survey which indicates that students wish faculty:

"Nould give us a good education like in public schools..."

"Would listen to students on their ideas of how to change things..."

"Wouldn't just talk TO the class but 1gt students talk among themselves.."

"Would be more understanding of our problems..."

Were more up-to-date...were better educated..."

"Would be more serious about teaching..."

"Wouldn't fight with each other..."

"Worked for the benefit of the students..."

"Were not prejudiced...wouldn't teat us like a bunch of dumb Indians..."

"Would treat us as individuals...Would let the students think for themselves...would give students more responsibility..."

-STUDENT-GUIDANCE RELATIONSHIP-

With the influx of Northwestern students in particular, the large majority of the students are socially maladjusted. They are emotionally deprived due to undesirable living circumstances and maintain poor relationships with adults. They exercise little discretion or internal control, seeking only acceptance among their peers. Obviously, this makes it difficult for the students to function in a boarding school society where cooperation of others is essential. The present staff and guidance structure is so complex that it makes the treatment of the student on a truly individual basis a remote possibility; counselors are seemingly more concerned with enforcing the established rules and adhering to the often inflexible code of punishment rather than acknowledging the student as an individual and concentrating of his personal reform, according to his psychological make-up and past experience. This would require highly qualified personnel involved in every aspect of dormitory life.

This highly personalized contact would spawn a staff-student rapport which is essential for faith in the disciplinary system. As long as the guidance personnell cannot (and should not) command the respect of the students, no cooperation can be expected. Few staff members condescend to a confrontation with the students on a truly human plans; they are regarded as symbols of imminent repression. The position of guidance supervisor is presently maintained by a man who indirectly discourages communication. We sincerely doubt that he has any insight into the reality which dictates student attitudes and actions. Simply on a physical

level, this isolation is evident.

At the present time, if a matron ("aide in guidance") observes some difficulty concerning a student's conduct, she is obliged to report the incident to the building head, who in turn contacts the building manager. The work is then relayed through the "supervisory teacher-counselor (dormitory management)", to the guidance supervisor, and on to the superintendent, who will undoubtedly contact the "dormitory teacher-counselor", whose office is across the hall from the matron. The concept of such an authoritarian structure is resented by the students, (one faculty member noted that to an Indian, a leader because he is followed.). There is also an unfortunate display of force utilized in the hopes of precipitating submission (Four policemen and two paddy wagons were summoned to a Saturday night dance to discourage drinking; another incident involved a staff member striking a student who refused to com ly with his orders to leave a dance because he was wearing pants which resembled blue jeans.). According to statements made by several students, the guidance staff, anticipating difficulty with reputedly rebellious Northwestern students, greeted them with an overbearing, domineering attitude in order to "show us who's boss."

In confronting Indians in particular, who pride themselves in physical provess and to whom no challenge may honorably be defied; the use of force is ineffective if not damaging. It precipitates a reaction which is contrary to, indeed the op osite of, the desired effect. In many cases, the ensuing disciplinary action is inappropriate, either to lenient or too severe. Either the student is not brought to realize the gravity of the offense and the justification of the rule, or he is sacrificed as an example for his peer group.

A certain element of progress has been made. In one dormitory, a student committee (appointed by the staff) reviews all questions pertaining to disciplinary action. While more effective since the student is censured by his equals,

the system still affords no adequate means of punishment and allows the guidance staff to dissmiss a student without consulting the committee or faculty. The staff's fear tactics are impotent due to the prevailing student apathy. Many still cannot comprehend the relevance of an education, and/or are not accustomed to a life-style whose focus is upon the future.

Here at Chemawa, reputedly the most progressive BIA school, student life is splintered -- there is no continuum of life-style. They awake to a bell, dress to a bell, eat to a bell, work to fixed schedules, walk within the confines of designated boundaries, adjust their appearance to an incomprehensible image, and go to bed by a bell. Just as the classes are inadequate in instructing the students how to think for themselves, their life is so structured as to deprive them of all responsibility (This had psychologically crippled many students, who have become entirely dependent upon the BIA: "They don't prepare us for the world. They tell us what to do and what not to do. Next year they ain't gonna be anyone to tell us..."). Certainly this defeats the purpose of education, which might encounter. The school policy, i.e. the given excuse, is that a certain element of conformity to white standards is a necessity in preparing them to function in white society, yet no allowance for self-discipline is made, and no individual can function in a society when deprived of this internal control. The BIA school attempts to whitewash Indians for their own protection," yet not even a reasonable facimile can be produced. All one has accomplished in this maldistribution of discipline is the stripping of a race of its own culture, by subtley indicating that they are inferior, without replacing it so that they will not be lost in the dominant culture. As long as the school continues to impose on them this "superior" image, the school ultimately will be a failure ("....Baldwin...hated and feared white people....: "This did not mean that I loved black people; on the contrary, I despised them possibly because they failed to produce Rembrandt."..."--Eldridge Cleaver, Soul On Ice).

A man without a culture, without roots is lost in the frustration of emasculation. The Indian Eunuch is of no value to either race, nor to himself as an entity, for he has inherited noting more than a poor self-image ("I hate being and Indian," said one student; "I really don't know that I want," said another.). There are no socially accepted outlets for such depression and total frustration (while registering for courses for next year, one student simply wrote: "I don't think I'll be coming back, or should I say I don't think I'll make it here."). The suicidal drive is a manifestation of this oastration; they drink excessively, and this is a vehicle for violence rather than pleasure. Finally a desperate protest. Fighting is a justification of the self's existence; it is being.

-NECESSITY OF CHANGE-

We believe that we have demonstrated the domineering political concerns of the school and their detrimental consequences. To remedy the situation, we propose that the Indian educational system be as far removed from the government as possible without severing the financial responsibilities. The education of Indian youth should be implemented by Indians rather than the Great White Father. Perhaps this goal could be realized most effectively through an Indian Foundation, funded by individual tribes according to their respective prosperity in conjection with the department of Health, Education, and Welfare acting as no more than a center for the distribution of allocated government funds. This foundation would maintain the status of an independent social service program granted federal aid.

The realization of current plans for a modernized campus would present a unique opportunity. An environmental and structural change would facilitate the implementation of the educational approach which we have elaborated upon. At present, the compus layout phaces limitations upon the free movement of students and faculty (The railroad tracks are a psychological as well as physical barrier between student living quarters, the school hierarchy, and the academic branches. The network of fences, though superficial, is a source of constant irritation for many students. Also there is no student union which enables the students to socialize or to gather informally. The Library here is a farce, a tragedy. The large quantity of students housed in each dormitory also introduces many difficulties, among which are the impersonal living conditions and the total lack of privacy.).

We understand that the proposals for the new campus include smaller living units of students which would enable closer contact with the staff. In order to establish a rapport with school personnel, a certain element of informality must exist (We conducted an experiment in education with our French course. It consisted of a free-form class: no required attendance, flexible hours, permission to smoke, mobility, etc.. This created the relaxed atmosphere essential to learning. No one was pressured. Those who attended each evening were present of their own free will. They learned at their own pace on an entirely conversational basis; silence was also acceptable. All that we demanded was respect for the other students' right to learn. The course was so popular that the size of the class threatened the high degree of individual attention, and those students who desired to familiarize themselves with the French language were successful. Such casual student-faculty relationships are conducive to a reciprocity in the educational experience, and this mutal exchange, this sharing, is essential in that it acknowledges the student as a source as well as a recipient of knowledge.). This concept of small units is not only ideal educationally but also totally in tune with the Indian subculture's concept of communal living.

Coinciding with this idea of experiential learning is the theory of educational modes expressed by A.S. Neill in <u>Summerhill</u>: A <u>Radical Approach to Child-Rearing</u>. He advocates a system in which children are allowed to develop and learn without discipline, in terms of their own readiness. This concept of an educational continum is not to be ignored, for the average Indian student would be more receptive to experiential learning than to canned knowledge. Experience is always necessary for a student to truly assimulate what he has learned, and this reality introduces the exercise of thought processes more vital than the memorization of data. Obviously, there are certain disciplinary qualifications implied which preserve the rights of each individual; these

limitations would, of necessity, be imposed here, considering that the students in question would be in the later stages of development when accepted for enrollment.

At the present time, however, discipline is poorly distributed and in the process student rights are blatantly violated. The use of force in any public school would result in a law suit. The Supreme Court has ruled that the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment applied to minors as well as adults. The National Association of Secondary School Principals has reiterate this message in its pamphlet "The Reasonable Exercise of Authority". Among these student rights is "the right to choose their own hair and dress style", a right which is overtly ignored by the administration. Another right concerns the sanctity of private property; staff members have been known to violate an individuals privacy by searching assigned rooms indiscriminately. Moreover, the staff insists on searching packages which a student intends to send home---even his luggage--indirect violation of federal law.

While students are quaranteed by the Constitution the right to non-violent dissent and free expression, they are often are not aware that their rights have been violated. Under normal circumstances, they display little concern when rights are denied other students. They have yet to realize that in the protection of others, they protect themselves. We urge the administration to make known to the students exactly what their rights consist of and to promote some form of participatory democracy. We believe that a student senate should be established having jurisdiction over the disciplinary action to be taken against any student whose offense does not incur a question of dismissal. For any case concerning prospective expulsion, that senate would make recommedations to a staff-faculty assembly which ultimately would pass judgement. The senate would also propose amendment to and changes in the established school code. The student counsil, as it presently functions, is ignored by both staff and administration and lacks student support due to its impotence. Thus, far, the adminstration had denied faculty a voice in the operation of the school (They refused to permit a faculty survey.). One can infer from this their attitude towards student awareness and participation.

-INTERPRETATION OF PRESENCE-

Our relationship with the school authoritites has been unique in that we have been afforded the inside of two distinct parties. The administration declined to define our status, maintaining the option to treat us as staff when convenient and students when necessary. Our appearance, while entirely independent of our role, assumed a revolutionary symbolism in the eyes of the staff, and many staff members regarded our more presence as threat to their security (A matron assured us that this was the case.). We were an alien influence which suggested change, an undesireable comodity for one who is hibernating at the peak of an delicate structure or in the peak's shadow. Suspicion was not uncommon in the abover rungs of authority; were we "spies from Washington?" We were pre-judged through such absurd criteria as subwersive influences, and this generated friction.

Both administration and staff avoided any confrontation. The adminstration would approve any reasonable proposals in our presence, yet sabotage them in our absence. Sources other than ourselves have labeled this tactice a common practice. The staff refused to approach us upon observing some action which they considered an infraction of the rules; rather, they circulated a memo whose message would relate to us perhaps a week following the incident. In fact, no complaints were registered against us directly until the superintendent appointed an advisor for us, through whom a variety of memos were funneled regularly thereafter. More often than not, it was a question of an outrageously fallacious report, exaggerated beyond recognition, or of a simple misunderstanding. We were singled out for special consideration, because our race must set the superior example (This was explained quite bluntly. Likewise, we sensed bigotry behind the discouragement of our close relationships with Indian girls.).

Ironically, we felt that our example, while diametrically opposed to the polished, while firuines which the administration wished to display, was far more valuable to the students in that we exemplified independence of thought and confidence in that individuality. We feel that we have contributed to the dismantling of the white sterotype which the BIA has institutionalized here at Chemawa for ninety years. (One Eskimo student referred to our room as his "home" here, where he could be open; a Northwestern student expressed the same opinion, that it meant a great deal to have someone interested in what he had to say. Several others mentioned that personal contact with white youth was both a rarity and a necessity.). Our existence was our only involvement with change, outside of this report which is our only opportunity to justify our presence and to manifest our convictions (We might add that this report has been a vehicle for the suppressed faculty opinion.). We did not feel that it was our place to reform—only to observe and make these suggestions. Change must originate from within.

In fact, we were advised strongly by the advisor to the student council not to participate: "If I were you, I would not get involved." This warning we interpreted as a consequence of his fear of our potential influence and the ensuing change. At any rate, this seems to be the accepted Philosophy of Reform.

-CONCLUSION-

If the Bureau of Indian Affairs continues to endorse the current school policies, psychological and emotional genocide is a distinct possibility. The Indian can never be white, yet he may cease to be an Indian if the subtle subversion of his culture continues. An intoxicated student confessed, "My father died drunk. My older brother died drunk. I ain't gonna die drunk... I hate being an Eskimo because they're backward. They're always drunken. Like me now...".

A race stripped of its pride will either dissolve or revolt. The immediate necessity of change is evident. Change is initiated from either within or withour the system. Thus far, the administration has failed to respond to student anxieties voiced through the established channels. This denial leaves no alternative other than force, a mode of reform frequently exercised by the school authorities themselves. When the students become aware of the wall at their back, they will react in desperation.

This is not a threat-this is a prophecy.

Respectfully submitted,

Christopher Cossy Bruce Robson

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confrcetation which could escalate into third Wounded Knee.

On Sunday, April 21, the mutilated bodies of Herman Benally, 34, and John Harvey, 39, were found eight miles north of Farmington in a deserted, dusty foothill region frequented by local teenagers for parking, drinking and partying. The two men were believed to have been-killed early the same day.

A week later the mutilated body of Davis Ignacio, 52, was discovered. It is believed he had died several weeks before the other victims.

Three Farmington teenagers have reportedly confessed to the murders. Howard Bender, 16, and Matthew Clark, 15, have been charged with three counts of murder. Delray Ballinger, 16, has been charged with participation in the murder of Ignacio:

The men were all tortured and murdered while in a state of near unconscious drunkenness. Their clothing had been set afire, burning sticks pressed to their bodies and melted plastic from burning cups dripped on their flesh. Their bodies had been mashed by huge rocks.

The murder site of Benally and Harvey is a natural rock amphitheater. In the center of the arena a single scorched tree trunk suggested the source of the fire that ignited the men's clothing and the attackers' burning sticks. Strips of clothing, handfuls of blood-caked dust, smashed and burned bushes were scattered over a 200-yard area.

The surreal scene suggested a wild midnight chase with two drunken Navajo men crawling, running, scrambling to smother the fire on their bodies and their attackers.

Faint impressions on a discarded Polaroid tear sheet found at the scene identified the place where Herman Barnally was finally killed. The latent negative image showed a naked man, face down in the dust, body and legs uncomfortably twisted, head positioned beside a huge rock which was probably one of the mutilation / murder weapons.

Farmington's mayor, Marlo Webb, expressed "shock" at the incidents and

Bob Fitch is a free lance writer and all grievances. photographer based in Oakland, Calif.



Marches have clogged the main streets of Farmington every Saturday since April 11.

downplayed any possible race conflict. "Farmington and its citizens over the years have enjoyed an especially close relationship and friendship with the members of the Navajo Nation."

Wilbur Tsosie, spokesman for the Farmington Intertribal Indian Organization (FIIO), disagrees. In a letter to the mayor, he called the killings "the height of racism, in Farmington . . . and not isolated in-

Demonstration marches, numbering from 1,500 to 3,000 people, have clogged Farmington's main streets every Saturday since May 11. In addition, FIIO has confronted the city council with a list of demands including:

-Open meetings with the council to air

requesting U.S. Civil Rights Commission hearings on discrimination / exploitation of Indians in the area.

-A law enforcement review committee with strong minority membership.

-Integration of Navajo people into all levels of civil service.

-Placement of an Indian center under the jurisdiction of Indians.

-Creation of an alcoholic rehabilitation program with a predominantly Indian staff.

Mayor Webb says the demands lack "specifics." The demonstrations, he charges, are caused by "outside militants," who want to advance their own cause. "They want us to react, and we are not an area roughly the size of West Virginia." going to react."

to react. FIIO has announced additional ("place among the waters"), the fertile river -Action by the mayor and council demonstrations with intent to close bars,

interrupt business and carry grievances to Gov. Bruce King in Santa Fe.

Mayor Webb's enthusiastic characterization of the Anglo / Indian relationship as "close" is not borne out by the city's history. Farmington, in fact, is a white island (30,000 people, 93.2 per cent Caucasian) resting on the edge of the largest Indian reservation on the North American continent (130,000 Navajos alone, plus Zuni, Hopi and Utes).

One-half of surrounding San Juan County is Navajo Reservation. The total reservation covers the entire "Four Corners" junction of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Colorado,

Farmington was founded in the late 19th The mayor and his city council may have century by whites who appropriated To Tah

(Continued Page 7) of top Famington, N. M. The tortue mucher of 3 Now were her has precipitated a serie of Navaja derivalenteens to leve and / Silvalia

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Farmington, N. Mex.: Covert Racism Is the Context for Murder

basin at the junction of the San Juan into a major producer of truit and livestock.

The agricultural tradition continued until the discovery in the San Juan basin of large gas: oil and low-sultur coal deposits and area now claims to have the world's largest strips mine, and the \$300 million-plus complex of power plants and transmission

Indian land Yet Farmington Floomed and threatened to become the "energy capital of the world while life on the reservation

A 197 L S Commission on Civil Rights' hearing in Vandow Rock. Ariz. revealed some grim, but not surprising, tacts about reservation life. Annual per capita income raveraging tive persons) live in rented one and two-room houses, 60 per cent of the houses have no electricity and 80 per cent have no running water. Median education is 5.3 years (national average is 12.1), and there is no bi-lingual education. Eighty per cent of reservation stores are held by non-Indian absence owners. Only 8 per cent of similarly tortured to death. There have the Four Corners construction force was Navaio, while few of the Four Corners promises.

Underlying Racism

Why does the potential wealth of the Indian reservation end up as the real wealth of white Farmington?

unexplained gap. Sheriff Dan Sullivan proudly told this reporter that the murders occurred on Sunday, and we had them languished on the arid plateaus and desert solved by Wednesday." But on Thursday, a day after the murders were "solved," Sheriff Sullivan announced he would pay a \$500 reward for information leading to capture and arrest of the murderers.

Prosecution of the two teenagers who their post-World War II development. The reportedly confessed to the crime also has a certain contradictory quality.

In an interview, Assistant District Attorney Caton told American Report there had been very few instances of teenagers monster called the Four Corners Power rolling drunken Indians in Farmington. Most of these cases, he said, involved Most of these energy resources are on vagrants and small-time hoods. The guilty in most cases, had been caught and prosecuted, Caton said.

Members of the Human Rights Commission tell a different story. Under questioning by the commission, the coprosecutor in the case, Assistant District Attorney Tom Hynes, said his office has known for years that kids have been rolling is less than \$1,000. One half of the families drunk Navajos, and that 'rolling' leads to beating which leads to murder.

> (Within the past year, three similar murders involving Navajos have been reported in nearby Gallup. In May, 1973 two middle-aged men were found beaten, knifed and sexually mutiliated in February 1974 a Navajo man in his 20's was tound been no arrests in those cases.

Caton, in the interview, appeared to have companies complied with job training already made up his mind about the case, and indicated that aggressive prosecution, leading to indictment of the voung suspects under adult criminal codes, is improbable.

The boys will probably be charged with "being delinquent," Caton said, prosecuted under the juvenile code, and if found guilty of the crimes, face either probation, On any Saturday a visitor to Farmington custody or treatment "Two or them," he



Underlying Racism

Why does the potential wealth of the Indian reservation end up as the real wealth of white Farmington?

can see it happan. Navajos pack the clothing shops, supermarkets and tavernseven the huge Smoke Chevrolet display rooms owned by Mayor Webb. "There's no other place to spend all the money earned at Four Corners," explains John Redhouse, a Navajo raised in Farmington.

Events surrounding the three deaths are bringing to the surface contemporary white attitudes toward Navajos. Mayor Webb, addressing a rally of Navajo marchers, made a clumsy effort to equalize the racial factor in the alleged murders while putting in a plug for Farmington-style justice. Citing an instance where a drunk Navajo boy ran over two whites with his car while being chased by police. Webb reminded the audience, "that boy is now out on probation."

"Not premeditated, not mutilation," the crowd shouted, underscoring the obvious distinction between involuntary manslaughter and first degree murder.

On another occasion the mayor unwittingly reinforced an underlying racism when he replied to a Navajo reugest for police protection at an open meeting with the city council. "We're the ones who need protection," he half-jokingly responded.

"Navajos are murdered and they want protection," was the angry retort of Larry Anderson, national treasurer of the American Indian Movement.

Reporting by the local newspaper is another problem facing the Navajos. The Farmington Daily Times, for example, gave front-page coverage, with photographs, to an April 20 Democratic party rally that attracted 300 people. A march by some 3,000 Navajos down the two main streets of Farmington on the same day rated the back page with no photos.

"The newspaper handling of these events has been overwhelmingly against the Indian movement," Fr. Henry Bird, pastor of the San Juan Episcopal Mission and member of the Human Rights Commission, told American Report.

An official chronology of the investigation has at least one conflict and

unuer adult criminal codes, is improbable.

The boys will probably be charged with "being delinquent," Caton said, prosecuted under the juvenile code, and, if found guilty of the crimes, face either probation, On any Saturday a visitor to Farmington custody or treatment. "Two of them," he has concluded, "are really psychotic."

> Other interviews suggest there may be some grounds for that conclusion. Howard Bender, who is believed to be the trio's leader, is reported by fellow students to be a consummate liar and braggart. Described as having "terrible acne" and dressing "awful," he has been the recipient of ridicule and ostracism by other students.

> Matthew Clark has been receiving private psychiatric treatment since February. Clark and his twin brother live with an older brother and his wife. Both parents are dead. Clark is described by fellow students and a relative as "emotionally cold," an "outsider," a "follower."

A Normal Kid

Delray Ballinger, unlike Bender and Clark, is characterized by friends as a normal kid. Neighbors describe his working-class parents as "salt of the earth." "real nice people." He was, however, Howard Bender's close friend, and one student told me that "you never see Howard without Delray."

Supposing that the confessions stand up, however, and that the boys are found to be emotionally or mentally disturbed, the "psychotic" label doesn't explain the murders away. Why would anyone torture, kill and mutilate defenseless, totally vulnerable Navajos?

A Chicano oil rigger who has lived in Farmington all his life offers an insight:

"The adults drive down the streets with their kids. They see Navajos walking on the sidewalk and they say, 'Goddamn winos, they ought to be put away.' The kid gets to- science." thinking about it, gets loaded some night, spots a drunk Navajo, and says to himself, Farmington murders have attracted little 'Damn him, let's put him away.'

It's not exactly like that for all of Farmington's young people, but it's the simple and relevant truth that historically Farmington's whites have viewed Navajo people as the objects of exploitation and oppression. Establishment whites, including the media, don't take Navajo issues



Mayor Marlo Webb speaking to a rally of Navajo marchers.

Mayor Webb to the City Council: "We're (the white community) the ones who need protection."

"Navajos are murdered and they want protection," Larry Anderson, national treasurer of AIM, angrily retorts.

seriously or permit them much visibility. White workers-bartenders, oil field laborers, motel owner-speak of Navajos as "the walking dead," believe "they got the morals of a mink, can't be trusted." "A stiff Navajo cock," its's said, "has no con-

Despite their potential significance, the attention outside the area so far. Future events may change that.

Police Chief Kerr said he is not afraid that Navajos will be violent, but "I am afraid that some whites may get violent."

On May 19, six young white males, armed with machetes, are reported to have chased a Navajo man. He escaped by defending

himself with barbed wire and fleeing to an Indian home.

On May 23, three white boys opened fire on a Navajo hogan in nearby Bloomfield. The father of the endangered family ran the attackers off with an exchange of gunfire.

More aggressive Navajo demonstrations are planned for the summer. The future of Farmington, it is clear, rests on the prosecution of the alleged murderers.

"If those boys get off," says Wilbur Tsosie, "there is going to be some kind of reaction and it's not going to be calm. I won't say what the reaction will be . . . it's not planned . . . but AIM is ready to come in in full force, and we may have a third Wounded Knee."

demonstrations and a tense ringio. michan controllation which could escalate into a third Wounded Knee.

On Sunday, April 21, the mutilated bodies of Berman Benally, 34, and John Harvey 39, were found eight miles north of Farmington in a deserted, dusty foothill region trequented by local teenagers for parking drinking and partying. The two men were believed to have been-killed early the same day.

A week later the mutilated body of Davis Ignacio, 32, was discovered. It is believed he had died several weeks before the other victims.

Three Farmington teenagers have reportedly confessed to the murders. Howard Bender, 16, and Matthew Clark, 15. have been charged with three counts of murder. Delray Ballinger, 16, has been charged with participation in the murder of Ignacio.

The men were all tortured and murdered while in a state of near unconscious drunkenness Their clothing had been set afire, burning sticks pressed to their bodies and melted plastic from burning cups dramed on their flesh. Their bodies had been mashed by huge rocks.

The murder site of Benally and Harvey is a natural rock amphitheater. In the center of the arena a single scorched tree trunk suggested the source of the fire that ignited the men's clothing and the attackers' burning sticks. Strips of clothing, handfuls of blood-caked dust, smashed and burned bushes were scattered over a 200-yard area.

The surreal scene suggested a wild midnight chase with two drunken Navajo men crawling, running, scrambling to smother the tire on their bodies and their attackers.

Polaroid tear sheet found at the scene identified the place where Herman Barnally was finally killed. The latent negative image showed a naked man, face down in the dust, body and legs uncomfortably twisted, head positioned beside a huge rock which was probably one of the mutilation murder weapons.

Farmington's mayor, Marlo Webb, expressed "shock" at the incidents and

h is a tree lance writer and photograp, or based in Oakland, Calif.



Marches have clogged the main streets of Farmington every Saturday since April 11.

Bob Fitch

downplayed any possible race conflict. "Farmington and its citizens over the years have enjoyed an especially close relationship and friendship with the members of the Navajo Nation."

Wilbur Tsosie, spokesman for the Far-Faint impressions on a discarded mington Intertribal Indian Organization (FIIO), disagrees. In a letter to the mayor, he called the killings "the height of racism, in Farmington ... and not isolated incidents."

> Demonstration marches, numbering from 1,500 to 3,000 people, have clogged Farmington's main streets every Saturday since May 11. In addition, FIIO has confronted the city council with a list of demands including:

- -Open meetings with the council to air all grievances.

hearings on discrimination / exploitation of Gov. Bruce King in Santa Fe. Indians in the area.

- A law enforcement review committee with strong minority membership.
- levels of civil service.
- the jurisdiction of Indians.

program with a predominantly Indian staff.

Mayor Webb says the demands lack charges, are caused by "outside militants," who want to advance their own cause. They want us to react, and we are not an area roughly the size of West Virginia going to react

-Action by the mayor and council demonstrations with intent to close bars,

requesting U.S. Civil Rights Commission interrupt business and carry grievances to

Mayor Webb's enthusiastic characterization of the Anglo Indian relationship as "close" is not borne out by -Integration of Navajo people into all the city's history. Farmington, in fact is a white island (30,000 people, 93.2 per cent -Placement of an Indian center under Caucasian) resting on the edge of the largest Indian reservation on the North -Creation of an alcoholic rehabilitation American continent (130,000 Navaios alone, plus Zuni, Hopi and Utes).

One-half of surrounding San Juan County 'specifics." The demonstrations, he is Navaio Reservation. The total reservation covers the entire "Four Corners" junction of New Mexico, Arizona, Litab and Colorado,

Farmington was founded in the late 19th The mayor and his city council may have century by whites who appropriated To Tah to react. FIIO has announced additional ("place among the waters"), the tertile river (Continued Page

Edward Shelton
Director, Office for Equal Employment Opportunity
Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

On April 3 of this year I wrote your office asking for copies of documents concerning the discrimination complaint and decisions at Sanostee Boarding School near Shiprock, New Mexico. After writing this letter and reviewing my files I discovered an earlier request written almost two years ago to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. As that request had never been acknowledged I again contacted the BIA personnel office. After a delay of several weeks the BIA office replied saying they would not send the documents for your office had already mailed the material. However, it has now been three months since my initial letter of inquiry and I have yet to receive a reply or any documents from you.

I understand that all such documents should be released to me on request. Please send all pertinent information and materials to the above address as soon as possible. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Jean S. Wood

P.S. The volumes specifically requested were those of testimony, the investigator reports, and subsequent reports of administrative actions and meetings.

Edward Shelton
Director, Office for Equal Employment Opportunity
Department of the Interior
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

It is my understanding that your office has copies of the volumes of testimony and subsequent investigator reports related to the Formal Equal Employment Opportunity Complaint filed against the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Sanostee Boarding School, Sanostee, New Mexico by certain staff members of the school, members of the Community School Board, elected officials from the community, and parents. The complaint was first filed on April 23, 1970, with the investigation and subsequent reports continuing at least through the calendar year 1970.

I would appreciate receiving from you information on the contents of these volumes and the possibility of receiving copies of the transcripts as soon as possible. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Jean Stockard Wood NIMH Fellow



United States Department of the Interior

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS WASHINGTON, D.C. 20242

IN REPLY REFER TO:
Personnel Management

MAY 1 5 1972

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Wood Route 1, Box 99-P Harrisburg, Oregon 97446

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Wood:

We received your letter of April 18 concerning the discrimination complaint and the decisions rendered at the Sanostee Boarding School near Shiprock, New Mexico.

The organization representing the complainants was Dinebeiina Nabiilna Be Agaditahe, with offices located at Window Rock, Arizona. Mr. Peter D' Errico represented the organization and was provided copies of all relevant documents including the final decision. The information should be requested from the organization representing you.

The Director, Office for Equal Opportunity, has informed us that he has received the same request from you and has forwarded the pertinent information and documents. Therefore, we do not feel it would be necessary to duplicate their effort.

Sincerely yours,

Chief Personnel Officer

disquite dis maybe went \$ 240 Robert Flaunce. "Internal Colorielism and Chotto revolts," Social seament 10 (Spring, 1964), Ap. Here is another revision of my paper. This is really a"cut and paste" job. After reading it again there seem to be several topics that are only very briefly covered and could be added: 1) A fuller description of dissensions among the Native American fores contributing employees; the "Uncle Toms -- those who felt we shouldn't complain. To b. subversive

The ankinsulmentian tactics we used to combat or get around the harassment of the administrators. This is likely the only place and community members subversive.

The ankinsulmentian tactics we used to combat or get around the harassment of the administrators. This is likely the only place where the teachers actively worked around the control of the administrators. where the teachers actively worked against (likely because they wouldn't get caught.)

work of their left and mentions.

4) Personal and harassment of the administrators. This is likely the only place 7 4) Personal opinions on the place of whites in the movement. Also there needs to be more division into sections and maybe more conceptual clarity with the theoretical terms and interpretations and continuity of the theoretical theme throughout the paper. What do you think? Thanks a lot. II d) went offer film or compl. - kens she of compl. - housement. Jean e) the envertigation p. 46 - more comment on teacher to sailier I. Theor. boses (the g. 6) 2 wit the nav. I reap of the god. At the ine II. The eg. g) enot. and - Levertafter intell you rega a Starten of the bur h) final rewelt b) the locale of sit there. The people med were thea. work. cleaning up c) cortial mechanisms d) popular stopans & policie e) control directed you the community p 17 nagles of the Bureau as a controlling weekensine is all sectors of N. life I Cask upt to potest + the resistance of the authorities a) our attempts

well of joining withercom.

well of Enotenablewer - subj. aspects cont. to process of the complaint - (as out above).

Robert Blaumer. "Internal Colonialism and Chetto Revolts," Social Problems
16 (Spring, 1969), pp.

Indian Education (1969) and Spring and Sprin

and lendesprintion of alsonalous emong the lative therican employees; the "Uncle John -- those who helt we socular't complete.

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-) The anti-animum form tection we used to combat or get around the haresoment of the administrators. This is likely the only place where the teachers actively worked arrainst the administrators.

 (likely because they wouldn't set control.)
 - (1) Personal opinions on the place of whites in the covenent.

also there needs to be some division into sections and maybe more concerned clarity clarity with the theoretical torms and interprotections and continuity of the theoretical theme throughout the paper. That do you think? That is a lot.

A Summer A

MINI JOB JEMS

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. Position opening in the midwest Center, Satellite Pupil Personnel Project, Tunded by the U.S. Office of Education and seeking a Black person interested in providing leadership in the development and implementation of evaluation designes in the area of Pupil Personnel Services. A two year commitment is required. Other information posted.

Write or call DeWayne J. Kurpius or Clifton L. Smith, Dept of Counseling and Guidance, School of Education.

TO: Graduate Students

FROM: Don Van Houten

Quite unexpectedly the department finds it has more money available for summer GTFs than originally announced. We took applications some time ago, but if you would now like to apply, please do so...and post haste! The positions would require at least 6 hours of service (possibly 12 hours if you are willing and we are financially able) and would carry a minimum stipend of \$350 (or \$700 if we required 12 hours of service.)

If you are interested, get in touch with Connie or me immediately.

UNIVERSITY POST DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIP IN SOCIOLOGY, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 1, New Zealand.

NZ \$5500 per annum
Should possess a Ph.D. or equivalent degree, preferably followed by
some research experience.

May do some limited teaching in addition to contributing to the current
research programme in your particular field.

Tenable normally for one year, but with possibility of extension.

Grant toward return fares will be allowed up to NZ \$1000.

APPLICATION DEADLINE July 1, 1972

"Applications for this fellowship are invited from holders of the Ph.D. degree who consider themselves qualified to devote a year's effort to deliberate and scholarly revision of the underlying paradigm of sociology. Qualifications should include not only a strong interest in and knowledge of sociological theory, but acquaintance also with modern biological sciences."

Other information posted on grad board.

Robert Blauner, "Internal Colonialeine & Shetto Revolte,"
Social Problems 16 (Apring, 1969), pp.

Ind. El.

Albert Menmi. The Coloniza & the Colonizal (Orion Press: N.Y., 1965).

Joan Moore, "Coloxialiam: The Case of the Mexican-Omerican," Louis Problems 17 (Apring, 1970),

Phillips selgnick.

break into sections

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only allow; Hose of wh. cell -
eg. Jast alsk. teel, item
lenguage
dress
ecl.
6.5.

IV. Perult of this process
A. as supposedly intended by the good
(maybe quote from complaint)

B. What dappers to ind.

C. What happen on social, cultural level

experience upon her pouents'aditudes it would be impartant to re-text the parents at preferably the end of the 2th of the whole are of the daughter duestrial erg after the first interview. All presents meleding those whose dupter had left the University, should be re-interviewed, for so mentioned in the lay groposal with a complete a survey of quests of doughters as possible can explain differentials in carrier, educational, & familial activities & plans. The proposed analysis will center primariles on the want objection outlined above ulating the Attitude of the parents about their daunter o glans, their capitations for her, their own is a relationships & edlar, & the experiences of sublings to the plane, aspirations, & actions of the spile. In line wi the purposes of the larger study this research is seen as fortesteally contributing sex cale valitations & belowing & the relation of these the title to influence to changing in these alliferde. alla necessary step to the undustanding transtroke of various societal patters

Reacarch Objectives: matthe & father upon the socialization by the parent 2) To examine the relation of parental apprental for and and after some of election of the sound vicated educational uput fits outcome to the astitudes of the parents of any change over time In these assistudes. Lesearch Derign Asparl Det the beginning of the Jight men year at the U. of O. the sil presto will be contactful & anked to participate in the study It that Line interviews ful reach parent will be conducted caustely Decoursed which account of the women o childhood as the feelings about resent plan Tipalle information or the total family content included to make a few powers on the parent formation on tillings in the family content included to make a family content included to make a family content included to make a family included to make a family included to the family included the family in the family

II. Aleing Julian et as social control Will show w, in each of the classical intel. sectors as well as wire the overriding area of norms & value that system of And cd. so perpetuated by the BIA - of to a Desser extent by local school systems - serves to control the Indean children, their provents a the con-A. Family In rex! schools Boarding sekools prod. of so some leaves P.B. deatroys the form rider. The parents not freating we respect doing so in front of the B. Peligin Broader level In d. - welling kits that e.g. of 2 med. were were load. w, h.s. off-res schools persecuting student who wested mentes of NAC C. Economic El oxlefor certain low-level dead-end joles and work for one refor beh. coit get along in shhool O. Political no self good or gret by hido -

dead-end - low qual. so must stay in dul. seh - and advance on get he for ed.

E. Education

Methods III, Spring 1971 Faich

Assignment 4: Rosenberg, The Logic of Survey Analysis, Chapters 5-7, pp. 105-196, and Appendices A and B, pp. 251-271.

Exercise 3:

wildred there

Select any table from The American Almanac and calculate the mode, median and mean of the distribution for the variable represented in the table. Discuss the relative advantages and disadvantages of using each measure of central tendency to represent the "typical value" of the distribution. Similarly, calculate the range, variance, Standard deviation, average deviation, mean deviation, and coefficient of variability for the distribution. Discuss the relative advantages and disadvantages of each as a measure of the distribution's dispersion.

and a fire with the de willy

Irdian Education as Racided Control -

I. Rouse Control.

A. Broader Heoretical context

B. Concept of racial control - def.

- how may be done

II. Islian Elucation

A. Other broad critiques or exam. of

1- Theore theoretical basis

2. their conclusions

3. critique of their methods, theories & conclusions

Methods III, Spring 1971 Faich

Assignment 5: Rosenberg, The Logic of Survey Analysis, Chapters 8-9, pp. 197-250.

Exercise 4:

Golololy Golological alunch

Using the same table in The American Almanac which you used for Exercise 3, calculate the third and fourth moments about the mean, and then compute the measures for the skewness and kurtosis of the distribution. Next, compute z scores for six (6) representative values of the distribution, three (3) above the mean and three (3) below the mean. Finally, on the basis of the various descriptive statistics which you have calculated for this distribution in Exercises 3-4, discuss the extent to which it is, or is not, a normal distribution.

Next meeting: Monday, May 3rd 1:30 pm 72 PLC

Dick Gale and Steve Deutsch on Comparative Research Methodology

Skewness = 3(X-Ma)

Coefficient of variability = 5

1:00 - # Fri. - com. neeting Dave Wellman 3 hrs culit - next term write up stuff possibilities Journalistic report Sheorefilal aralepsis - eoloxialism grassioots movements also a comparative exceede of the Bly. Novements

III. Obviously activities are illegal also fairly well-known (govt. publications)

A. ways may change (weber)

1. from top -have power but vested interests in between knock out good

2. from bottom -- often lack power and if go through channels (required by cs law) hit b.

B. examples of attempts to change through bottom

1. Rosyln -- tell story

pluses: community support

persistence

minuses: no publicity no legal help harassment

economic dependence on system

had to complaint ask for relief from

from oppresors

(note in all cases there usually exists lack of proficiency in inglish, knowledge of regulations, laws, intense isolation)

2. Dennehotso -- attempted community org. w/ sch. foiled by principal

pluses

community and employee motivation

minuses

extreme isolation

lack of good com. channels between schools and com no legal aid

harassment

no publicity

economic dependence

seeking relief from oppressors

3. Many Farms -- teachers

plus: outside support, publicity

minuses: harrassment

compl. to oppressers, vested interestpeople isolation

economic dependence

Note: failure of these attempts only strengthens the status quo and makes the oppressed more so-

also theory with at ch.

I. Intro

A. Trass roots movements-emphasized by Trlich and Silber. object to idea of ease in accomplishing

B. Will discuss gr movements, why some fail and why some succeed. Why:

l. not a well-publicized topic

2. illustrate way use tools of sec. iquiry in everyday life

will call the section of section will action

C. Will not explicitly refer to readings but

1. am building on basis of E. and S.

2. and using basic theme of "omhoff of the importance of power

D. Will

1. give basic background information

2. egs. of failures and then

3. eg of a partially sucessful case

All egs are from same Ind. reservation in SW because

1. a terifficially oppressed area

2. also extremely isolated where such movements are rare and face essentially the same antecedent conditions

3. area with which am familiar -- last year

II. Description of reservation

A. physically illness, health unemployment, literacy

B. Culture, tradtional life strong

C. political, lack of self-determination, explicit attitude to destroy culture for years children in boarding schools, parents little say BIA main governing force

large complicated bureaucratic structure, top-heavy little funds at bottom (no books, paper, pencils)

Harassment ant treatment of people

discrimination in hiring, premotions, training refusing to the kids to hospital

sexual abuse of employees beating, agusing children

egnoring, downgrading culture traditional life Basic problem related to lack of self-determination (note can go into questions on this later

if interested)

IV. Sanostee -- joint com. school action agnst administrator protesting discrimination, lack of school board authority bad administrative practices prime movers: no econ dependence (or didn't care) aware, or determined change should occur legal aid, close to Shiprock close centact between xxixxi employees and school slight publicity encouragement of off-reservation people w/suc. going over BIA's head to D. of I

minuses

harassment, extreme threats economic dependence of many no consistent faxora publicity

Note need to keep momentum moving Major advantage was appealing to EEOP laws on natl level -- note symbathy there, but threw buck back to local level and were again harassed.

1. promises of removing upon harrassment

- 2. when investigation completed and declared guilty 9 (misuse of funds, falsifying payrell and records, abusing employees and students, discrimination , . . .) werexpressed
 - 1. L. premeted
 - 2. people pressured to drop case
 - 3. one complainant fired

Again had to prevail upon people on national level and some type of compromise reached

- 1. baddies transferred (note not removed the N. was)
- 2. Navajo principal
- 3. school board given more power

"eview -- main points factors needed for successful gr move.

- 1. knowledge of laws -- legal aid
- 2. communication -- publicity
- 3. lack of economic dependence
- h. separation of receivers of complaint and oppresers

5. continuel momentum - pressure-support

6. unified front meen of employees +

while suit filed -- not carried out required to sold only be will to soldier when investigation completed and declared

V. The complaint is filed - relief in school, administrators still continuing A. content of compassling until apparently get work from on high that something has when there happened.

A. meetings with peter, school board, Dan all school personnel to explain

B. W. Lopatoch what has happened.
B. Employees -- still some divisions, worry still high. Note that now 1. Law power all the regulations regarding their immunity to prosecution have been read to them but they are still fearful -- still do not stust the government. 2. adme-

C. Administrators- threats are now not as open -- now more t veiled

-- e.g. through Chuck N. about shooting

3. Wh. back. D. Place of white teachers -- note their many possibilities for complaints Juliance to be seen with those associated with the wyte solidification - e.g. Evelyn Bailey, Julie incident about rock throwing -- their almost only anglos so asso. wiht it)

VI. The investigation

A. Request that administrators be removed during the investigation had been assented to by Washington in verbal conversation with Peter earlier. but when investigator came this request was denied after repeated attempts. Note threats had not ceased -- were no longer made in public but were made like to secretarys (e.g. asking if we going to meeting and then saying "You like your job don't you and you know if you go you won't have it long?" --) Despite these instances refused to remove administrators (note could be result of handslapping the commissioner for earlier work.

B. Logistic problems of investigation -- needed to be in two languages need for interpreter -- latter part wanted everyone to write their testimony but this was very difficult for some Consequently feel much testimony was not written down, only gathered arally. Also the investigator did not talk to everyone but left the final gathering up to Dan who was loaded down with

all the other DNA stuff

C. Gathering of evidence - same problems of fear, reluctance continued many talked orally but refused to put anything in writing -- especially anglo teachers -- administrators tended to present a solid front-- continuation of fear and tension -- note investigator had immense problem of distrust of people to overcome

D. Evidence gathered taken to Wn. and suggestions made by investigator to Dept. of Interior. Note that don't aggee with all suggestions and decisions feel some evidence was overlooked and other was never properly gathered -- also administrators outright lied in their reports someof which the investigator caught -- People declared guilty of things like cheating on payroll, abusing employees, not providing trainight, . . .

VII. The beaucratic process at work. - He institutional oppression is much manifest

A. Refusal to handle problems at top level shuttled to area office at Gallup -- remember P.B,'s assessment of Grant Holmes, as bad as rest --

B. Akkemptsxhym6tax Princiapl resignes, guidance super. (the real baddie) promoted to acting xxx prin. -- Gallup tries to talk complainants out of

suit -- into dropping it.

C. All suspricions ealier held were confirmed -- the government was indeed lying -- they weren't protected -- they were all going to loose their jobs (one man, H. Kelleywood) did) -- distrust, fears were again heightened and at this point only four people had the courage (or perhaps the touch of insanity necessary) to continue the fight. (Note changes in legal personnel had occured-

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON . Dome date description of the second of the second

read to take to the control of the c

MEMORANDUM

To: Deans and Department Heads mi of 1844, 1816 at 1844.

From: C/W, Risk-/H- / Allege s sort with costs of sort allege (the diller costs of sort allege (the diller costs of sort allege (the diller costs of sort allege)

Subject: Salary increases for GTF's

I have received several inquiries recently concerning salary increases for the Graduate Teaching Fellows. As you are aware, the GTF's were denied the normal pay increase last fall due to the President's wage-price freeze. When the wage-price freeze was lifted there was some doubt as to the effective date the increase could be applied. The Budget Office then began processing increases using an effective date of November 16 which was the best information they had at that time. During the early part of December information was received which indicated the increase might be backed down to September 16. Because of this ambiguity, further processing of GTF's pay increases stopped. On January 18, a final decision was made that GTF pay increases would be effective at the beginning of Fall term.

The Budget Office is in the process of completing the necessary payroll changes. There was not enough time to submit the necessary payroll changes to the Business Office to have the increases included in the February 1 check. Every effort is being expended to have the increases in the March 1 check.

to Jept. of Interior. Note that don't sures with all surfaces and designed

cought -- People declared with a frince like constant on advicel, a main

CJETTA

Peter had left, and we had gone, being assured by the investigator that the men were guilty and would be removed.)

D. Repeated meetings with the Gallup personnel, the legal aid help, pressure of top and the community people and school employees were held until finally Lockhart was transferred and a Navajo principal was moved in. Three other Imposible main respondents at the school were still there and it was not until the end of the next summer that they were transferred. The acting school super, an anglo, was placed at asst. and James Tom Chee, a Navajo was moved into the super spot. Note that no one was fierd despite the fact that there was emough evidence and suggestions by the investigator to get rid of them .-- Only shifted bad apples around.

VIII. General themes -- conclusions

Objective elements of protest movementsneed legal help -- competent and trusted by people need communication and trust between community and school employees at least some people within the movement need economic independence of the institution which they are fighting must realize the extent of what are fighting, i.e. the extent of the beauraucracy and hit it at the highest possible level. if possible, extensive publicity should be given -- note this was at a minimum at aur school, perhaps because of the isolation and also because of the pervailing political climate.

Fear and distrust built by years and many instances of betrajal will almost build down certainly be present. Thus this must be recognized and attempts to deal distribution with it by patient listening, understanding, and ready availability proper documents must be made -

The administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and in defense will respond to the administration will also reaction with fear and the administration will also reaction with the administration will be administra and have been carried out before. These threats should be expected and though they will undoubtedly cause extensive psychic and socio-emotional trauma should be tried to be dealt with rationally (perhaps not directly with the administrators as this is usually impossible at that point, but among the group of protestors.)

The parties on the outside, in this case the anglo teachers, will also likely react with at least some fear, some because they fear that if the administrators go, they will be next, and others because they are afraid that if they try to help they too will dose their jogs.

Fear, distrust, dissension are the basic subjective reactions

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FRAN POZZUTO

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Entitud Of pression The Anatomy of Protest: The ups and downs in developing a group her please civil rights suit. Seems but with bourseless from mention action of contradictions accomp. son 4 fordoes fear - distust I. Introduction -- what paper will discuss! A briefly describe (just one or two sentences) how paper will discuss offert - Indot process of developing a legal protest suit against an oppressive institution Joppesson from the viewpoint of the oppressed. -- a processual account meant on from the viewpoint of the oppressed. -- a processual account meant or wayther factor designed to illustrate the tensions, dynamics, pitfalls encountered & Review the themes that will is herel throughout the time period involved. ul. to energe throughout the Decount II. Background -- time zero conditions obical structure A. The locale -- and the people -- emphasize isolation, illateracy, traditional ways, two languages, proud beautiful people (at least or especially the older ones), tribal government, chapter house CAC B. The government, the BIA -- schools, administrators, language, employees attitude toward children (e.g. quote from subcommittee report) treatmenat of children, parents, employees. - hist of site - their theatment of people all to people. all trunch with the C. Relation of people and Bia representatives, esp. the school officials. daily interaction of parents and officials, attitudes of administrators C. Ealfrier tries ato file suit, bring amends for wrong doing and results. A. Studened III) The impetus, the beginning of our case RA. Background events -- say Sept. or Aug. to Dec., Jan. especially talk with Mrs. Lope when entire extent of problem was made My more clear (include here threats, general fear of people, actions and attitude complaint B. Trip to agency, hassling in office, Diana and Eddie - CAC firming of plans -- emotional feelings of employees; contrast anglos and Navajos, new employees and those with school C. Reaction of administration -- meetings, threats, individual conferences. Review general themes present up to this point : Employees, those pressing the suit, anxious to try vs. those afraid E. Reach of com. elements of fear, resignation, leading in some casesto rationalization accompanying elements of gossip, exaggeration By administration (note all way to top, Agnes' call from Tucker) same reaction of fear than trheats, cajoling, hidden innuendos same accompanying elements of gossip exaggerationk attacking reputations, . . . from Leccion to purpue to tence of filing IV. The middle weeks during which the case was more completely formulated, legal people worked on putting it together. A. What toppened A. Gathering of material took a great deal of time -- same problem of fear, anxiety, division continued among employees and administrators when delve p continued pattern of hassling, threats, innuendos. The community -- school board -- note their lack of fear in comparison S. Treact, of with the employees, likely because had less to lose -- series of meetings, many community people came -- only few employees came - again a fear and a separation of community from school with exception of only a few empl. anglos-adm. people. elate to pro- in bur. C. felation of com- to Toilool empl - v to adm; course.

Grass Root Movements: Some Failures and a Partial Success (An outline)

Introduction and rationale

1. Is not well-publicised or well-known. - but our likely more runnicous them.
2. May help more successed. Why failures should be discussed.

3. Some sociological understandings about the nature of groups and of such movements may emerge from such a study.

What will be covered in the paper.

1. Basic background information

2. Analysis of possible ways to change.

3. Three examples of failures; positive and negative aspects regarding their attempts.

4. An analysis of a partial success

5. Summary statement of factors contributing to failures and successes.

The background conditions are discussed.

- A. All examples are taken from an Indian reservation in the Southwest United States.
- B. Political and economic conditions on the reservation. Also cultural conditions.
 - 1. The social structural conditions (e.g. unemployment, illness, literacy, bureaucracy)
 - The existential comditions (e.g. attitudes of oppressors, their actions throughout many years)

Attempts to change these conditions

1. From the top by governmental decree

a) may not be sincere attempts to change for good

b) versted interests in bur. knock out good before gets to local level.

2. From the top by community action, by efforts of the oppressed.

a) Historical problems with this method by virtue of lack of money, education, legal channels

b) With legal channels as set up by civil service law must go through the bureaucracy and thus must complain to oppressors.

III. Three attempts are discussed.

A. Roselyn

1. Her story -- attempted rape, to principal with mother or uncle; had to face Lockhart; to agency; thrown back to local level: community backing, large meeting; Lockhart threatening all with firing -- Note: witnesses were available, channels were followed, higher officials were aware of the problem, community support

2. Pluses: community support, persistence

3. Minuses: No publicity, no legal help, harrassment by employers. economic dependence on system; required to ask for relief from oppressors -- all attempts to apply outside pressure or get relief from higher in the bureaucracy were denied.

(Note: in all cases involving the Mantians there usually exists a lack of proficiency in English, of monetary backing, of knowledge of regulations, and intense isolation from urban centers with legal or emotional support.)

B. Dennehotso

1. Community members and school employees attempted to band together to protest school practices (like forbidding speaking Navajo on school grounds, corporal punishment, etc.) -- Attempts foiled by Principal

2. Pluses: community and employee motivation

3. Minuses: extreme isolation, lack of good communication channels between school personnel and community (note were controlled in many instances by the administration) the oppressors), no legal aid, harassment, no publicity, economic dependence on oppressors, seeking relief from oppressors

C. Many Farms

Teachers failed complaint with agency with support of a teacher's union protesting the conditions under which they taught, the treatment of the children, the imadequate supplies, the violation of numerous regulations -- After six weeks agency claimed had never receiv

2. Pluses: Outside support, publicity a formal complaint

- 3. Minuses: harassment by oppressors
 complaining to oppressors, economic dependence on system
 isolation
 apparently little communication, support from the
 community, not a joint effort
- D. Mrs. Carnal and the rock
 - 1. Teacher saw Mrs. Carnal, principal's wife, throw a rock at a kid; wrote to then Secretary of the Interior. The Secretary sent the letter on down through channels to eventually the teacher's immediate supervisor (bypassing the principal) The principal example with the principal and asked him to restate his accusation, and instaed of any investigation being handled, or conducted, the matter died right there.

2. Pluses: Original complaint not sent through channels, i.e. not to oppressors, attempt was made to bypass the bureaucracy

- Minuses: No group effort, complaint was brought down through channels to immediate oppressors, no legal help, economic dependence on system ---
- E. Evelyn Bailey

IV. A partial success

A. Structure of the movement

- 1. A joint community, school board, employee action against administration protesting discrimination, violation of laws, bad administration, cruelty to children. Complaint filed directly with Dept. of Interior under EEOP laws, not civil service laws, Legal Aid Lawyers with previous experience in off-reservation cases helpted.
- 2. Pluses: Several prime movers either did not have economic depend ence on system or were totally prepared to relinquish it; legal aid relatively close (about one hr. away), better contact between community and employees than at Dennehotso (one school employee on CAC committee) Slight publicity, off-reservation Navajos with successes gave encouragement, complaint did not go directly through channels (note that a preliminary attempt tried this route and failed completely)
- 3. Minuses: Marrassment, threats, previous failures at school Economic dependence of many people on system No consistent publicity Reluctance of high level officials to handle the situation
- B. Implications of the reluctance of the high level officials

1. Verbal sympathy of high level officials, but disastrous actions
a) refusal to remove administrators desired a) refusal to remove administrators despite harassment and threats during the investigations contrary to earlier promise

b) No handling of conclusion of case on the national level referred to local level, the oppressors-What happened: Lockhart promoted, complainants pressured to drop case, one complainant fired

c) Only after repeated hassling of higher and lower level officials was some type of compromise reached: baddies transferred, Navajo principal, school board allowed more power

- V. Summary -- factors seemingly needed for some degree of success (at least in temporary relief)
 - A. Knowledge of regulations, laws, legal aid

B. Communicationk publicity

- C. Lack of economic dependence (for at least some complainants) upon the oppressors
- D. Unified front -- in this case union of employees andparents or community

Separation of receivers of complaint and the oppressors

F. Continued momentum, pressure, support (preferably from a well organized group that has had success me a similar endeavor)

III A. O. II are in reports

Where we were what we did -The reservation siz, location, people - where live - land - houses - grazing - health, employment - social people (durking ani.) leide - schools - boarding six sterile notare large school - fence around cultural conflicts faced by keds al willen Fryeson author hobit

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low quality of rebool — low expertations of leaders with

large sixuation Leachen weld worker læge situation BIA its bur stucture how anglos control lives of people. Indeed a ladiens of Inglan fight of people for self-determination briefly on Aanwhat happened there Why system is so insensitive que comparison of Cherence of Ravajo The same route and wi question - of will they follow the same route What will happen den Dance - droug - Battle of Wourded Knee - Dee Brown's book american Nativistic Mounts Berard Baber ASR (Oct. 1941) 663-9 Shoot Dave

Matinata movement (cont.) H. G. Bornett - Indian Shakers ww. Hill - Navojo & Whant Dance 4. see Leena, Wm. Q. ; Vagt, Evon 3. Reader in Comparative Religion (1958) Linton 1 R. "Nativiatio Movements," Q. Q. (in Jessa & Vanft) Jame Mooney - Host Dann Religion + Story Datherst of 1890 - annual Report of the U.S. Bureau of Chrology Vol. XIV. 1892-1893. Eggan, Fred. Soval Onthes of N. a. Tribes (1955)see Philles Mark on Rev avon the Klanath anthony Wallace "Rivitalization Movement,"

2. a. 58 (1958) sp. 264-281 your churcher to woke soul for 4th 45-th per. un. 72 - 10:50

Reading 507 2 hr. credit W.Wellman Spring, 1972

Analysis of grass-roots movements -- oppression in a Native-American Community

- Papers
 2 from outlines made earlier
 1 of a more theoretical type
- II. Read theory relating to minority-group oppression
- III. Sit in on Soc **x 445 wx if permissible and where applicable

Louis J. Knowles + White Roscian - intro

1. Theory shed read 2. Dutley subm.

The Anatomy of Protest: The Ups and Downs in the form but the Development of a Community Protest Introduction -- what will discuss and general themes to watch for

- - Paper will be a processual account of the development of a protest against an oppressive institution by the people within that institution (the oppressed within that institution)
 - B. Major themes that will emerge

1. Oppression within the institution is institutionalized, heightened and reinforced by the bigateratic strucuffe

2. This bureaucratic structure, with its numerous members with vested interests himmediately negate x any good originally intered in various directives

3. Thus though the officials office gave verbal or original assent to a claim their later actions and words were contradictory.

4. The process of the development of the protest and the actions of various people within the social structure cannot be separated from an understanding of their subjective reactions also. These reactions were usually some variant of fear and distrust, take

Crucial to the direction the movement may take prople II. Background conditions where his (exp w + schools)

A. The locale, the people, culture, economic and political condition, local grot ... seldo DIA tribal government

len were present B. The government, the schools, their history of treating the people—

the objective conditions their still the schools.

the objective conditions; their attitudes toward the people, the employees, the parents -- the subjective conditions

That toward par ch.

Charlier attempts of people to complain about wrongs facilities adequate personnel

attempts to ch III. The impetus, the beginning of our case

now forled

A. The local bureaucracy structure and history

Background events (to about Dec., Jan.)

1. The extent of the problem -- gradual realization of this

2. Attitudes of the oppressed -- their fear, distrust of the govt., fear of supervisors

3. Attitudes of the administration -- defensive -- tight controls, continuing threats attempts to keep subordinates in line (maybe gives e.g.'s)

Attitudes of the Anglo teachers -- admittance of problem, but withdrawal, choosing to ignore -- those that don't read this way (perhaps an e.g. here, too)

C. The beginning of the final complaint ("the last straw") to the final complaint ("the last straw")

2. Immediate reactions of N. employees

a) support (e.g. Diana, MrsxxRamman) Peter Blackhorse)

b) fear, yet tacit support (Lopes, Mrs. Bowman)

c) fear, choosing to ignore, some siding with oppressors (Frankl???)

The reactions of the resident Anglos

1. Administrators -- Threats, hassling (give e.g.'s)

2. Teachers -- 2 ways of reacting -- shock, fear

in school) - but prob in delay of heaping momentum - (expected in action) 3. Help of legal advice in providing laws and regulations for employees, which they had not been allowed to see Also place of Ameriad people, those off reservation who had had partial success in a suit The complaint is filed A. Contents of complaint, where went, news filters to local level of bucau Positions at the school; a solidification of stances 1. Complainants -- relieved, but tension high -- threats still present note though have been advised of rights still do not believe govt. will tell truth -- complete distrust pervades some 2. Administrators -- advised to cool it -- threats now become less open, more veiled (e.g. pass through teachers, or quiet comments to secretarys) 3. White teachers -- Note possibilities for complaint and support are numerous -- few take advantage of it -- anxiety about jobs (quote from Bailey) The community -- Note that community's support of suit, esp. the school board's was essential -- Also the communication and hard work fostered by Navajos working at school and in community --Also legal people were greatly trusted by the community (maybe to 10 8) The Investigation Initiah part of investigation -- Wn. breaking promise of removing administrators -- Investigator claiming under Gallup's instructions (www) Effect of confirming again the Employees' fears of reprisal - govt. alic luring B. Problems hampering the investigations 1. Distrust of investigator likely overcome for some people, not for others fear high still 2. Logistic problems 2 languages -- had witnesses write repyots but this was difficult for some -- thus much was not gathered -- Investigator left gathering to DNA they were hampered by lack of staff.

Thus much evidence was likely not gathered.

E. Reaction of the community, the parents -- largely supportive, note less immediate fear (lack of economic dependence)

IV. The Middle weeks: from the decision to pursue the case to the filing

B. The relations at the school during this period - A cruad period

1. Period of intense groping for position -- threats by administration (give eg's of meetings), problem of losing momentum,

Community became more solidified (note contrast to those working

The necessary delays -- why happened

depression .

of the suit

2

- 3. Threats, harrassment of administration continued
- D. Evidence taken to Wn. Investigator declared respondents guilty of things like cheating on payroll, abusing employees, disobeying EEOP laws -- Note several people on Agency staff were also implicated and declared guilty of negligence or wrong doing.
- VII. The Beaureucratic process at work: the institutional oppression is made manifest
 - A. National level refused to handle problems and shuttled them back to the area office (Note P.B.'S assessment of Grant Holmes)
 - 1. Elderly principal and wife retire, Lockhart promoted
 - 2. Gallup office tries to force complainants to drop case
 - 3. Navajo is fixed on trumped up charges
 - B. All suspicions held of govt. earlier were confirmed. Distrust, fear again intense to point that only four N. employees left who could argue in open with oppressors
 - C. Pressure again put on top and from senate (from here and from DNA) and those on local level kept fighting- Finally --
 - 1. Lockhart transferred
 - 2. Navajo principal and superintendent brought it
 - 3. By end of summer all of administrators had been transferred
 - 4. Navajo school board given greater authority
 - D. Note that no basic structural changes were made over all;
 The men were not fired, though legally they should have been, and
 a Navajo was; only temporary, band-aid type patches were made
 in one area-- only a temporary victory
- VII. Review of general themes Summary
 - BA. (Ude D from above)
 - AB. Mapor themes -- use as in I,B but given e.g.'s to support each
 - C. Note that battle has really only begun. The quality of education on the reservation is still pitifully low and as long as people administrators such as those discussed here remain and as long as the government is as unresponsive to the people as this one remains, such problems can only get worse

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P.O. Box 18h Harrisburg, Oregon 97hh6 Oct. 22, 1970

James S. Hena
Asst. to the Commissioner
Bureau of Indian Affairs
EEOP
P.O. Box 2026
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87103

Dear Mr. Hena:

Thank you for your letter of October 13. We are most interested and concerned with the problems at Sanostee Boarding School and hope that a fair and equitable settlement may be made. We understand that copies of all meetings concerning the complaint and decisions on the settlement are available to concerned parties. We would appreciate receiving papers on all meetings and decisions since Oct. 1 as soon as they are available. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Walt and Jean Wood

Rt. 1 Box 99-P Harrisburg, Oregon 97446 April 18, 1972

James S. Hena
Asst. to the Commissioner
Bureau of Indian Affairs
EEOP
P.O. Box 2026
Albuquerqu, New Mexico 87103

Dear Mr. Hena:

In reviewing our files we noted that in a letter to you dated October, 1970, we requested copies of minutes of all meetings concerning the EEOP complaint and decisions of at Sanostee Boarding School. We also understand that copies of the testimony and the investigator reports are available to all concerned parties. As of this date we have not yet received these minutes.) We would appreciate receiving papers on all these meetings and decisions as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Siproch. D.M.

Rt. 1 Box 99-P Harrisburg, Oregon 971416 April 18, 1972

Jemes S. Hena Asst. to the Commissioner Bureau of Indian Affairs ELOP P.O. Box 2026 Albuquerqu, New Mexico 87103

Dear Mr. Hena:

In reviewing our files we noted that in a letter to you dated October, 1970, we requested conies of minutes of all meetings concerning the EEOP complaint and decisions at at Sanostee Boarding School. We also understand that copies of the testimony and the investigator reports are evailable to all concerned parties. As of this date we have not yet received these minutes. We would ampreciate receiving depers on all these meetings end decisions as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Some S



United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

July 19, 1972

Miss Jean S. Wood University of Oregon Department of Sociology College of Liberal Arts Eugene, Oregon 97403

Dear Miss Wood:

Please excuse the delay in sending you the requested material. We are sending you the volumes on the hearing as you requested. If we can be of further assistance let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Albert Brown EEO Specialist

Enclosure

adopting innovations that already have had far-reaching effect, not just across Navajoland's 16 million acres but on other Indian reservations as well:

—Here English is considered a foreign language. It is introduced in gradual stages until it becomes the language of instruction at what in a traditional school would be the end of third grade, when children have a better sense of who they are.

—Only 3% of the 2,500 teachers on the reservation are Navajo, but 59% of Rough Rock's 27 teachers are Navajos and only four are non-Indian. (Non-Navajos are required to attend weekly classes in Navajo, a language so difficult that it proved unbreakable as a code when Navajo Marines used it during World War II to send secret messages throughout the Pacific theater.)

-All 401 students (276 in elementary school, 125 in grades six through 11) are understood to belong to the family, not to the school. Therefore they are free to go home whenever parents want them, not only at vacation time or on weekends.

— Elementary school children are entertained and educated by parents from the community who, on a rotating basis, are employed to tell stories, teach weaving, and add to pupils' sense of security.

—Other community members run the day care center, operate the kitchen, drive school buses, plow and grade the dirt roads, and comfort younger students in the dorms at night. (Even though most students are drawn from a 10-mile radius of the school, about a third of them reside in dormitories because of inadequate roads in the area.)

—Navajo adults study for high school equivalency exams, earn college credits from the University of New Mexico in a variety of academic subjects, and learn subjects as traditional as silversmithing or as modern as electronics (taught in both Navajo and English).

—In contrast to the usual teacher-parent relationship (a 1963 study at Arizona State University's Indian Education Center found that only 15 of 100 reservation teachers had ever visited an Indian home), Rough Rock teachers are required to visit each student's home, preferably at least twice a year.

—And the approximately 1,500 Navajos living in the Rough Rock area are welcomed at any time to eat at the school cafeteria, buy at the food co-op, visit classrooms and dorms, buy or sell at the arts and crafts co-op.

Epitomizing Community Control

In short, Rough Rock school epitomizes community control, it is the Dine Biolta ("Navajo's school") envisioned by its founders. "The Rough Rock school is the most important experiment in the field of Indian education in the 1960s," noted the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education four years

Rough Rock's 'Right to Be Wrong'

By EDWIN MCDOWELL

ROUGH ROCK, Arizona — To appreciate what some educational innovators are doing here in a remote part of the Navajo Reservation, miles from the nearest paved road and more than 100 miles from the nearest sizeable community, it is instructive to look at the experience of another Indian tribe.

In 1821, the illiterate silversmith Sequoyah presented Cherokee tribal officials with an alphabet he invented himself—the only time in history one person is known to have conceived and perfected something as complicated as a syllabary.

Within only a few years the previously illiterate Cherokees were publishing their own bilingual newspaper. They established schools and academies and sent many graduates to Eastern colleges.

The Cherokee population was almost 100% literate in its native language, and Oklahoma Cherokees had a higher English literacy level than the white populations of either Texas or Arkansas.

In 1903 the federal government appointed a superintendent to direct Cherokee education. When Oklahoma became a state four years later the entire Cherokee educational system was abolished.

By 1969, when a U.S. Senate subcommittee got around to compiling statistics, it found that 40% of Cherokee adults were functionally illiterate. The Cherokee public school dropout rate reached as high as 75%. The median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee population was only 5.5. The level of Cherokee education was well below the state average, and below the Oklahoma average for rural residents and nonwhites.

Is it any wonder, then, the Navajos are determined to control their own educational destinies?

A Colossal Failure

"Education for Indians has been a colossal failure because it never related to the Indian people," says Dillon Platero, director of the Navajo-run Rough Rock Demonstration School at the base of Black Mesa mountain in the heart of the reservation. "It failed because we were told to concentrate on what others thought would be best for us and to neglect what we knew instinctively to be of value."

But in several schools scattered across this tast expanse, an area some 475 miles wide and 215 miles deep, Navajos are increasingly controlling their own schools and writing their own educational guidelines, from kindergarten through community college.

Navajos may not have lost faith in the white-run educational system to the extent the Cherokees did. But they appear to be moving steadily in that direction, especially since, in the opinion of Mr. Platero and others, that system simply avoided a deep commitment and responsiveness to the individual Indian and the local Indian community.

That's where Rough Rock Demonstration School comes in.

When it opened in 1966, in a modern Bu-

In view of the performance record of Indian education, experimentation could almost, be considered a last resort.

In 1869, a hopeful Miss Charity Gaston faithfully took up her duties as the first BIA teacher on this reservation. More than a century of government education since has produced exactly one Navajo lawyer, one Navajo doctor, several engineers (including Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald), and four Ph.D.s (one fourth of the entire Indian total).

Navajo youngsters continue to graduate with a high school diploma and little more than a ninth grade education. The Navajo college dropout rate, although better than the overall Indian rate of 97%, still hovers above 90%. Of some 3,050 Navajos assisted by the tribal educational fund through 1968 (tribal scholarships are now reserved for graduate students), only 339 received four-year degrees.

Teachers and officials here say that Indian youngsters, taken from their families as early as age six and sent to face an alien language and culture, are overwhelmed by fright and confusion. Subjected to conflicting values they suffer emotional disorders and alienation. Younger, more militant Indians describe this process as "educational genocide."

The word "genocide" is inappropriate, since it refers to the deliberate physical destruction of racial or cultural groups. But even well-intentioned attempts to assimilate Indians into Middle America through the Anglo educational system clearly have not worked.

The usual pattern is for inadequately prepared Indian graduates to be turned out of school into an urban marketplace where they are unable to compete. After repeated discouragement they return home, only to find their partial vocational and academic skills similarly out of place in the pastoral and agricultural economy of the reservation. Torn between conflicting cultures, often they become psychological misfits in two worlds.

Rough Rock attempts to cushion the impact of this clash of conflicting cultures by instilling a positive sense of identity, by inculcating pride in students' Indian heritage.

Rough Rock does not lack for detractors. BIA officials point out that several of their schools featured bilingual and bicultural education even in the 1930s, but both programs were handicapped by lack of funds. Others insist that most BIA teachers, as dedicated, motivated, and competent as any others, have always tried to instill pride and Indian values in students.

Still others insist that the oft-criticized BIA boarding school system (about 20,000 of the 35,000 Indian pupils in boarding school dormitories are Navajo) was and still is a necessary evil on a reservation that even today has few all-weather roads.

Finally, they say that although just before his death in 1893 the Navajo warrior Manuelito counseled his grandson about the value of formal education, it wasn't until the last decade or so that parents willingly turned their children over to a system they regarded as harmful to Navajo aspirations and beliefs.

Actually, a growing number of BIA schools do offer bilingual and bicultural education. They are increasingly experimental and less insistent upon divesting Indians of their heritage.

Indeed, this very point was underscored several years ago by investigators from the University of Chicago who criticized Rough Rock, and in turn were promptly denounced by Indian and Anglo educators for failing to understand and appreciate the concept of community control.

However that may be, several Indian college students who are practice-teaching here question whether Rough Rock graduates, products of ungraded classes and a less pressurized approach to learning, will be able to compete successfully in college once they leave here.

Tradition and Performance

Rough Rock officials say they are not worried, particularly in view of the failure of traditional Navajo education over the past 100 years. Furthermore, they say studies show that Indians who are most bound by tradition perform better academically than acculturated Indians.

Coincidentally, in the same year Rough Rock school opened its doors, the Coleman Report found that Indian 12th graders have the poorest self-concept of all minority groups tested. If informal conversations count for anything, there is little hint of that here. In often startling contrast to students at other Indian schools, many Rough Rock youngsters are animated, voluble the playful.

"Rough Rock's greatest success is its ability to remove the feeling of discomfort," explained Steve Wallace, an Anglo who with his Navajo wife has taught here since the school began. "The kids have a sense of identity, they read and write both languages and communicate in those languages without fear of ridicule. They're less afraid of outsiders. And it's fear—fear of ridicule, fear of being rejected—that partly accounts for Wounded Knee."

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He might have added that fear-fear of continuing educational failure—also accounts for the existence of Rough Rock, a school that cares about academic achievement but for now is more interested in turning out youngsters who will be able to cope with the outside world after graduation.

Mr. McDowell is a member of the Journal's editorial page staff.

IV. Sanostee -- joint com. school action agnst administrator protesting discrimination, lack of school board authority bad administrative practices prime movers: no econ dependence (or didn't care) aware, or determined change should occur legal aid, close to Shiprock close contact between swhark employees and school slight publicity encouragement of off-reservation people w/suc. going over BIA's head to D. of I

minuses

harassment, extreme threats economic dependence of many no consistent faxex publicity

Note need to keep momentum moving Major advantage was appealing to EEOP laws on natl level -- note sympathy there, but threw buck back to local level and were again harassed.

1. promises of removing upon harrassment

- 2. when investigation completed and declared guilty 9 (misuse of funds, falsifying payrell and records, abusing employees and students, discrimination , . . .) warexpressed
 - 1. L. premeted
 - 2. people pressured to drop case
 - 3. one complainant fired

Again had to prevail upon people on national level and some type of compromise reached

- 1. baddies transferred (note not removed the N. was)
- 2. Navaje principal
- 3. school board given more power

"eview -- main points factors needed for successful gr move.

- 1. knowledge of laws -- legal aid
- 2. communication -- publicity
- 3. lack of economic dependence
- 4. separation of receivers of complaint and oppresers

5. continued momentum - pressure-support.

6. unified front union of employees &

premises of removing upon harrassment
while suit filed -- not carried out required to soullest
when investigation completed and declared