

THE EDUCATION OF AMERICAN INDIANS

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Professor Havighurst is an eminent educationist with a particular interest in ethnic minorities. He is currently visiting Australia, making a comparative study of American Indians, Maoris and Aborigines. Many of you will be familiar with his writings expounding his concept of developmental tasks. We are indeed fortunate to receive an article for this first issue from Professor Havighurst. His recent publication on the national study of American Indian Education "To Live on This Earth" is reviewed in the Book Review section of this journal.

During the three centuries from 1600 to 1900 Great Britain was an emigrant country, more than other European countries, such as France, Holland, Sweden, Spain and Portugal, which were trading rather than colonizing nations. The British Isles sent out men and women to take up land and to build colonies.

The chief targets of British settlement were North America and Australasia, and the lands they occupied proved to be valuable beyond expectation both as living space and as storehouses of natural wealth. Here they came into abrasive contact with the natives in Australia, New Zealand and North America, who were quite different from each other in many ways, but were similar to each other in comparison to the European emigrants, in that they were:

- stable in population numbers;
- adapted to and dependent on the land and climate, living "close to nature";
- folk or simple societies.

The Anglo-Saxon emigrants to these lands contrasted with the natives in that they were:

- intent upon improving their standard of living through applying their knowledge and skills to the natural wealth of the new land;
- convinced that they were God's chosen people to inherit the new lands;
- willing to instruct and to Christianize the natives, if this

could be done without interfering with their own social and economic goals.

PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT

The social historians who have studied the interaction of the native and the Anglo-Saxon cultures have seen a rather similar sequence of phases, or stages, in all three cases. The sequence is:

1. *Initial exploratory contacts, following by settlement and colonization.* Anglo-Saxons take land for their own use. Land purchases are made under ambiguous conditions. If treaties are drawn up, these are not clear. The natives do not intend to give up as much as is taken. Newcomers take as much as they can get. Natives take on some of the material culture of the newcomers. Missionary activity established.
2. *Conflict, use of force, or actual warfare.* Natives are defeated, and newcomers take what they want.
3. *Native Retirement and Withdrawal.* Often under compulsion, natives withdraw to territory (reservations) where they believe they will not be disturbed. Native population decreases, due to disease, war and hardship.
4. *Limited Positive Adaptation.* Natives attempt to learn the ways of the dominant culture and to participate in it. Dominant culture is benevolent. Assimilation of natives into dominant culture a favoured goal.
5. *Rapid increase of native population forces new economic adjustments:* urbanization of natives, migration to metropolitan centres. Phase 4 solution recognized as inadequate. Conflicts arise. Protest movements develop.
6. *Movement for Preservation of Culture, through cultural pluralism.* Led by some young natives, aided by some anthropologists.

The last three phases involve education as an instrument for helping the native people to adapt to the forces that impinge on them, and possibly to work out a reasonably good solution for themselves.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN EXPERIENCE

In this paper we shall summarize the experience of North American Indians as they met the waves of immigration first from England and later from the expanding colonies of the Atlantic seaboard. Most of our attention will be given to the part played by education in the past hundred years, in the Indian experience.

At the beginning of the 16th. century, there were several hundred tribal groups in what is now the United States and Canada, speaking some 200 different languages. The Indian population of that day is estimated at approximately 2 million. They lived in close interaction with nature, and therefore they could be placed in categories related to the soil and the climate where they lived. Some were agriculturists, some made their living from the buffalo herds that roamed the Great Plains. Some lived by fishing for salmon and hunting for seals on the Northwest Coast and in Alaska. A number of small tribes lived by gathering wild fruit, seeds, and hunting small animals in Southern California.

Settlement and Conflict. The first Anglo-Saxon settlers arrived on the Atlantic Coast in what is now New England and Virginia in the early years of the 17th. century, and came on in larger and larger numbers until by 1713, the white population of the colonies was 360,000, and 1.5 million by 1754. The newcomers, with their Anglo-Saxon concept of land ownership, made land purchases and treaties with the Indians, though they "bought" the land by goods and gadgets of European culture which had little lasting value. Soon the Indians felt the pressure of the settlers, and began to resist. Conflict broke out, and several full-fledged military campaigns were carried on by the colonial militia against Indian war bands. These were to continue from 1670 to 1880, as the frontier moved westward, pressing against Indian resistance.

Indian Retreat and Withdrawal. Eventually, each of the Indian tribes accepted an area which became known as a "reservation" which was guaranteed by the U.S. Government to be theirs forever, and exempt from taxation. Generally, the reservation was set up through a treaty of the government with the leaders of a tribe, and there were 389 treaties made or remade between 1778 and 1871, when the United States Congress acted to stop making treaties with Indians. During this period, the Indians ceded over a billion acres of land to the U.S. Government. There are, today, approximately 150 Indian reservations, small and large. The small ones provide only space for housing and gardening, but not for farming or hunting. A number of medium-sized ones provide some forest land, valuable for timber, or some lake and coast land which is useful for fishing. A few reservations provide land enough for most of the residents to grow crops or raise sheep or cattle. Largest is the Navaho reservation, in the southwestern states of Arizona and New Mexico, where the majority of the 130,000 Navaho people live, raise sheep and some crops, and carry on their valuable crafts of rug-weaving and silver jewellery making.

Limited Positive Adaptation. The federal government worked out a policy for Indians beginning about 1870, when the warfare between Indians and whites came to an end. The government took the role of guardian, recognized the tribes' ownership of land and tried to teach the adults better farming and cattle and sheep-growing practices.

at the same time putting Indian children in boarding schools where they were expected to learn white American culture. It was hoped the Indians would soon become like other Americans and would become assimilated into the surrounding society, especially through efforts of educators and missionaries.

This policy did not work out as the government planned. Only a minority of Indian people accepted the ways of white society. Most held to Indian ways and to tribal identifications. The people changed, by being confined to reservations and ruled by agents of the federal government; and their life was no longer Indian in the traditional sense. But neither was their life American. Indians became marked by poverty, due mainly to the fact that they were generally given poor land for reservations. If the land was good for agriculture, they were given little of it.

American Indians today are one of the disadvantaged minority groups. On the average, they are low in income, educational level, and occupational prestige, and their children are low on school achievement.

EDUCATION POLICY BEFORE 1925

Because official government policy after 1870 was for the assimilation of Indians into the dominant white culture, the education provided Indian children was planned accordingly. Whether the schools were run by the federal government or by the churches and missionaries, stress was on teaching Indian children to be like white children.

Consequently, the schools at first were almost entirely boarding schools, with the Indian child living away from his family and tribe. The Carlisle Indian School was founded in 1878 at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to serve children from midwestern and western tribes. The curriculum was designed to teach Indian children and youth to speak, read and write English, to live like white people, and to practise a trade. Part of the educational program was the "*outing system*", which provided an Indian youth a three-year apprenticeship with a white family after completion of school training. The government paid fifty dollars a year for his medical care and clothing; his labour in the home or on the farm was expected to compensate for room and board.

Other boarding schools and some day schools patterned after Carlisle were established in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Idaho, Oregon and the Indian Territory (later Oklahoma). Twelve government-operated boarding schools were established between 1889 and 1892. In 1970, the federal government maintained 77 boarding schools.

There was a good deal of opposition to the boarding school as the principal institution for educating Indian children, opposition based partly on the resistance of many Indian parents to having their

children taken away from the family. Accordingly, a number of federally operated day schools were opened on the reservations. At the same time, many Indian children were encouraged to attend local public schools on or near the reservations. By 1920, more Indian pupils were in local public schools than in federal schools, and by 1928, the number of federal schools was fewer than in 1910.

Following World War I, federal appropriations for Indian education were increased, efforts were made to increase the proportions of Indian children attending school, and secondary school work was made more available at schools near reservations.

INDIAN EDUCATION 1925-1965

The New Deal of the 1930s saw a change in Indian education toward relating schools more closely to Indian life. The new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, exerted a decisive influence for the eleven years of his service from 1934 to 1945. The earlier date saw passage of the Indian Reorganization Act, which gave more power and more responsibility for self-government to Indian Tribal Councils. A large number of small day schools were built by the federal government on reservations, and the native language was used in the earlier grades of the elementary school. More emphasis was placed on learning about native Indian culture and history, and on arts and crafts.

World War II had a great influence on Indian life. Some 25,000 Indians served in the armed forces. Older Indian men and women left reservations to take jobs in war industries or other jobs in towns and cities. The end of the war brought Indians back to the reservation with more knowledge of outside affairs and more interest in education, especially high school and vocational education.

At this time the Navaho tribe, containing about one-fifth of all Indians and previously the most isolated tribe, moved explicitly to get literacy training for its teenage youth, many of whom had never been to school, or had attended only for brief periods. The Intermountain Boarding School, established in a former general military hospital at Brigham City, Utah, has been in use ever since to serve Navaho youth. They also may go to boarding schools at Albuquerque, Phoenix, Sherman Institute (Riverside, California), and many schools on the reservation.

Even while secondary education was being promoted in the 1950s, through expansion of boarding schools, the federal government's policy on Indian affairs went through a major change beginning in 1951. At this time, a policy was adopted to curtail activities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and eventually to terminate federal protection of Indians. This included termination of reservations by dividing the land and other resources among members of the tribe. This policy

was aimed at "*assimilating*" Indians to the white society.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools were closed down on a number of reservations or turned over to state and local public school districts. Indian pupils went increasingly to local public schools. Frequently, they had the experience of being in all-Indian elementary schools, then moving to mixed schools after the sixth or eighth grades. In the latter schools, they were often in the minority.

During the 1950s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs established an Employment Assistance Program for members of Indian tribes. Individuals were subsidized for vocational, apprenticeship and on-the-job training, and were assisted in finding jobs through relocation centres in several areas. This program has continued and expanded. Between 1960 and 1968, some 38,000 young Indian men and women received vocational training and employment assistance.

The policy of terminating federal assistance to Indian tribes was cancelled in the late 1950s. However, the goal of encouraging Indian people to participate more successfully in the economic and educational life of the white society has been continued and strengthened, although now with more attention to desires of the Indian people. The period from 1962 to 1968 saw the financing of Community Action Projects by the Office of Economic Opportunity. These brought young Indian leaders into responsible positions on the reservations and provided better housing, recreational facilities, and educational improvements.

POPULATION GROWTH AND URBANIZATION OF INDIANS

Indians have grown rapidly in numbers in recent decades, due partly to the modern health services which have been brought to most of the Indian communities. Their numbers more than doubled between 1950 and 1970, and they are the fastest-growing ethnic group in the country. American Indians numbered 793,000 in 1970, plus some 35,000 Eskimos living in Alaska, who receive similar government attention and assistance.

Indians have streamed to the cities since 1960. In the census of 1970, it was noted that 32% of Indians were living in metropolitan areas (cities of 50,000 or more in their surrounding counties). There were 40 cities with populations of 1,000 or more Indians, totalling 120,000. In 1960, 30% of Indians were living in "*urban*" places of 2,500 or over. In 1970, this percentage was 45. But city life does not appear to be socially healthy for the majority of Indian immigrants. The National Study of American Indian Education reported in 1972 on Indians in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Baltimore. While a small group were living as middle-class people, and a somewhat larger group were living as stable working-class members, more than half were living in poverty, with irregular

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employment, and much juvenile delinquency and truancy from school.

This is a dilemma both for leaders of the urban Indians, and for educators and city officials and employers. Indians continue to push to the cities, but are not well satisfied with what they find in the cities; yet many are not willing to move back to the reservations. The school system and other institutions of the dominant culture are not working effectively, with most Indian youth, though the educators and others try hard to do a good job.

Men and women migrated especially to the industrial cities of the following states, all of which more than doubled their Indian population between 1960 and 1970: California, Texas, Illinois, Ohio, Colorado, Pennsylvania, Florida, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, Virginia, Massachusetts and Maryland.

The largest urban Indian population concentration is in the Los Angeles area, where about 35,000 Indians are living and about 1,500 children and youth are in school. Next largest is probably Minneapolis, with approximately 12,000 Indians and 1,700 Indian school pupils. There are some 18,000 Indians in the San Francisco Bay area, and about 10,000 each in Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Phoenix and Chicago.

In nearly all of these cities, a large proportion consists of young men and women who were sent at BIA expense to be trained for an occupation and then were assisted to find work. The BIA maintains Relocation Centres for occupational training and job placement in Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Jose. In recent years five to seven thousand Indians have been trained or helped to find employment each year. Employment assistance offices are maintained at eleven centres.

Since so many are young men and women who have come to the cities in recent years, they do not yet have many school-age children. In most cities, the ratio of children to adults is quite small. This is noticeable in the data cited above on school-age youth in Los Angeles. Contrasting with Los Angeles is Minneapolis, where Indian families have been established longer and therefore have relatively more school children. In another ten years, Indian school-age population in the cities will probably be several times as large as it is today.

FINANCING THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS

Since the Indian tribes were made wards of the federal government reservations were not subject to taxation, and they were given very limited services by the states where they were located. Educational costs had to be paid by the federal government, except for those Indians who moved to towns and cities where they paid rent and property taxes just like other citizens.

Congress passed the Johnson-O'Malley Act in 1934. It authorized federal funds to states where there were numbers of Indian families living away from reservations. This law was supplemented by Public Laws 874 and 815 in 1950 to provide federal funds for construction of school facilities attended by substantial numbers of Indian pupils, and to provide funds to local school districts in lieu of taxes where federal ownership of land reduced the support from property tax.

In principle, the federal government has provided financially for the education of children whose parents do not pay local or state property taxes. However, it is claimed that these laws are not administered in some states to provide benefits intended for Indians. The Johnson-O'Malley Act is broad enough to allow Congress to appropriate money to states with non-reservation Indian populations to help meet a variety of needs, such as transportation, hot lunches, medical attention, special counselling, or remedial teaching.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION FOR INDIANS

In 1970, there were about 240,000 Indian children between ages five and seventeen. The largest number of these children are distributed in seven western states (Alaska, Arizona, California, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and South Dakota) and in North Carolina.

Table 1. shows the distribution of Indian pupils aged six to eighteen, among various types of schools according to the BIA school census of 1967-1968. This shows that about 90% of the six to eighteen age group were enrolled in school. Local public schools account for about 74%, federal (BIA) schools about 21%, and mission and other private schools about 5%.

TABLE 1.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF INDIAN CHILDREN AND YOUTH (1970)

Age 6-17 inclusive

In BIA operated schools*	51,000
In public schools where their attendance is financed by the federal government	100,000
In public schools financed by state and local school districts	40,000
In mission or other private schools	9,000
Not in school	<u>20,000</u>
Total	<u>220,000</u>

**Operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.*

The BIA operated 226 schools in 17 states in 1969; 77 of these were boarding schools with a total of 35,000 pupils. Another 15,000 pupils were in BIA day schools. The nineteen off-reservation boarding schools enrolled 12,000 pupils, mainly at the high school level. There were 22,600 pupils in on-reservation boarding schools, 18,500 of them being Navaho. Approximately 8,000 pupils under age ten were attending and living in BIA boarding schools, almost all of them Navahos.

The boarding school enrollment in BIA high schools doubled between 1959 and 1967, due partly to increased numbers of Indian youth and partly to the fact that more Indian youth were staying in school to age sixteen or eighteen.

CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The principal problem, as seen by most observers, is that Indian pupils fall well below the national averages, as a group, on standardized tests of school achievement. This has been observed for a long time, as long as school tests have been given in Indian schools. For example, a nationwide testing program carried on by the BIA in 1951-1954 showed Indian school children to be below national norms after the fourth grade. Similar findings were reported by Coleman (1966) in the national study of Equality of Educational Opportunity. He found his national sample of Indian students to average 1.8 years behind white students of non-metropolitan areas in reading and mathematics when in the sixth grade, and 2.9 years behind when in the twelfth grade. Furthermore, at least half of Indian pupils are a year or more over the normal age for their grade.

This low school achievement is *not* because Indian children are less intelligent than white children. Several studies based on intelligence tests that do not require reading ability show Indian children to be at or slightly above the level of white children. For example, on the Goodenough Draw-a-Man Intelligence Test, a test of mental alertness that does not require language facility, Indian children show about the same level of achievement as white children. The 1,700 Indian children who took this test in 1969 under the auspices of the National Study of American Indian Education showed an average IQ of 101.5, slightly superior to the average of white children.

On the Grace Arthur Performance Test of Intelligence, a battery of non-verbal tests, in a study made in 1942, a representative sample of Indian pupils from six tribes showed an average IQ score of 100.2. As part of the latter study, a group of thirty Sioux pupils on the Pine Ridge Reservation showed an average IQ score of 102.8, but the same group, tested a year later with the Kuhlmann-Anderson, a verbal test requiring reading ability, showed an average IQ score of 82.5

The problem of Indian education has a good deal in common with the problems of education of other economically disadvantaged minorities. Many Indian children live in homes and communities where the cultural expectations are different and discontinuous from the expectation held by school teachers and school authorities. The average Indian family teaches its children many valuable attitudes and skills, but it is not effective in teaching them the skills of school-learning. However, a minority of Indian children do perform very well in school.

SECONDARY SCHOOL GRADUATION AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The Indian population has been improving its educational status very rapidly since about 1950. This shows in the increased proportion of Indian youth attending high school and graduating from high school. Two studies of progression through school, both undertaken in 1968, showed that about 55% of Indian youth who had been eighth-graders in 1962 had graduated from high school. At that time, about 73% of white students were finishing high school. When one remembers that most Indian families are economically poor, and that children of poor families are less likely to complete high school than children of well-to-do families, the record of Indian students seems quite good.

Also, an increasing proportion of Indian youth are entering University and finishing a four-year curriculum. This proportion probably multiplied eightfold between 1960 and 1970. It is estimated that approximately 3,000 students entered universities in 1970 and that about one-fourth of this number will graduate from a four-year degree program. The number of Indian youth reaching age 18 in a given year at present is about 18,000. This means that 17% of the age-cohort are continuing their education beyond high school, compared with about 38% of the age-group of all American youth, and that 4% are graduating from a four-year course, compared with about 22% of the total American age-group.

This is a remarkably good record, compared with the youth of other low-income groups, including low-income whites. One reason for the relatively good record of Indian youth is that scholarship funds are widely available. Many Indian tribes have placed some of their money in scholarship funds. Also, the BIA has substantial scholarship money. In 1969 BIA scholarships were granted to 3,432 Indian students; the average grant amounted to \$868.

Among post-secondary school students, the ratio between those going to university and those going to technical-vocational institutions that require high school graduation for entrance is about 3 to 4. That is, 42% are attending university and taking academic courses, while the other 58% are taking vocational-technical courses which require from one to three years of training. About one thousand of this latter group of students are in Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas. A small but growing number are post-secondary students at

the Institute of American Indian Arts at Santa Fe. The ratio of men to women among post-secondary students is approximately 55 to 45.

TEACHERS FOR INDIAN PUPILS

Since the majority of Indian pupils attend public schools, they have the same teachers that other pupils have. These are probably a cross-section of teachers in small cities and rural parts of the country west of the Mississippi, and a similar cross-section of teachers in the twenty or more big cities that have relatively large Indian populations.

However, schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs have about 1,800 teachers who passed a federal civil service examination and were assigned to BIA schools. The BIA made a study of its teachers in 1968 from which the following facts are drawn. There were 1,772 teachers, 61% women. Among the teachers, 15% were Indian. Salaries in 1968 ranged from \$6,176 to \$12,119, depending on training, standing in college class and teaching experience. These teachers are on duty for twelve months, with the three summer months taken up with in-service education, student home visits, preparation for the following year, and vacation. Employment in Alaska is accompanied by a 25% cost of living supplement.

Indian teachers tend to stay longer in service than non-Indians. It is likely that substantially more Indians will seek teaching jobs, both in BIA schools and local public schools, as their numbers of college graduates increase.

Of school administrators in BIA schools, 28% are Indian.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN EDUCATION - CURRENT SITUATION

Beginning in 1967, a special sub-committee of the U.S. Senate studied Indian education, and a report was issued in November 1969. Chaired first by Senator Robert Kennedy and then by Senator Edward Kennedy, this committee published seven volumes of testimony and documents dealing with the education of Indians, most of it bearing on BIA schools. As the title of the committee's report indicates (*Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge*), the committee's conclusions are critical of BIA education program and policy.

The main recommendation of the committee is for greater self-government by Indians in their educational affairs, from the local community to the Washington office of the BIA. More Indians should be placed in positions of responsibility.

No doubt this will take place. More Indians will direct educational policy from BIA offices. There will be more local school boards and advisory committees, and they will have more authority and

power. Already, the BIA has contracted with a few local Indian groups to give them control over use of BIA funds and over the appointment of teachers. Furthermore, directors of BIA schools have been instructed by the BIA to work for creation of local advisory school boards and to listen to them.

Also, there are a growing number of Indian members on local public school boards in those states such as South Dakota, North Carolina, Montana, Washington and California where most Indian youth attend public schools. There is no doubt the Indian people will become more fully represented on the boards which govern the schools.

PAN-INDIANISM

The National Congress of American Indians gives political expression to pan-Indianism. Annual ceremonies conducted by one or another tribal group are attracting Indians from diverse tribes. These trends probably indicate an Indian desire for group identity and prestige more than a desire to form a political party.

The leaders of pan-Indianism tend to be younger people, while established tribal chairmen and tribal council members tend to be more tribe-centred and somewhat distrustful of programs that are not tribe-based. Furthermore, the appeal of pan-Indianism is strongest in the cities, where intertribal contacts are maximized.

Probably the majority of Indian leaders favour an emphasis on educational and economic improvement tribe by tribe and reservation by reservation, with increasing Indian representation and participation in the Bureau of Indian Affairs both in Washington and in the area headquarters.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE FOR INDIANS

As Indians gain greater control over the programs and policies of schools their children attend, they will face more directly the basic problem of education for a minority subculture in the dominant urban industrial society. They will have to decide how far the schools should push Indian youth toward assimilation into the dominant culture, or the "*mainstream*", as it is often called. They will have to decide how native languages should be treated in schools and how much attention should be given to the history and culture of Indians and of the local tribe.

The policy of the federal government and of state and local school districts will be to maintain schools which encourage freedom of choice for Indians. That is, Indian tribes and Indian individuals will be encouraged to make the decisions that determine their futures, supported somewhat better than in the past by the wider society in which they live.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR INDIAN PUPILS

Since the school achievement tests show that Indian pupils are especially weak in reading, and in using the English language, there have recently been several procedures developed especially to help Indian children. The emphasis is on learning to read and speak English readily and with competence. There are three programs: bilingual education, English as a second language and remedial reading. These are now seen as having value or promise in the order in which they have been named, and will be described in that order.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (*Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968*) authorized federal government funding of bilingual education programs for pupils of low-income families who have limited English-speaking ability. Normally, instruction is conducted both in the mother tongue and English in all subjects. Study of the history and culture of the minority group is encouraged. For this program Congress appropriated \$25 million to be used in 1970-71.

One version of bilingual education is TESL (*Teaching English as a Second Language*). This is sometimes called the audio-lingual or aural-oral method. The pupil is taught to *speak* English directly, not through reading. Thus children who have not learned to read in any language may be taught to speak English and then later to read it, as they also learn to read their mother language. The first emphasis is on building a vocabulary that is adequate for the age level of the pupil, but without emphasis on formal grammar.

Bilingual education may be carried on for any age, but generally it is started in the primary grades, so that the child is not forced to speak English, but can start school with his mother tongue. A survey by the Commission on Civil Rights of bilingual education in the Southwest showed about ten times as many elementary school pupils in such programs as there were secondary school pupils.

An important objective of a bilingual program is to help the pupil develop positive feelings about himself, his culture, his language and his personal worth as an individual in addition to developing his skills in the school subjects.

Bilingual education programs have had their principal use with Spanish-American pupils, but they are catching on with some schools where Indian children of a single tribe are present in substantial numbers. The program could hardly work in schools with Indian children of several tribes, or in cities where Indians of a variety of tribes have migrated.

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5. Parents in this type of community are apparently far more interested in the education of their children than many would suspect or accept.
6. Many parents have shown a reticence to visit the school previously, possibly because they have not been really sure of it; the school has not been perceived as a part of their community. In a group, and with assistants present, they will visit the school quite readily and frequently.

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ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

ESL, (*not TESL*) is a program designed to teach the English language, while most of the instruction in the class is given in the home language of the pupils. English is taught to English-speaking students. The advantage of this program is that the skills of reading and the other school subjects can be taught in the native language, without forcing the child to try to learn those skills in a strange language. Also, this is not a cultural program. It does not make use of the cultural heritage of the minority group. The Commission on Civil Rights found that in the Southwest, in 1969, some 5% of Chicano (*Mexican-American*) pupils were receiving some type of ESL instruction, more than twice the proportion receiving bilingual education.

REMEDIAL READING

Remedial reading is a long-established procedure used with pupils who are far below average in their reading skills. It pays no attention to the home language of the pupil, and is generally used in all kinds of schools. The Commission on Civil Rights found that 10% of Chicano students, both elementary and secondary school levels, were getting remedial reading instruction.

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Editor: In the next issue I would like to focus special attention on the various attempts that are being made in Australia to increase communication between home and school. Contributions on this topic, which should reach me by July 20th., would be very welcome.

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