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TRIBAL COLLEGES

A Special Report on
Native American Higher Education

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CHAPTER I:

To be entered.

CHAPTER II: A HISTORY OF MIS-EDUCATION

HA
~~For over 350 years, America has sought to educate the~~
 Indians. From the first settlement in Virginia, Indians ~~have~~ ^{here}
~~been recruited and encouraged~~ to participate in formal
 learning. The goals, however, were ^{war} ~~not~~ ^{less} focused on advancement of
 the student, ^{ad. more} ~~but~~ on assimilation and control. ← (43)

In 1619, at the first Assembly held in James City, Virginia,
 "workman of all sorts," were urged to contribute their skills
 "for the erecting of [a] university and college." ~~Although~~ ^{Virginia}
~~the~~ ^{fragile} settlement was ^{young} and only tenuously attached to the
 Atlantic coastline, ^{at yet} still The East India School ~~was~~
 1621 and, ^{me} included among the student body, ~~was~~ a group of Indian
 children from the local tribe.

FA Religion was central to this early effort. While the
 school's charter called for the education of Indian boys "in the
 first elements of literature, "missionary work was a more urgent
 motivation. It was hoped that Indian students, while in school
 would embrace the Christian faith and then carry on "the work of
 conversion" after graduation.

A commentator of the time ^{put the purpose this way:} ~~described quite candidly~~ the goals
 "It would be proper to draw the best disposed among the Indians
 to converse and labor with our people for a convenient reward
 that they might not only learn a civil way of life, but be
 brought to a knowledge of religion and become instruments in the
 conversion of their countrymen." ~~But~~ ^{the} hopes were soon dashed ^{Lenora}
 when, in 1622, the superintendent of the East India school and

some of its residents were killed during an Indian uprising and the fledgling college closed. ^{q*} Still, commitment Indian education persisted in the new world. Harvard College, founded in 1636, listed among its goals ~~was~~ "the Education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and Goodness."

(Fletcher, P. -) To achieve this by objective, ^{Annals} a special college within-a-college was ~~created~~ for Native students and a building large enough for twenty pupils was constructed. (Fletcher, Crum, Personal Communication) However, The response was disappointing. ~~Even~~ ^{next} with this special attention, few Indian children ~~enrolled~~ in Harvard ~~College~~ and even fewer graduated. Illness, death, and the rigorous curriculum, with its emphasis on Latin and the Western classics, weeded out all but the healthiest and most determined Indian scholars. ~~A contemporary during Harvard's first years described the roadblocks:~~ "For several of the said youth died, after they had been sundry years at learning, and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning, after they were almost ready for the college. And some returned to live among their countrymen. . . ." (p.54)

^{How the roadblocks at Harvard were described:}
~~Dartmouth's~~ ^{Calby} ~~foundings~~ also was inspired by the urge to educate and Christianize the Indians. ~~And~~ accordingly to its charter, the College of William and Mary was ~~given the task~~ "to teach the Indian boys to read and write, and vulgar arithmetic And especially he is to teach them thoroughly the catechism and the principles of the Christian religion." (Fletcher, P. 35)

By ~~the start of~~ the Revolutionary War the American colonies had spent over 150 years trying, ~~without success~~, to incorporate the Native population into the transplanted European education system. ^{But} Despite ~~repeated and occasionally~~ ^{This} sustained efforts, there ~~had been~~ ^{were} few positive results. ~~Indeed~~, college officials were ~~continuously~~ frustrated by the lack of enthusiasm for Western-style learning ~~among the Indians~~ and by the early part of the eighteenth century, documents soberly describe the efforts of same institution to actually by children for instruction.

(Fletcher, p. 35) For the English settlers, education was a priority of the new world. Through its influence, this

A mysterious and threatening territory would be tamed and the natives Christianized. In this view, the Indians--not the

~~colleges~~--were expected to adapt and be changed. If native scholars could not meet the standards of European ~~higher~~ education, it was their failing, not the institutions.

^{Thus} At the time of American independence, ~~then~~, the verdict of failure had already been passed. Many ~~whites~~ ^{new settlers} dismissed Indians ~~as~~ being unwilling--or unable--to accommodate to white society.

With cultural diversity not an option, ~~European settlers~~ ^{the new immigrants} judged the Indians by ~~own~~ ^{important} standards and looked on with pity or contempt

when the natives failed to embrace Western culture. While there was broad acceptance of the ~~inherently~~ ^{agreement that} equality Indians ~~as human~~ ^{are inherently equal} beings, there was ~~no such charity toward~~ ^{non-tolerant, scornful rejection} their values, beliefs,

~~and way of life.~~ (Prucha, pp. 6-8)

^{per enlightened} Thomas Jefferson ~~perhaps most clearly~~ reflected the mood of the time when he declared in 1785 "the Indian to be in body and

rather abstract freedom

mind equal to the white man". (Forbes, p. 19) Yet sometime later in conversation with Indian groups he was equally adamant in his promotion of European culture. "We shall with great pleasure," he proposed, "see your people become disposed to cultivate the earth, to raise herds of useful animals and to spin and weave, for the food and clothing. These resources are certain, they will never disappoint you, while those of hunting may fail, and expose your women and children to the miseries of hunger and cold. We will with pleasure furnish you with implements of the most necessary arts, and with persons who may instruct [you] how to make and use them". (Prucha, p. 12)

True while who responded eagerly Native Americans who were willing
 Some Indians were open to such offers, eager to learn the trades that offered parity with the increasingly dominant white population. Among many ~~Native American leaders~~, however, there was ~~also~~ the fear that when their own values and cultural needs were not acknowledged, the transition would result in failure, not success.

In 1794, Benjamin Franklin recorded one Indian leader's analysis of western education's poor performance among his people. His insights--a response to an offer to educate the children of his tribe--summarized what many white educators would not realize or accept for another century or more.

"But you, who are wise, must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of Education happen not be the same with yours. We have had some Experience of it; Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the

College of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every mean of living in the Woods, unable to bear either Cold or Hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin, take a Deer, or kill an Enemy, spoke our Language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for Hunter, Warriors, not Counselors, they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less oblig'd by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take great Care of the Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them." (Fuchs, p. 3)

As the nation pushed west, ~~the United States confronted~~ ^{Amexia} white man's ~~ways continuously~~ ^{was completely} new Indian groups, first to be subdued and then educated white man's ways. Military leaders, and civilians who followed in the wake of conquest, ~~were often in~~ ^{after spoke} agreement ~~on the poor of the Indian civilization they encountered~~ ^{& disappointing of what they saw} and during this era, ~~even compliments sounded more like~~ insults. Visiting a group of Apaches in 1856, a traveler named Frederick Olmsted write . "Here, was nothing but the most miserable squalor, foul obscenity, and disgusting brutishness, if there be excepted the occasional evidence of a sly and impish keenness. We could not find even one man of dignity" (Forbes, pp. 16 - 17)

Harsh judgments about Indian intelligence were common as the forces of the enlightenment gave way to contempt. Charles Maclaren, a fellow of the Royal society of Edinburgh, reported in

1875, that American Indians "are not only adverse to the restraints of education but are for the most part incapable of a continued process of reasoning on abstract subjects. Their inventive and imitative faculties appear to be of very humble capacity, not have they the smallest taste for the arts and sciences" (Forbes, 17).

Not everyone shared these views, ~~of course~~. One commentator familiar with several tribes was unrestrained in his praise of Indian culture. "[They display, " he argued, "as great energy of mental powers judgment and perceptions are clear and quick, and their arguments ingenious and cogant." But, such voices were muted, drowned out by the persistent down by the claim that Indians were intellectually inferior physically a treat. Thus, the goals of education, were to assimilate--and time.

During the 1850s ~~in~~ a series of treaties were signed with western tribes. The immediate goal was for white settlers ^{to} ~~gain~~ control of ~~ever increasing~~ ^{the} amounts of land. But each documents ^{also} contained provisions intended not only to subdue the Indians, but also to transform their cultures. Grants were often provided through these treaties for promotion of education and the artifacts of white civilization: mills, blacksmith shops, and other trades. Likewise, land parceled into farm-sized plots not only reduced the amount of Indian-controlled land, but also--according to the thinking of the day--promoted and agrarian lifestyle.

But, few of ~~the~~ education commitments were fulfilled. ~~Some~~ ^{schools} were built but they were small, scattered, rarely lasted

for long. And with the erratic public efforts the responsibility for most formal education of the Indians shifted to missionary groups.

As the ~~frontier~~ ^{frontier & further} was pushed further west and the Indians were driven at a ~~comfortable distance~~ from population centers, a more benevolent attitude took root ~~in America~~. With the abuses of government administration and the decline of Indian tribal society, calls for complete integration could be of the Indians in American culture could be heard. Believing that Native Americans could best be served through absorption into the white world, schools were founded to provide the necessary bridge. Old attitudes, especially attitudes about communal land, were to be abandoned by the young, this could best be accomplished in off-reservation boarding schools where the pull of parents would not be so strongly felt. (Szasz, p. 2)

Richard Henry Pratt, was a Champion at this philosophy of assimilation. An Army captain, Pratt was among the few who believed the American Indian could benefit from formal education. ← Granted use of an old army barracks in Pennsylvania by congress, Pratt, In 1879, founded the Carlisle Indian School. there he gathered together 200 Indian children and young adults from different western tribes for an academic as well as social education. In this strict military environment, a rigid daily schedule was followed, with equal emphasis placed on mental and physical labor. The goal, according to Elaine Eastman, a sympathetic contemporary biographer, was "all-around preparation for life." (p. 85)

Advocating the Indians complete submersion in White culture, every effort was made ^{at} it Carlisle to separate students from their own heritage, even their language. Use of English was mandatory at all times. Violators were punished. "Pratt would accept no compromise as regard this obvious fundamental" his biographer wrote. (Eastman, p. 85) Traditional Indians dress was, not acceptable and long hair on men was cut. Any evidence of continued attachment by school to their own cultures was viewed by administrators as an act of defiance.

Religion continued to be a powerful force, as well Continued Eastman: "Character-building through work and other wholesome disciplines was reinforced by simple, nonsectarian religious teaching, the girls in small groups by members of the school faculty, the boys dispatched on Sunday mornings to different churches in town for wider experience." (Eastman, p. 85)

Carlisle Indian School and similar boarding schools were viewed by their advocates as institutions of hope. Amid white ignorance and fear leaders at the growing number of boarding schools--twenty-five by the turn of the century argued that Native Americans deserved academic opportunity and could succeed, even excel, if motivated. With kind but firm guidance, Pratt believed "the mantle of citizenship will fit and sit comfortable upon [the American Indian]." (Eastman, p. 90)

It was , for that era, in enlightened vision. But within a few decades of Carlisle's founding, the failure of assimilation's goals were increasingly clear. Here, as elsewhere, living conditions and the quality of education were often very poor.

Discipline could be very harsh and with limited federal funding, much of each student's day was occupied with manual labor. Pratt justified the work as character-building, but in 1915 Indian Affairs Commissioner Cato Sells admitted that the schools "could not possibly be maintained on the amounts appropriated by Congress" without the free labor of their students. ("Tentative Course of Study." (p.5)

A similar philosophy was followed by the many missionary schools. One girl, a student at a Catholic mission school in western Montana during this era, recalled the structured daily routine: "With breakfast over, the long line of girls marched to the recreation room. From here each departed to perform her daily task. This duty was called "our charge." Depending on our age, it could be dusting the schoolrooms, or tearfully trying to build the fire with green cottonwood. There were long, cold corridors to sweep; wide, winding stairways to polish; parlors to arrange and a recreation room to put in order . . . These and many other undertakings were accomplished before the school bell rang at nine o'clock." (Patterson, pp. 90-91) In the afternoon, classes were followed by more work and the impression given is of a school more concerned with its own hygienic self-preservation than education. At this and other schools, the drop-out rate remained high. And for the minority that did graduate, there was little chance for advancement either on or off reservation.

Indian ^{the} education of ~~that day~~ ^{Sells} stressed basic work skills, and and in the academic curriculum students' unique values and heritage were rarely mentioned. In 1915 a proposed curriculum

for all government-run Indian schools, there was time allotted for English, arithmetic, geology, hygiene, and even breathing exercises, but only one reference was made to Native American culture. In the introduction to the syllabus it was suggested that "Indian methods of hand weaving" might be incorporated into art lessons.

Among the suggested reading list, in the official course of study, there were such Western classics as "Little Red Riding Hood," "The Three Bears," "Peter Rabbit," and "The Hare and the Tortoise." A full complement of Mother Goose rhymes were also recommended. Missing was any mention of the rich tradition of story-telling that has been central to Native American culture.

The history curriculum of that day is seen more revealing. Beginning with Columbus' discovery in 1492, the focus remained solely on the development of European culture and settlement. Wars and territorial expansion were discussed in great detail, but no mention was made of its impact on the Indian population.

Such courses of study did not merge by accident. Thomas Morgan, commissioner of Indian affairs during the late 1800s, argued strongly that educators should instill patriotism in their Native American pupils. In classes, young Indian teachers should "carefully avoid any unnecessary references to the fact that they are Indians." (Prucha, p. 257-259)

But, while now minimally prepared for life in the Anglo world, Indians passing through these schools often found that they no longer were considered a part of their tribal culture. many had paid a price when they returned home, there were few

jobs for them since most graduates were trained for work not available on reservations. After one hundred years, the complaints recorded by Benjamin Franklin remained unsolved.

While schooling effects largely failed, Anglo culture continued to be critical of Native Americans who demonstrated their "Indianness." To live among whites, Indians were expected to become white. In an uncompromising society, former students were forced to fully embrace either their Indian heritage--and completely renounce their schooling--or their adopted European life, ^{or} deny ^{of} their own culture.

For the Indian student, then, both government and mission schools were a failure. Frequently, these institution offered little more than marginal training in skills that were often not even useful on the reservations. More devastation, ^{ed} many students were forced into cultural no-man's-land. Not allowed to divide their loyalties, many remained torn between two worlds, deeply suffering from the schism. (Szasz, p.10)

The failures of government national policy--both educational and economic--had a profound impact on all of Indian society. "At the beginning of the twentieth century," writes historian Margaret Szasz, "the status of the Indian was not only bleak, it was hovering on the edge of disaster." Loss of land and attempts at assimilation was demonstrating, she believed, their "ability to damage if not destroy a majority of the Indian people."

Unskilled and powerless, Native Americans fell into a pattern of dependency. Government agents, who had moved Indians to arid tracts of land and offered inappropriate training, would

return years later to berate their charges for becoming despondent and dependent on government rations. They were puzzled but unwilling to see their own policies. Instead of promoting self-sufficiency, they created in fact, seemingly unbreakable patterns of deep reliance and despair. Self-sufficiency was the intended goal of education, but, quite the opposite was accomplished. According to Francis Paul Prucha, a scholar of Indian policy, "[the old was destroyed, but the new was not fully accepted, leaving many Indians in a kind of limbo and fostering the spirit of dependency." (Prucha, p.51) During the first two decades of this century, ~~deteriorated further and, in the 1920s,~~ as the government's policies seemed to reach lowest depths of hypocrisy in inaction, a movement for fundamental reform took root. The strongest attack came in 1928 with the release of the Meriam Report. Sponsored by the Brookings Institution, it took a comprehensive look at the status of Indians in American society and confirmed the emerging consensus that conditions had deteriorated horribly.

Two days after the report's release, the New York Times editorially agreed with the document's central argument, lamenting that "in short . . . our relation with the Indians during the last few decades have been characterized by good intentions without a sympathetic understanding of the Indian's needs, and that we have done little of a practical nature to help them adapt themselves to the conditions which they have to face." (NOT, May 23, 1928, p.34)

In education, the Meriam Report focused on government-run boarding schools. Directed by W. Carson Ryan, the report's chapters on education offered detailed evidence of mismanagement and physical abuse at government-run schools. Children, it found, were at times provided a diet that guaranteed only slow starvation. Military order, harsh discipline, and poorly trained teachers were also criticized. Although boarding schools were *the* only education *for* about one-quarter of the total Indian student population at the time, the report focused on these institutions as symbols of government's failure and fundamental changes were proposed on how Native American children were to be taught.

Looking at what was actually being taught, the report made two fundamental charges. Refuting what had been until then *the* conventional wisdom in Native American education, *Ryan* charged, first, that schools *were* not providing skills relevant to Indians. Curriculums, he argued, were *to* uniform, stressed only white culture, and ignored the many cultural differences found between tribes.

Until then, the dominant belief was that local culture was irrelevant since assimilation was the ultimate goal of education. Ryan argued, however, that this view was, at best, poor education technique. "Indian tribes and individuals vary so greatly," he argued, "that standard content and method of education would be worse than futile." (Szasz, p. 23)

The report also attacked the school's emphasis on vocational training. It found that such specialized training rather than providing opportunities often closed doors. Not only were many

of the trades offered in areas with little chance for employment, but its detachment from Indian culture left students isolated from their home and heritage. Recommendations for the addition of Indian culture in the curriculums would, the report's authors believed, reduce this unnecessary separation.

The Meriam Report had instant impact on Indian policy and the nation's view of Native Americans. Six months after its release, the New York Times summarized the new mood. "Is it time to consider a question of principle," the editorial began. "Is it right to continue the policy of trying to de-Indianize the Indians and make white men out of them?" ("The right to be an Indian," NOT, Dec. 2, III, 4, 1928)

By the early 1930s, results--although modest--were visible. Five years after the report's release, twelve boarding schools had closed or changed to day schools. Progressive programs encouraging Indians to teach native arts were included in some schools. (Szasz, p.)

Critics charged, however, that the government was moving too slow. And following the education of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, the pace increased. John Collier, an energetic reformer, was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, at the next dozen years brought the most sweeping changes ever felt in Indian education policy. A scholar of Indian culture and advocate of community-based education, he was among the first in Washington to base policies on Indian society, not on what white's wanted Indians to become. Collier focused first on redefining the federal government's relationship with Native Americans. Arguing that "

Indian societies, whether ancient, regenerated or created a new, must be given status, responsibility and power." (Collier, p._) In response to this new policy, the Indian Reorganization Act was passed by congress. In 1934, Designed to reverse the devastation of misdirected policy, the new legislation focused, as Collier wished, on safeguarding Native American sovereignty. Among the four key provisions in the bill were commitments to Indian self-government and, with this, development of an Indian civil service.

Again, education was considered crucial, but this time the focus was redirected. Trained not just to earn a living, he hoped Indians could now be given the skills to lead as well. No longer viewed as inevitable subordinates in white society, Indians were to be offered the education needed to both sustain their traditional culture and negotiate increasingly complex government-Indian relationships. "The grant of freedom," he argued, "must be more . . . than a remission of enslavement." (Collier, p. 155)

During the decade, more community schools were opened and these became the focus of the Bureau's new philosophy. No longer institutions of uniform indoctrination, these institutions became centers for community service, offering much more than the three R's. In arid regions, drinking water and bath houses were accessible to all. Repair shops available for adult use and patronage of the libraries were encouraged. In all schools, curricula became more flexible, and courses in Indian culture were introduced.

In-service training for bureau teachers ^{was} ~~were~~ also offered during this period. Although many educators had worked with Indian children for years, there was ignorance of the culture, and many instructors, ^{and} had never, in fact, set foot on a reservation. (Szasz, p. 82) Summer terms offered teachers the opportunity to learn about Indian culture ^{and} consider ways to be more responsive to students' needs.

There was also a short-lived program to train Indians working as apprentices, ^{the project} to be instructors. Innovative for its time, ^{it was}, however, cancelled during World War II after having trained only fifty Native American instructors. It was a time of experimentation. Still, time ^{was} ~~was~~ restricted. As the decade of the 1930s ended, important changes were made, but, in the end, many fundamental issues went unsolved. The Depression still limited the money available for innovative programs, and World War II slowed most of the progressive moves.

While it was now recognized, ^{for} for example, that Indian's should help direct their education, there was little progress in increasing the number of Native American educators and policy makers. Efforts that were made--such as the apprentice Indian teacher project, ^{for} were viewed as isolated programs, not a comprehensive strategy ^{for} the nation.

Similarly, while instruction in Native arts and heritage was added, ^{to} The school climate remained alien for most students. Bureau of Indian Affairs ^A was ^{schools were} still unable to reassure young Indians that it was acceptable to learn about their roots. Even the enlightened schools could not, according

to historian Margaret Szasz, "begin to solve the problems of adjustment for a disoriented Indian child. A course in silverwork or in Indian history did not answer the child's question: Who am I?" (Szasz, p.78)

Thus, ^oThe child in boarding schools during the decade of the 1930 had to grapple with the bits and pieces of Indian culture that might be included in his curriculum, interspersed with the primary coursework. The curriculum had improved, but often it lacked the cohesiveness that might have given the child the security that comes from simply knowing who one is. (p.80)

Throughout this period of transition, the Indian voice was still rarely heard. Policies in government, on the reservations, and in the schools was largely controlled by white administrators. And even those advocating reform apparently failed to see the irony in having outsiders continue to control programs which sought Indian self-determination.

Still, new understanding was achieved. It was realized that the Native American experience--their unique values and heritage--could not be discarded in the pursuit of complete assimilation. But even ^othese policies had left only self-doubt and poverty in Indian communities. Disaffected and powerless, there was only fragmented ties to the past and little opportunity for the future.

For decades, the disappearance of Indian culture had been seen as inevitable. With this accepted as fact, it seemed more human to make the transition as quick and painless as possible. But by the early years of this century, after three hundred years

of contact with white culture, the prediction was at last accepted as false and the results of the failed policies recognized.

With this understanding emerged a new set of policies based on the acceptance of cultural variation and Native American self-government. Specific programs in education did not fully meet the needs of Indian society or fully accept Indians and Policy-making partners, but it was the beginning of a new era. The impact of Collier's vision and Roosevelt's Indian New Deal is still felt today.

Reformist energy was lost, however, as World War II shifted the nation's attention. Programs were cut and funding was reduced. Reflecting a manpower shortage throughout the country, the Indian Service suffered from a loss of both teachers and students as both went to work elsewhere or fight.

Postwar years saw the development of two new divergent trends. Assimilation theory briefly returned to favor while the Indians themselves were increasingly focused on participation in government policy-making, self-determination, and education.

Collier's resignation in 1945 marked the end of energetic reform and allowed for the Eisenhower administration's short-lived rival of nineteenth century policies. In the 1950s, the federal government was again arguing that assimilation through vocational training was the most helpful route, and thousands of reservation-based Indians were encouraged to relocate in targeted urban areas--such as Denver and Oakland--for training and the start of a new life.

The effort to end the government's relationship with reservations--also gained favor. For those advocating this dramatic policy reversal, it was believed reservation society was hindering assimilation and acceptance into the dominant society. As in the past, concern for the supportive influence of traditional culture was subordinated to the faith in complete integration.

The curriculum during the fifties and sixties still showed sensitivity to Native American beliefs, but schools goals remained uncompromisingly focused on one way integration. In 1952, the Commissioner in the Bureau of Indian Affairs continued to insist that the ultimate objective of Indian education was "complete integration in the American way of life."

Others in government echoed this belief. Hildegard Thompson, head of the Bureau's education division from--to--wrote frequently on the role of Indian Service teachers and provided suggestions for instructors in the field. In one narrative, she offered evidence of her faith in a paternalistic ideal.

The teacher, Thompson wrote, "lives a satisfying life among her Indian neighbors. She holds them in high respect and in turn is respected by them . . . She explains the complexities of a modern world to them. She stands as a helper between the uneducated and the literate world with which they must deal. She patiently explains the complexities of modern world to them. She stands as a helper between the uneducated and the literate world with which they must deal. She patiently explains to non-educated parents the importance of education to their children.

She insists that they keep their children in school." (Indian Education, Sept. 15, 1954, p. 2)

But, this time, the Indians themselves were no longer willing to accept a passive role. Increasingly, they demanded to be heard. And with a growing understanding of how government works and holding increasingly sophisticated views of education, many tribes began to voice their own ideas.

Assimilation arguments now confronted persistent opposition from Indian groups, organized and independent equipped to present views. By the end of the 1960s, the government, pressed by increasingly sophisticated Native American organizations, backed down. In 1968, President Richard Nixon finally recognized that the "right of self-determination of the Indian people will be respected and their participation in planning their own destiny will actively be encouraged." (Prucha, p.83)

Nixon was carefully, However, like each succeeding administration, to separate themselves from termination policies. Accepting the belief of continuing government ties. The goal of many Indian groups was only that it would be a relationship among equals.

But in this increasingly complex era with new responsibilities, the restrictions of limited education was of growing concern. Given the task to work with the government, to run their own programs, and take-over institutions once run by nonIndians, the demand for highly trained tribal members grew quickly. Illiteracy could no longer be tolerated and vocational training could not run a tribe. There was now, more than ever

before, an urgent need for administrators, managers, educators, and policy-makers.

In this environment, the first tribally-controlled college was founded on the Navajo Reservation in 1969. Twenty years later, the number has grown to twenty-one. In addition, Haskell Indian Junior college, a government-run institution, should be included among this group as an innovative institution with a largely Native American staff and administration.

Together, these colleges stand out as the most significant and most successful development in Native American education in America's history. They are providing what no other program offered by white-controlled institutions has: a quality education that provides opportunities for advancement within the still important context of Native American culture and values.

Native American society today accepts that they do not live in isolation. Recognizing new responsibilities and unwilling to be led by the government, many tribes want the skills and expertise needed to determine their own futures. Tribal colleges are, then, not a retreat from the dominant white society, but a route to equality and greater interaction.

Yet, unlike nearly all earlier attempts at Indian education, tribal colleges argue that there is still a place for traditional culture. Rather than being a disruptive influence, these institutions have demonstrated eloquently that it is instead a supportive and nurturing influence.

Firmly rooted in their own heritage, they are able to participate in the complex modern world around them. In this,

tribal colleges are "cultural translators," according to a counselor at one Indian college. "Many students need to learn how to fit into the twentieth century and still be a Chippeq," he said. (Pike, personal communication)

Nineteenth century educators were critical of former students who, as they said at the time, "returned to the blanket." These people did not consider this was not always a deliberate act of defiance, but a search for the support that own cultural frame of reference could provide.

Education is inevitably cut from the fabric of culture. For white students, schools and colleges reinforced their beliefs; institutions were all part of the blanket of their institutions were all part of the blanket of their culture. But for Indian students, it was, at best, a disorienting experience. Education for them has few connections to their past or future. Failure for these students was all but inevitable.

This reality is evident through time and is still visible today. Despite repeated attempts in many different institutions, graduation from college remained a largely unobtainable goal. Death and desertion was rampant at institutions in colonial America. Later, few colleges made serious efforts to provide higher education to Native Americans. Even today, with more money available and greater institutional interest, between 75 and 90 percent of Indians who enter a nonIndian college will eventually drop-out.

While American education policy towards Indians has matured considerably since the first students were enrolled at Jamestown, it was not until Indians themselves became participants in their future that true advancement and integration emerged. Tribal colleges are a major part of this trend and their future success will, in a very real way, determine the continued emergence of a dynamic and self-sustaining Indian population.

CHAPTER III

INDIAN COLLEGES TODAY: REVERENCE AND RENEWAL

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United States Indian policy was, ~~for much of the nation's~~ history, founded on two false assumptions. First, it was believed that native Americans could be ~~separated~~ ^{removed} from their own culture without harm. ^{Indians} It was often argued that, for their own good, Indians must, ~~in fact~~, be separated from traditional values and beliefs. Second, it was widely, accepted that the dominant society--the American government and its institutions--could unilaterally impose this separation. These assumptions

~~Judgments~~ about how the nations should deal with "the Indian problem" produced policies of forced assimilation and paternalistic control--and education was seen as the basic instrument of change.

But after decades of misdirected effort, it is now acknowledged, ^{by} in both Indian^s and white ^{society}, ^{just} efforts to ~~enrich~~ ~~and~~ renew tribal life, ~~that~~ cannot and should not be externally imposed. Attempts at assimilation did not bring ~~about~~ the ~~expected~~ social transformation ^{that} ~~that~~ some believed could happen in a generation. Instead, they brought a tragic disruption of Native American life. ^{col generations w/ the growth of misanthropy +}

~~But~~ ^{even} when federal Indian policy was well-intentioned, successful programs were rare. Ignorant of Indian cultures and values, government officials could not respond to Native American interests. Thomas Jefferson, for example, imaged Indians as

tragic
humor
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gentlemen farmers while President Eisenhower encouraged programs that promoted their participation in blue-collar labor. Neither offer was accepted by Native Americans who had no tradition of agriculture and no urge to become mechanics.

~~The last twenty years have demonstrated~~ ^{world} what should have been self evident all along. Change can occur in Indian society when it is self-directed. After World War II, and especially since the 1960s, an era of Indian self-determination has emerged. ^{and this study has} There is, today, a new mood of opportunity and hope on many reservations. Tribal leaders assert priorities of their own, and ^e though economic development, cultural integrity, and self directed education, American Indian communities are combining the values of two worlds: Indian and Anglo. They are declaring that Indian society cannot retreat from the dominant culture, but that it also should not ignore traditions and values that have sustained Indian ³ ~~cultures~~ ^{com+less} for generations.

The emerging consensus is that you can be a lawyer and dance a pow-wow, that cultural adaptation and change can take place if it is not forced and if there is a free interplay of ideas between cultures," said researcher Jon Reyhner. Advocating self-determination in Indian education, he wrote that "Indian education must be . . . synthesis of the congruent strengths of the dominant and tribal cultures rather than a process of erasure of the Indian culture and the transference of American culture, warts and all." (Reyhner, JAIE, 1981, p.22)

^{re} This policy of self-directed ^{cultural} reverence and renewal is increasingly a part of Native American society--and Indian-

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controlled colleges are ~~a~~ central to this trend. ^{AS} ~~And~~ community-based institutions, they play a role in all areas of tribal society. But for their potential to be fully understood, they must be seen in context, ~~viewed~~ ^X as part of a larger movement in American Indian society, ~~one that stresses self-reliance and renewal.~~

Speaking for the Crow nation in eastern Montana, but reflecting the attitude throughout much of Indian country, one influential tribal member put the issue pointedly: "We cannot rely upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs to run our future for us," he said. "We cannot rely upon . . . the people of Billings of the people of Wyoming and we certainly cannot rely upon the state of Montana for this self-government. We have to rely upon ourselves for self-government. If we can do that, I believe we have taken many steps back in time when the Crows were a great nation." (Old Horn, LBH Site Report)

The chief of the Cherokee Nation, Wilma Mankiller, also linked the future with the past when she said, "There was a time when tribes had an awful lot of international integrity and controlled their own destiny," she said in a 1986 interview. "We've got to figure out ways to rebuild ourselves as a group of people, and starting at the community level makes the most sense." (Interview, US News, February 17, 1986)

There is, in short, a movement among Native Americans that is the most sweeping since Indian initiative of the Roosevelt administration. ^{ITS a movement that} ~~More important, it promises to be the most~~ resilient because it is self-directed. For the first time since

becoming wards of the state 150 years ago, American Indians are building the institution and developing the skills ^{needed} to control their own lives--a strategy that can outlast Washington's shifting political winds.

The impact of this movement is not just philosophical--the highly publicized claim of legal right. The influence is moving inward, to the quality of life on the reservation, providing tangible impact on the lives of Indian people. ^{and} Native American-controlled projects, education in industry for educational institutions offering hope. Tribal colleges have emerged--along with a network of community-based programs--provide skills, jobs, better health and greater pride. They are not being offered a gift but are instead taking leadership themselves.

← The rediscovery of native culture has, quite appropriately, become a crucial part of this new movement. Anglo leaders of the past saw traditional society as an annoying block to the changes they advocated, but today most leaders both within and outside of Indian society recognize that, in fact, the reverse is true. Not a hindrance, it has instead become a vehicle to changes that stresses its role as a supportive and nurturing force.

. In much of white society, Indian culture means little more than childhood images of feathered Indians on the warpath. Native Americans were seen as people of the past that were identified by the artifacts they left. Even in Indian country today--the vast empty expanses of America's West where many reservations are found--these images are exploited for the tourist trade.

Near the sprawling Navajo reservation in Arizona, Interstate highway exits are lined with teepee-shaped gift shops selling Indian-style trinkets. Few visitors seem to care that Navajos never lived in teepees or that most products are not made by Indians.

Near the Rosebud Sioux reservation in South Dakota, a motel's billboard featured an Indian silhouette. "Make a Reservation," it urged tired travelers. At the nearby Rosebud Sioux community, some observe sadly that few whites recognize a true Indian or care to understand the culture.)

"Every summer we get hundreds of people on the reservation and they are really disappointed because I don't have my feathers on, I don't ride my spotted horse, I don't live in a teepee," said Albert White Hat, a teacher at that reservation's college. "Some visitors literally walk past us because they didn't see those things."

Reservations, like communities elsewhere, have changed. Artifacts of Indian life a century ago are no longer commonly seen. Today on the Rosebud Reservation and elsewhere, most Pintos and Broncos are cars and tribal members dress more like cowboys, not Indians. Nearly all residents live in government-built frame houses, not traditional shelters and those not on welfare work as secretaries, lawyers, nurses, teachers, and government administrators. Buffalo hunts are gone, although several reservations now breed small herds in captivity.

But beyond the physical artifacts, culture is the bond of shared values and heritage that unite and sustain communities,

and increasingly Native Americans are learning this lesson of self-identity. There is a true renaissance of traditional culture and its values. Continued White Hat: "We're trying to bring a positive image back. We're telling the young people that they can be proud of who they are and what they are. They don't necessarily have to wear a feather to be an Indian, but what is inside--how they look at themselves--is what's important. You know, traditions can be carried on whether you wear blue jeans or traditional costumes. Those can still be kept."

On the Turtle Mountain Reservation near the Canadian border in North Dakota, tribal members have built a series of traditional houses, ceremonial buildings and sweat lodges once used by the region's different tribes. Set in a forested region near a lake, it has become a small tourist attraction, but has also worked to unite the Native community and generate greater pride in their heritage.

On the Crow reservation--now surrounding the battlefield where General Custer was defeated--nearly all tribal members are skilled in their own language and about 87 percent speak it as their first language. Also, traditional spiritual ceremonies and arts, while not universally practiced, remain fully integrated in the society. Traditional sweat lodges sit in the backyards of many otherwise American-style reservation homes.

In western Montana, the Salish and Kootenai tribes of the united Flathead Indian Reservation have each formed their own "culture committees" in the mid 1970s. Worried that old values were not being sustained and angered by what they saw as the

insensitivity of white anthropologists, the tribes started their own program to record and promote Indian culture.

With their own buildings and trained staff, projects focus on the recording of oral histories, stories, and traditional beliefs of tribal elders for preservation and local distribution. Cultural events are held and courses in traditional crafts are provided to students and the community. Employees also work with the state historical society and the forest service to ensure that religious, historical, and cultural sites are not disturbed.

Interest in traditional religion is also resurfacing here, as it is on many reservations. Nearly lost in some Indian communities, it is again emerging as an accepted part of Native American culture.

"Much would have been lost if the center wasn't started," said Clarence Woodcock, director of the Salish Cultural Committee, as he helped a class of local women and students learn how to make a teepee. The large sunny room was filled with bolts of canvas. Speaking over the sound of sewing machines, he said that local attitudes towards traditional culture have shifted. "When I was growing up, the feeling was that it wasn't good to be Indian," he said. "This has changed."

In much of Indian society, religion was traditionally seen not as a separate discipline, but as part of the fabric of life. However, many traditional religious ceremonies were forcibly suppressed on reservations by missionaries and government administrators. Even during the middle of this

century, expressions of traditional spiritual values were discouraged. The result was not simply a loss of religious faith, but further shredding of the society as a whole.

Today, however, there is renewed interest in traditional expressions of faith and a recognition of its supportive influence on a tribal society. While old customs may never again become universally practiced and Christian denominations have earned a permanent and respected place in many communities, there is not longer much concern that uniquely Indian beliefs will disappear.

On the Flathead Reservation, ~~for example,~~ Bud Barnaby is one of about one dozen practicing spiritual leaders. Off a dirt road in the town of Arlee, his small compound is filled with old cars, a barn, a large gutted trailer, and a couple of dogs. Behind the frame house, partially hidden by a low wall of plywood boards, Barnaby heats volcanic rocks in an outdoor fire for his sweat lodge ceremonies.

A quiet man with thick white hair, Barnaby prepares for each sweat with an air of casual ritual. He sits on a rough bench as the stones are heated, and when ready, carries them into a circular hole just inside the entrance of the lodge, a small dome-shaped structure of bamboo rods covered with old blankets, mats, and rugs.

Inside, in complete darkness, Barnaby pours water on the rocks, and as the moist heat fills the lodge, offers stories, prayers, and chants for the land, people, and their needs. But the importance of his sweats are not only the power of his ceremony or the impact of his prayers.

Barnaby, like all the people who are working to sustain valued tradition, are living symbols of the vitality of Indian culture. While life for most Indians has been fundamentally transformed by the influence of white society, the value attached to traditional belief and ritual does not become diminished. Instead, they provide a cultural foundation needed for the stability of any society.

Each of these activities exist alongside modern Indian society. Despite what the government believed only a few decades ago, the two worlds can ~~exist together~~^{interweave}. Barnaby's grandson, for example, was equally comfortable fidgeting in and out of the sweat lodge and talking about his accomplishments on a recent grade school math test. In this setting, especially, the paranoia of federal administrators a century ago appears simply absurd and the policies the nation pursued in the name of assimilation all the more tragic.

But while the resurgence of cultural integrity is perhaps at the heart of Native American self-determination, tribal leaders are also concerned about ~~the equally important goal of greater~~^{an honest} economic opportunity. Past efforts by the government frequently focused on relocation. During the 1950s, for example, thousands of Indians from across the country were encouraged to gain vocational skills and move to urban areas. However, this program was rejected by the majority of reservation-based Indians who either declined the government's offer or returned home after experiencing isolation and poverty in elsewhere.

The government program failed not just because it was poorly implemented--although many say it was--but also because it did not acknowledge that many reservation-based Indians will not leave their family and home simply for economic opportunity elsewhere. Across the nation, then, one of the greatest challenges facing tribal leaders is the need to create meaningful work for their members within the reservation community.

This is a formidable assymtr.
~~It is an extremely difficult task because~~ many reservations exist in isolated ^{regions of} regions with no natural economic base. Some tribes of the southwest have ~~earned needed income~~ ^{benefitted} from the mineral wealth under their soil, while others have ~~benefitted~~ ^{gained} from legal settlements over treaties.)

The most remarkable story, perhaps, is of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians of Maine. Winning \$81.5 million from the federal government for land taken over a 185-year period, they invested the money into a variety of successful development projects. By buying land, businesses, farms, and offering loans to Indians and nonIndians alike, they have watched assets grow and living conditions improve.)

~~Already, there is evidence of the development's impact.~~
 Offered a promise of opportunity, the number of tribal members enrolled in the University of Maine grew from one in 1970 to 85 in just fifteen years. (Forbes, May 20, 1985, p.158) ^P But ~~on most other reservations, there has not been~~ ^{have seen no} such a transformation. Despite a handful of dramatic successes, ^{point remains} the dominant theme on most reservations ~~remains extreme poverty~~ and many of these ~~communities~~ ^{Indian} are among the poorest in the nation.

On the South Dakota's Rosebud Reservation, for example, statistics on income and living conditions have more in common with many Third World countries, and unemployment is estimated to be about 80 percent. Similar conditions exist at the nearby Pine Ridge Reservation and on reservations elsewhere. Unemployment and alcoholism even in more affluent Indian communities are often more than 50 percent.

~~Most of these communities cannot expect the kind of legal settlement won by the Indians of Maine. But~~ *Still, usually against almost overwhelming odds* ~~on many reservations, there is evidence of modest change.~~ And, again, it is opportunity gained through the self-directed visions and perseverance of each tribe.

On the isolated Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota, the tribe runs a manufacturing plant that contracts to build trailers for the military and simple automotive parts for the Ford Motor Company. It has become one of the largest employers on the reservation. Workers--mostly tribal members--work to assemble the olive-green trailers in the cavernous buildings.

Meanwhile, a new, windowless, metal building has recently been completed next door for a data entry firm that has 51 percent Indian control. Still new, it has hired 20 workers to enter information from printed computer cards into computer terminals. When fully established, however, it is expected to employ up to 100 workers.

~~Meanwhile,~~ other reservations are promoting development, not through such large-scale projects, but by emphasizing a more diversified economy of small businesses and tribal enterprises.

The Pine Ridge Reservation, ~~for example~~, was recently awarded a \$1 million grant from the Ford Foundation to provide loans to small businesses and micro enterprises. Called the Lakota Fund, it provides up to \$10,000 to tribal members interested in starting small enterprises ranging from woodcutting operations to the sale of home-made arts and crafts.

"The goal is to fund areas of the economy not usually funded by banks," said Tom Allen, development officer at the reservation's college. By focusing on what he called this unrecognized "grey market," it is hoped that opportunity will be provided for people who would otherwise be seen as high risk or unneedy.

The Saginaw-Chippewa Tribe in Michigan have control of a \$10 million trust fund from the federal government. They have invested the money and used the income to fund a diverse range of community projects. The tribe has provided mortgages for tribal housing, loans for small business, various social programs and are working to provide supplemental health care coverage to needy tribal members. Decisions on these and other projects come only after consultation with tribal members.

~~On this and other projects~~, a Virginia-based organization, the First Nations Financial Project, has been working since 1980 to provide funding and technical assistance to tribes working on economic development. The non-profit group provides interested tribes with training in marketing, management, and works on determining economic needs and finding needed money.

First Nations has also worked with a group of Alaskan Natives on Kodiak Island on several cooperative projects. Living in seven isolated communities in this isolated region, each villager must make tremendous effort to simply take care of everyday business and satisfy basic needs. Most supplies, for example, must be flown in, and anyone needing to cash a check had to take a plane to a larger town. First Nations is working with this community to develop a check cashing service and heating oil cooperative.

Other reservations are increasing opportunity not by developing new industry, but by asserting greater control over the industry that already exists and the income it generates.

While the projects at Turtle Mountain and elsewhere are under tribal control, other industries--especially mining operations--have traditionally been controlled by outside companies who contract with the tribe. Although the tribes would earn some income from the lease, it was frequently a disproportionately small share of the profit. The reality was that some tribal governments in the past did not have the skills and knowledge to assert their right to earn a more equitable income.

This has changed and some reservations have gone to court for the right to control the mineral wealth under their soil and to share in its value. In one recent case, for example, the Crow Indians of Montana, after years of litigation, were given the right to gather back taxes from a large coal mine on the reservation. An earlier decision confirmed the tribes right to

collect needed revenue from the operation, but this decision gave them full access to \$28 million that had been held in escrow pending the decision.

The outcome of this action remains to be seen, but announcement of court's decision brought about a day of celebration. Declared a national holiday on the reservation, there was a parade through the town of Crow Agency and series of public lectures by the tribal leadership. All stressed the impact the money will have on the goals of tribal sovereignty. As with the cultural renaissance, economic development is judged by its ability to encourage greater self-determination.

"Finally we have the resources to obtain our goals and dreams," declared moderator Phil Beaumoni. "Now we can expand and retain our culture. Tomorrow we are going to roll up our sleeves and start building the best government possible," Beaumoni said, "and we are going to do it without the influence of any outsiders."

~~But this new philosophy of~~ self-determination does not mean an end to the government's trust responsibility. Poverty remains a grim reality on many reservations. Both reservations and Washington recognize that federal aid will remain essential for years to come. Often established in barren regions without any local economy or tax base, most reservations do not, alone, have the resources needed for full social advancement.

The trend in Indian communities is, then, not an argument for diminished federal and private assistance, even though economic self-sufficiency is a common goal. Instead, the issue

is empowerment. No longer pawns under the direction of outside forces, many Native Americans are demonstrating that they are the people who should decide their economic fate--both as a legal right and as the best route to greater opportunity. More than colonists, missionaries, or government administrators, Indians should determine the direction of their lives and the values they will hold as their own. In this way government remains an essential partner, but no more.

Through a renewed concern for the power of traditional culture and a growing emphasis on economic opportunity, Native Americans are working to strengthen the quality of reservation life. It is hoped that these problems will not only generate greater pride and a job, but that they will also lessen the burden of persistent social problems. Alcoholism, drug abuse, poor health, and suicide are all more common in Indian society, and on many reservations, they define the reality of Native American life.

In some Indian communities, these problems--especially alcohol abuse--have not been openly acknowledged despite unavoidable evidence of its harm. On many reservations, statistics on accidents, illness, and violence set them apart from the rest of the United States. On the Rosebud Sioux Reservation, the infant mortality rate is double the national average, and one study found that Indians there are ten times more likely to die by age 45. Suicide is far above the national average. There is no one in this family-oriented community who has not been touched by tragedy.

Increasingly, however, these issues are being addressed by the reservation societies and have, along with culture and economic development, become a part of the philosophy of self-determination. Encouraged by a few self-directed successes, many American Indians both on and off reservations are now looking for ways to respond directly to these social issues on their own.

On the Navajo Reservation, ~~for example~~, a group of tribal members are working on community-based programs to combat alcohol and drug abuse on the reservation. [get details from Begay]

← And on the sprawling Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, the tribe now supports a network of organizations that together focus on the welfare of all its members. For example, Project Phoenix combats teenage alcoholism, while Project Recovery focuses on alcohol abuse in the adult population. In addition, the Oglala Women's Society advocates care of children and the Grey Eagle Society emphasizes respect and care for the elderly.

Other groups focus on needs ranging from economic development to the more recent development of family violence. All offer counseling, support groups, and workshops for their individual populations. A few operate without financial support, but ~~most receive some tribal and federal funds.~~

"Some say we have too many organizations," said Tom Allen, who has helped start several of these programs. But, he believed, the number is not excessive. Instead, they provide evidence of the society's pressing needs and of the tribe's emerging concern. For the first time in recent history, the people of Pine Ridge are looking among themselves for the most appropriate solutions.

Medical care is also a serious concern throughout Indian communities. Many reservations and regions with large Native American populations are often medically underserved. Clinics and hospitals are often either far away or not adequately staffed.)

But it is in these regions where the need for health care is greatest. Alcoholism means injury, cirrhosis of the liver, and malnutrition. There is also a much higher incidence of diseases, such as diabetes and tuberculosis, that may be controlled with medication but can be fatal when left untreated.

While there are few Indian physicians, many who do exist work with Native American patients where the needs are greatest. In southern California, for example, Emmett Chase is a physician at the American Indian Health Clinic and chairman of the Association of American Indian Physicians [name?] He works with the largely poor native population in greater Los Angeles. But the impact of Chase's work is more than his willingness to work with underserved populations. He, and others like him, are also able to offer care responsive to the sometimes fundamental differences towards health in Indian communities.

While Anglo doctors and nurses can be caring and supportive, their effectiveness can be diminished by ignorance of cultural differences. One white doctor on the Navajo Reservation in the 1950s recalled that even basic procedures in Western medicine could provide misunderstanding:)

"I was aware of the belief in witchcraft when I was first assigned to provide medical care for one hundred hospitalized

Navajo tuberculosis patients in 1952. I directed the nurses to initiate rectal temperatures for more accurate charting of patients' temperature patterns. After the very first attempt to implement the procedure, both the Navajo hospital aides and the patients threatened to leave the hospital. After consulting a Navajo nurse, I realized their fear was of being accused of witchcraft. A too casual approach to the problem of the coexistence of modern and traditional medicine can erode confidence." (Deuschle, p.181)

Chase, however, can overcome these barriers through his understanding of Indian views and also works, whenever possible, to incorporate Indian attitudes and medicine men into the care he offers. "I think Western medicine has something to learn from traditional Indian values," he said. "It is not just 'Take this pill.' Patients have an active role to play."

Other Indian-controlled organizations work to educate nonIndian doctors and nurses. The California Rural Indian Health Board in Sacramento, for example, offers workshops for Anglo health care practitioners interested in providing more sensitive care of their Native American patients.

In health care, as in the other social programs, Indians are demonstrating their ability to offer solutions to the problems in their communities and even to educate nonIndians. In the end, problems are addressed and real solutions provided.

↳ In turn, these programs are only part of a large and significant trend in Indian self-determination. Through cultural integrity, economic development, and social responsiveness,

Native Americans are accepting responsibility for needs that were either once ignored or left to the federal government. Moreover, the still young movement is already offering evidence that it can promote real change.

CHAPTER IV

To be entered.

CHAPTER 5

TRIBAL COLLEGES: BUILDING COMMUNITY

American Indian cultures have been greatly shaken through their contact with the dominant society. Traditions have been lost and with them, self-esteem and self-identity. Evidence of the resulting impact on communities--from alcoholism to illiteracy--are recognized within most Indian cultures with a sense of concern.

But many tribal cultures are also working to rebuild what has been lost. From tribal industries that manufacture military components to cultural committees that preserve traditional values, Native Americans are trying to construct a new and supportive society, reflecting a search for community that the dominant culture also is pursuing.

American society has become dangerously fragmented. With growing concern, some critics now charge that we have lost faith in the symbols and values that keep us united as a nation. Belief in a shared heritage has been weakened while trust in institutions--from the federal government to the local church--has been greatly tested.

Perhaps of greatest concern, however, is the broader charge that once valued connections to community have been replaced with an emphasis on the individual. While Americans once sought their identity through their contributions to the larger society, the focus has now shifted inward. Advancement of the self has become the new national priority.

"Americans have committed what to the republican founders of our nation was the cardinal sin: we have put our own good, as individuals, as groups, as a nation, ahead of the common good," writes Robert Bellah in Habits of the Heart, one of the most thoughtful summaries of America's changing values.

Education mirrors the trend. Conservative commentators such as former Secretary of Education William Bennett and Allan Bloom, author of The Closing of the American Mind, argue that colleges and universities fail by offering curriculums that are too value-neutral and not grounded in the Western heritage. Likewise, E. D. Hirsch worries in his book, Cultural Literacy, about a nation that no longer has a shared understanding of social and intellectual traditions, from classical literature to the Gettysburg Address.

Other less strident commentators hold that social change is not necessarily negative, but still agree that higher education must provide students with a deeper understanding of their place in society. It is widely accepted that today's youth, while bright and eager to please, are nonetheless in a state of disrepair. Anecdotes, surveys, and numerous studies have provided a portrait of a self-centered generation more interested in earning than learning. On America's campuses as well, the cult of the individual has taken precedence over community and status is now the ultimate goal.

But within the nation's colleges and throughout the country there is a growing attempt to rebuild these fractured links between individuals and time. Many believe a social core does

still exist, even if it remains untapped. Argues Bellah: "Our lives make sense in a thousand ways, most of which we are unaware of, because of traditions that are centuries, if not millennia, old."

He explains: "If we are not entirely a mass of interchangeable fragments within an aggregate, if we are in part qualitatively distinct members of a whole, it is because there are still operating among us, with whatever difficulties, traditions that tell about the nature of the world, about the nature of society, and about who we are as a people . . . Somehow families, churches, a variety of cultural associations, and even if only in the interstices, schools and universities do manage to communicate a form of life, a paideia, in the sense of growing up in a morally and intellectually intelligible world." (Bellah, pp. 281-282)

Mirroring Bellah's proposal for all American society, tribal cultures are working not to return to the past, but to appropriately see it as the foundation for future growth. In this way, reconciliation with the Native American heritage is as essential as understanding of Jeffersonian thought is to Anglo-American culture.

And in Indian society as well, education is expected to play a central role. According to Native American historian Jack Forbes, Indian-controlled institutions can fulfill the same cultural and social role in their communities that white-controlled colleges provide in theirs:

"Native tribal and folk groups especially need their own institutions in order not merely to preserve that portion of their heritage which proves to be worthy of preservation, but also in order to develop sufficiently a degree of self-confidence, pride, and optimism . . . A Native American university can serve as an agency for helping to restore the quite obvious ability in self-management and self-realization which Indians possessed prior to the intervention of the federal government." (Forbes, Native American Higher Education, p. 47)

As a vehicle to this understanding, tribally-controlled colleges are one of the most successful examples of institutions that can rebuild community. Like their counterparts, the nation's community colleges, tribal colleges are expected to serve the spectrum of needs for both the individual and their communities. While most have been in existence for only a decade or less, they provide their tribal societies with the kind of unity and understanding that much of American society is still looking for.

At first glance, tribally-controlled colleges offer images of diversity. Curriculums, teaching styles, and in some cases even campus architecture mirrors the surrounding tribal cultures, with each one unique from the other. Some colleges focus on general education, while others emphasize vocational training. A few have campuses that would be the envy of any small rural college, while many others offer classes in mismatched trailers.

But beyond such differences, all colleges share a common goal. While specific strategies can vary, all are determined to

strengthen respect for their cultural heritage and create greater opportunity for tribal members. Finding ways to build their communities and create links to the larger American society are the common goals from campus to campus.

Tribal colleges strengthen community through their curriculums, through the environment on campus, and through programs that reach out to all tribal society. The watchword at Indian colleges is not simply education, but empowerment. The impact of the most effective colleges is pervasive.

The heart of the tribal college is, of course, found on each campus. Among the institutions, there is a common belief that Indian students are best served when the curriculum reflects the needs of the surrounding tribal culture and when the college itself provides a nurturing and supportive environment.

All tribal colleges seek first to rebuild among students an understanding of their heritage. On many reservations, native beliefs, languages, and traditional arts have been slowly lost. Values once shared through a rich tradition of story-telling were dying with tribal elders, and the full spectrum of ancient skills were not being preserved. Traditional culture was existing only in textbooks while Anglo values remained alien and unaccepted.

In response to this loss, all colleges offer courses in Native American culture. On the Sinte Gleska College campus, the Lakota studies department offers classes in Sioux history, "oral literature," Lakota thought and a four-course language sequence. "Today we drive cars, we live in houses, wear modern clothes," reflected Native Studies Director Albert White Hat.

"But we still speak our languages, sing our songs. We are struggling to survive."

At the smaller Lac Courte Oreilles Community Colleges in Wisconsin, courses in their native studies sequence include instruction in traditional clothing styles, music, and dances. Continuing education courses at Oglala Lakota College include such specific areas of study as "How to Set Up a Tipi," quillwork, and preparation of traditional Indian foods. Lummi Community College on the northern coast of Washington state provides instruction in canoe carving, woodwork, and Indian knitting--skills unique to their tribal culture.

But Indian culture is valued not just as an anthropological discipline. Even on reservations where traditional beliefs have not been lost an emphasis on cultural integrity still remains the essential foundation. Through it, students are told that who they are and what they believe is acceptable and has value. In this way, college is not a disorienting experience for Indian students, but a reinforcement of values unique to the tribal community. Not just an area of study, then, courses in Indian culture are seen as a route to tribal unity and individual pride.

This is a sharp contrast to the typical Native American experience in nonIndian-controlled institutions. While some students are able to bridge cultural barriers without great difficulty, many feel inferior and alienated by the unfamiliar environment and curriculum. Researcher Danielle Sanders reported, for example, that the continuity between home and school that exists in the white culture is not present for many

Indians. Instead, she found that "school is an experience that runs contrary to the social norms, self-perceptions, and expected behaviors that they have learned at home and that have been reinforced in the own cultural community." (Sanders, Journal of Multicultural Counseling, 1987, p. 85)

The result is erosion of self-esteem, she said. "American Indian children anxiously enter school with eagerness and a willingness to learn and with pride in their rich cultural background. This original eagerness quickly sours and they become withdrawn and passive as they learn very early what Anglo-American teachers and peers think of them and their culture." (Sanders, p. 86)

Tribal colleges work to eliminate this discontinuity by emphasizing traditional culture. Through it, personal identity and a sense of self-worth is enhanced, not challenged.

"We're trying to bring a positive image back," said White Hat. "We're telling the young people that they can be proud of who they are and what they are. They don't have to wear a feather to be an Indian, but what is inside--how they look at themselves--is what's important." (Site visit report, 1988)

On the Salish-Kootenai campus, this philosophy is shared by Vice President Gerald Slater: "Many young people have a history of heavy drinking and have, in general, a lack of self-respect. But as they get more involved in traditional culture, they begin to get new self-respect. Sometimes they will quit their drinking and begin to find a life that is more meaningful for them."

He continued: "Forced assimilation has resulted in a lack of respect for Indians and their ways. Now people are realizing that these ways are good. They're different, but there is nothing wrong with them. There is a sense of pride and dignity that comes with it."

One evening, Myrna Chief Stick, a part-time instructor at Salish Kootenai, sat alone in an empty hallway while her class prepared for its final exam in Coyote stories. Used to explain various natural events and offer, at time, important moral lessons, Coyote stories are a part of many Indian societies. Students had spent the semester learning and discussing these tales and were now getting ready to act out one such story for Chief Stick.

While waiting for her students to call her back into the classroom, she too spoke of the "self-respect, dignity, and honesty" that traditional culture provides. Through the work of the tribe and the college, she said tribal members are starting to identify these values for themselves. "In the last four or five years, people are more aware than they have been in years," she said. The six students in the class, talking after their presentation, offered similar ideas. Wallace Shorty believed that classes in traditional culture and language offer students insight into their own identity.

"A lot of kids are Indian, but they don't know what it means to be Indian," he said. "They don't know how to go about it."

There is also the determination to carry what they learned on to the next generation, according to student Arlene Adams.

"I think that's why I took it," she said. "A lot of our elders and a lot of our people who told these stories are now dead. Their children and grandchildren don't know them. I'd like to be able to pass them down."

But the impact of native culture is not felt just in these selected classes. Instead, there is also an effort at all tribal colleges to integrate traditional values into the administrative structures and teaching styles of the whole institution. All activities of the colleges are expected to be linked seamlessly to the community.

At Little Big Horn College in Montana the need for courses in traditional culture at the Crow College is less urgent, said President Janine Windy Boy, because the tribal culture has remained strong. On that isolated reservation about 80 percent of the Crow residents still speak the native language and sweat lodges grace the backyards of many homes.

Instead, the impact of traditional culture is felt in how information is presented and how the affairs of the college are conducted. There, each department tries to integrate Indian thought into all college activities and much of the work is focused not simply on inserting Indian culture, but adapting the curriculum and teaching styles to Crow values and individual needs.

This philosophy of individual attention and cultural integration is visible in such traditionally "nonIndian" disciplines as math and science. One of the most consistently difficult areas of study for Native American students, Little Big

Horn instructor, Robert Madsen, has worked to make his curriculum accessible to students more prepared for failure than success.

"I eliminate those things that set them up for failure," Madsen said. "I don't accept a failing attitude." As a result, most tests are open book, and if a student fails, he or she is encouraged to work with Madsen and retake the exam.

"I don't put a weight around their necks," he said. "If they get a "D", they take the test over until they do "A" work."

Also, Madsen tries to emphasize the relevance of his subject to the students. "A big part of what goes on in the class is not determining the composition of calcium, but learning to solve problems," he said. "The math is there, but it is tied to concrete things."

He stressed, however, that the focus on success does not mean that academic quality is sacrificed. "I love giving out A's, but I make them earn them."

"This is a place where good science can happen," Madsen argued. "It is not just at Montana State University or Harvard."

Other colleges offer their own innovative ways to bridge the gap between Indian thought and western education. Turtle Mountain College in North Dakota, for example, does not offer a separate native studies program. Instead of isolating courses in Indian thought from the rest of the curriculum, the intent is to inject an Indian perspective in all of its classes and programs. In this way, Indian values and history are not just one area of possible study, but is theoretically part of all that Turtle Mountain does.

While there is instruction in Indian history, art, and language, traditional thought and culture has influence beyond these few classes. Instead, a Native American perspective is expected to be included in all classes. President Gerald Monette admitted that this "is easier said than done," but still estimated that most classes have successfully integrated an Indian perspective.

Not surprisingly, the social sciences have most easily adopted the traditional disciplines. Emma Wilkie, one of the college's senior instructors, makes a deliberate effort to incorporate an Indian viewpoint in her sociology classes. Texts that treat Native Americans with greater respect are chosen and then supplemented with additional books and articles that explain the Native American perspective. For example, an examination of the family would include not only the usual Anglo perspective, but would also include study of the Indian family's unique structure. Family trees and oral histories are also popular learning tools for Wilkie.

Other subjects, such as literature and history, are equally able to include an Indian perspective. Even simple biology and geology classes have tapped into the spirit of the goal by including the study of local plants--including those used by early settlers--and teaching how the region's rolling topography was formed.

But it is clearly more difficult to find a local connection to math and the hard sciences. For some professors in these areas the best solution has been to make the subjects as

intellectually an emotionally accessible as possible. As is done at Little Big Horn, the Indian influence is not always noticeable in the material, but is visible in how the material is taught.

Sister Margaret Pfeifer, a math instructor, believed students are best able to succeed when the air of academic competition is replaced by greater cooperation, a philosophy that is more in line with Indian society where family obligations are stressed over individual advancement. Her math assignments frequently allow--even encourage--group work and mutual assistance. As a result, the quality of the classwork and enrollment retention rates go up while anxiety over this traditionally stressful discipline goes down.

"The idea," she said, "is to teach math in such a way that Indians can learn it." The best way to accomplish this fundamental goal in nonIndian colleges is clearly not always the best way in Indian country. There is, then, no compelling reason why traditional American teaching methods must always be duplicated.

Similarly, another instructor recently added cooperative learning to his accounting class. Studying and some assignments were completed as a group, and according to Academic Dean Lousie Dauphinais, "the students loved it." Only one of fourteen students dropped the class and many earned an "A."

Navajo Community College, meanwhile, has been working to not only find appropriate teaching methods, but to also pattern the college's larger academic structure after Navajo belief. While individual courses are not being transformed, disciplines are

being structured around the Navajo culture's traditional emphasis on the four compass directions.

For example, the academic disciplines of religious studies, physical education, language and aesthetics all mold into a single category of attributes inherent to the east: knowledge that prepares people to make decisions. The west, meanwhile, focuses on the social well-being of the tribe. Within this category, the disciplines of sociology, history, and government fit comfortably. Other areas of study are linked to the north and south. (Benally, pp. 141-143)

Following the same logic, the college itself is located in the physical center of Navajo land and the campus layout is modeled after the four directions, all within a larger circle. While not all of this symbolism will be of use to students trying to pass an algebra exam, the larger effort to integrate the college into the Navajo culture is critical. It offers evidence that the college exists within the larger Navajo experience and can be an integral part of traditional tribal culture.

"The Navajo maintain that people need a sense of history to understand their immediate world and to prepare them for the future," wrote Herbert Benally, native studies director at the college. "To accomplish this it is necessary only to create an education institution which will place the individual at the focus where the four great branches of Navajo knowledge meet. . . ." (Benally, Dine Be'ina', pp. 145-147).

In the end, every tribal college is using the cultural foundation of its community to create an environment where Indian

students can learn and build confidence. But the challenge is enormous. These institutions frequently struggle in an environment of shocking poverty where welfare and dependency are the common social denominators. In addition, many communities are without a solid program of precollegiate education. Through time, Native Americans have been poorly served by government efforts and, even today, few colleges and universities are able to offer an educational environment that is supportive, not disorienting. As a result, the percentage of American Indians who enter college and graduate with a degree is estimated by many to be the lowest in the nation.

For tribal colleges, then, their task goes far beyond simply existing within reservation boundaries and offering a culturally relevant curriculum. They must also overcome the neglect and, at times, disapproval of higher education in some Indian communities. They are educating the first generation of students who will become the role models for the next. Further, these colleges have severely limited budgets.

(LEAVE SPACE)

Problems notwithstanding, tribal colleges are beginning to bring a spirit of community renewal. There is already a cadre of tribal college graduates who have succeeded academically and have gone on for further study or found meaningful work. Before the founding of Sinte Gleska College on the Rosebud Reservation,

there were only a handful of Indians working as teachers in the reservation public schools. Today there are 32.

- o On the nearby Pine Ridge Reservation, Oglala Lakota College has increased the number of Native American teachers from just one to 65.

- o Dull Knife Memorial College in Montana, meanwhile, has, in its short history, graduated 315 students. In a recent survey of its graduates, the college found that half of those who completed a two-year degree went on for further study, while 70 percent of the graduates of a certificate program pursued more education. In an area of high unemployment, 71 percent of all graduates were working at the time of the survey and 93 percent of the certificate students were employed.

- o Sisseton Wahpeton Community College in South Dakota reported that the number of tribal members with a bachelor's degree increased from four to over 80 since it was founded. This number demonstrates not only the college's ability to educate students, but also its ability to act as a feeder college to four-year institutions.

- o Turtle Mountain College found in a 1983 survey that 28 percent of its graduates transferred to a four-year college and, overall, more than 70 percent found jobs immediately after graduation. This is in sharp contrast of the over 60 percent unemployment rate for the reservations.

- o At Standing Rock College, a total of 228 students graduated between its founding in 1976 and 1986. Moreover, a 1987 self-study reported that, while the reservation unemployment rate is about 80 percent, less than five percent of the college's graduates are known to be unemployed or not attending another institution of higher education. (SRC Self-Study, 1987, p. 85)

At first glance, these numbers appear small. In the larger American society, after all, the impact of a few dozen college graduates is difficult to see. But on a reservation with a population that numbers, in most cases, in just the tens of thousands, the impact of new leadership is pervasive. "The difference between these students making a contribution compared to unemployments is very significant," said Art McDonald, president of Dull Knife College.

The guarantee of employment for graduates is, alone, a compelling argument for the tribal colleges. In any American college--especially in junior and community colleges--one

important measurement of success is the percentage of students who find work after completion of a degree. But the benefits go beyond employment to individuals. In small communities, these people offer the expertise needed to advance all of tribal society.

Graduates who remain on their reservations after graduation--and most do--provide a full spectrum of needed skills. They offer the seeds of social stability, economic growth, role models for future generations, and urgently needed leadership. The tribal colleges provide more than a degree; they offer the key to a health culture.

"Tribal colleges are the dominant college in their nations," said Janine Windy Boy. "Just like Harvard works to fulfill the needs of its community, we work to fulfill the needs of ours." In this, the Harvard Brain Trust of the Roosevelt administration is being recreated on nearly two dozen reservations today.

Still, on many campuses student retention remains a problem. While those who do complete a degree program are better able to find work or continue their education, many students who enter tribal colleges, who hope to complete a program, drop out long before graduation.

The reasons are not difficult to find. Indians have been poorly served throughout their educational career. While estimates vary from tribe to tribe, Native Americans drop out of school at significantly higher levels than whites. The Higher Education Research Institute reported in a 1984 study that "high school attrition is substantially greater among Indians than

among majority students," estimating that no more than 55 percent of Indian students graduate from high school. (MacNamara, p. 75)

And for those who do finish school, the level of academic preparation is often very poor. A survey of Indian college educators sponsored by the institute found that almost two-thirds of the respondents identified "inadequate educational preparation for coursework demands" as one of the three most important barriers to Indian undergraduates' achievement. (MacNamara, p. 141)

A recent study of the public high school students on the Turtle Mountain Reservation found underachievement among all students in nearly all subjects. Even for students who go on to graduate, the gap between their skills and the national average grows each year they are in school. (Site report, p. 7)

As a result, students come to colleges with poor academic preparation and low self-esteem, and for many an expectation of failure. Failure of Indian students is often accepted as the norm throughout the community. Overall, at least 60 percent of white students who enter college go on to complete a degree, but only a third of Indians will leave with a diploma. (MacNamara, p. 90) Other estimates are even lower and suggest that Indians have the lowest success rate of any ethnic group.

This legacy of lowered expectations is a tremendous burden for tribal colleges. Frequently they enroll students with poor academic preparation, continuing obligations to their extended family and no tradition of higher education. Also, students who have already failed or dropped out of a nonIndian college will

enroll at a tribal college, perhaps hoping for success but not surprised by failure. These are the people who are best served by tribal colleges, but are also the students most difficult to educate.

The goal of every tribal college is to overcome such barriers. Many institutions, for example, offer a series of remedial classes, formal instruction in skills needed for "college life," counseling, and other supportive services. Salish-Kootenai College, for example, has two full-time staff members who work with students who are slipping academically or missing class.

"Sometimes its the smallest problem," President McDonald said. "A broken fan belt can keep a student from getting to school for two weeks." Such personal attention, in the end, is critical. "Students need to be where somebody knows their names," said Louis Dauphinais, academic dean at Turtle Mountain College. "They need support for academic angst."

College presidents argued, however, that it is inappropriate to expect all students who enter to leave with a diploma. Some arrive intending to take a number of introductory courses before transferring elsewhere, while others, in the tradition of community colleges nationwide, take selected courses for personal enrichment, not a diploma. Another group does not drop out, but instead repeatedly stops out, entering and leaving multiple times before completing a degree.

Graduation rates of less than 100 percent, then, is not evidence of failure. Instead, it is proof of the multiple roles

that tribal colleges play. Moreover, their graduation rates are not out of line when compared to all community colleges. At Salish-Kootenai, for example, 60 students graduated at the end of the 1989 spring quarter out of a total full-time equivalent of 450. This compares favorably to the overall graduation rate for all community colleges nationwide where about 500,000 students graduated out of a total enrollment of 4.5 million during the same time. (McDonald, personal conversation, 3/6/89--confirm with AACJC)

Beyond classroom education and the impact of graduates with jobs and skills, all tribal colleges offer programs aimed directly at their communities. By offering services ranging from daycare and GED testing to alcohol counseling and literacy tutoring, some tribal colleges have become the most powerful social force in their communities.

On these campuses, tribal college administrators assert that it is not enough to simply provide graduates. Instead, they must also work to create a healthy society that offers both hope and the promise of available jobs to graduating students. On some reservations, these colleges are the only institutions-- government or tribal--that are examining all of the societies needs and working to provide real solutions.

And because they exist within the reservation, they are, perhaps, the institutions best, able to respond to the needs of their unique cultures. While nonIndian teachers, social workers, and government administrators can be supportive and caring, it is the Indians themselves who best understand their own culture and

the most appropriate routes to social reform and economic development.

"Indian colleges emerged as the one vehicle that developed from within, the one that has the best change to address all of the many issues that have not been addressed," said Sinte Gleska president, Lionel Bordeaux. *Sinte Gleska*

~~His college, for example,~~ has a continuing literacy program, started after a 1985 survey found that 19 percent of the reservation Indians between 25 and 38 years of age were without mastery of the English language. By training local volunteers to work one-on-one with residents in isolated communities, college administrators hope to raise expectations throughout the tribe and provide evidence that academic success is possible.

Crucial to the program, said Director Loraine Walking Bull, is the use of Indian volunteers. In this type of program where tutors are often met with suspicion, sensitivity to the Lakota culture is critical, she said, citing one woman's response as an example.

Walking Bull went to the home of an older who did not read or write. She explained the literacy program and asked if the woman would like to learn English, so she would no longer have to depend on her daughter. "The woman listened and then looked straight at me and said that her son had gone through GED. I left because I knew that in her way she was trying to tell me, 'one of us has gone to school--now leave me alone.' I didn't have to dig any deeper." Said Walking Bull: "We have to watch what we do because we can turn them off so quick. You have to

have a lot of knowledge of the people and really watch what you say."

Would a nonIndian tutor have responded appropriately? This type of sensitivity is what tribal colleges are able to provide.

On the Sinte Gleska campus is the Institute on Alcohol and Substance Abuse. By working directly with students in the college and also at the elementary and secondary school levels, Director Cecil White Hat believed the reservation community is at last recognizing alcohol's devastating impact.

Although the tribe does not permit the sale of alcohol on the reservation, about 80 percent of the population is alcoholic. But despite its pervasiveness, college officials said that Sinte Gleska's institute was the first reservation-wide outreach program. While the government-run Indian Health Service hospital runs a treatment program, there was no effort at education.

Many colleges also offer a variety of educational programs for the community at large. Most, for example, offer free preparation for the high school equivalency test--the GED exam. For the large percentage of reservation-based Indians without a high school diploma, the GED is the necessary key for entrance into college--both Indian and nonIndian controlled--as well as many government jobs and the military.

On the Turtle Mountain reservation, about 45 percent of the high school students do not finish school, but the nearest GED program was over 90 miles away until the college started its center. With no satisfactory way to earn a diploma, many simply went without the education and remained unemployable.

But today Turtle Mountain College has one full-time and two part-time instructors who tutor about 250 GED students a year. About 65 go on to complete the course and pass the exam. According to Director Sandy LaRocque, about 70 percent of the students are women and many are single parents.

"They quit school because of that, because they go pregnant," she said. Now that their children are older, they are coming back." Too old to return comfortably to the public school and unable to move off the reservation, the college's program is the only acceptable option. "If there was no program, there would be no alternative," LaRocque asserted.

At Oglala Lakota College, a total of 566 people were enrolled in their tutoring program in 1996, more than double the enrollment just three years earlier. At that college, like at many others, many of those who pass the exam go on to enroll in the tribal college. At Oglala Lakota, 40 percent of its students have a GED certificate.

In addition to high school equivalency, Salish Kootenai College has also created an innovative bridge between formal education and hands-on experience. Frustrated by government regulations that made tribal members ineligible for certain federal assistance if they enrolled in college, Salish Kootenai started a work experience program as an alternate route to vocational training. Although classroom instruction is provided free of charge three days a week, the emphasis of the program is on each student's volunteer work in a tribal agency two days a week.

Students at Salish Kootenai are given assignments at such offices as the tribal printing plant, shoreline protection, or even a college department. Vice President Gerald Slater said there has been good success in getting students permanent paid positions after the program's completion. However, some of the most important results come from the increased feelings of accomplishment and independence.

"We've had people say that this is the first time they haven't had a drink in years, that they have been sober for months because they enjoyed the opportunity to work," Slater said. "It has been stimulating for them." Each of these programs work indirectly to increase economic opportunity for the reservations. But several colleges are also actively working to promote economic development within their reservations.

The need is increasingly urgent because there are so few jobs available on most reservations. And as the number of Indian college graduates continues to climb, the few open positions that do exist in tribal and government offices are quickly filled. For new students to have the opportunity for work after completion of their program, then tribal colleges must work to build a community that can offer meaningful employment.

Some colleges, like Turtle Mountain, work directly with local industry to train workers and strengthen productivity. Turtle Mountain Manufacturing, for example, has looked to the college for seminars on personnel management and the training of machinists. It has also helped a nearby data entry firm by training future workers in computer use. The success of these companies, in turn, can create more jobs for future graduates.

Sinte Gleska, meanwhile, sponsors the newly established Institute for Economic Development, a policy center that is investigating realistic solutions to the economic stagnation on many reservations. Oglala Lakota is working closely with a grant program that provides loans to Indian-run micro enterprises described earlier.

Finally, Little Big Horn College has successfully challenged local discrimination in a series of lawsuits and has worked to increase opportunity for all tribal members in the process. In 1981 President Windy Boy and others worked to increase the number of Indians registered to vote. Frustrated that Crows made up 46 percent of the county's population but rarely had an impact on regional elections, the number of registered voters was increased by one-third, from 2,000 to 3,000.

But in the next election, Indians still were not able to offer much influence. Looking more closely at how the political system was organized, the group found that state district boundaries clearly divided the reservation and prevented Indians from having a majority in any one region. Taking the issue to court, the judge agreed that the policy was discriminatory and ruled that the state cannot break up a homogeneous population.

Another successful case involving charges of discriminatory hiring in the county generated graphic examples of what it means to be an Indian in eastern Montana. Out of 200 county employees, only four were Indian, and while there are 99 county board members, just one was a Crow. There was also testimony charging that Indian children were abused in schools. In all, Windy Boy

said there were "250 prime cases" of discrimination. "The ACLU lawyers said they had never seen such abuse." The three-year process resulted in yet another favorable decision in 1986, something for which Windy Boy and the College is given much credit. "We have become advocates of decent and right treatment," she acknowledged.

Each tribal college reflects the unique problems and opportunities of its tribe. But together they are providing routes to advancement for their communities. Through education, Native Americans are gaining the skills and confidence needed to rebuild their nations and cultures.

This goal is not unique to tribal colleges. Throughout all of American society, educational institutions are focusing on their contributions to larger communities. As one example, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges released a report on the future of the community college movement, tellingly entitled, *Building Communities: A Vision for a New Century*.

Concerned that these traditionally responsive and dynamic institutions were losing sight of their mission, the report urged these colleges to define a new commitment based on true service to community. Recognizing that the individual student must remain a key concern, the report's authors go on to argue that, in the end, all members of society are served when a college builds connections throughout a community.

"Community colleges, through the building of educational and civic relationships, can help both their neighborhoods and the nation become self-renewing," the report argues. "The building

of community, in its broadest and best sense, encompasses a concern for the whole, for integration and collaboration, for openness and integrity, for inclusiveness and self-renewal."

(Building Communities, pp. 6-7)

In this report, tribal colleges were not held up as models for the proposed reforms, but they could have been. As the United States looks to rebuild a commitment to community service, it could do no better than to look to the most dynamic and successful tribal colleges. Through an emphasis on traditional culture, social responsibility and economic development, these institutions have become the single most important force in their nations.

In the end, college officials insist, all of American society benefits. According to D-Q University President Carlos Cordero, the cost of keeping Indians on welfare is much higher than the expense of putting them through college.

Tribally-controlled colleges produce graduates who "help resolve problems of contemporary society" and, he added, "who are going to pay taxes."

VI. TRIBAL COLLEGES: BUILDING COMMUNITIESRecommendations

The story of the Native American experience has, for more than a century, been described in the language of despair. Indian life is filled with images of poverty while government policy has been labeled a failure. We often speak of "the plight of the Indians," concluding, with resignation, that little can be done.

This perception is rooted, at least in part, in reality. Indian reservations are isolated--chronically neglected regions that have benefitted little from the nation's wealth. Unemployment and alcoholism are depressingly persistent problems in these forgotten regions, and statistics on life expectancy, infant mortality, income and education in Indian communities parallel those of Third World countries.

But this painful story is not without hope. After years of neglect, suppression, and abuse, Indians themselves are beginning to gain the skills and confidence needed to lead their nations. A new mood of optimism and self-respect is beginning to emerge.

Learning is the key. Native American ~~leaders~~, who were once powerless, are now being educated--and being heard. Economic stagnation is being challenged through innovative programs, and the devastating impact of alcoholism and drug abuse--once ignored in some Indian communities--is being aggressively confronted. Of equal importance, traditions that were slipping away are now being reaffirmed.

At the heart of this spirit of renewal are tribally-controlled colleges, a network of emerging institutions that provide education and community service in a climate of self-determination. While the success of these colleges varies from one campus to another, as a whole they bring to tribal communities an urgently needed center of energy and action.

During our visits, we were impressed by the educational opportunities tribal colleges provide and by the enthusiasm and pride they inspire in students and tribal members, too. Beyond this, we were struck by the potential these institutions have in strengthening precollegiate education, in preparing their graduates for further education, in training tribal leadership, and in providing community services to their regions.

Thus, tribally-controlled colleges have great potential. They have success stories that are enormously impressive. At the same time, the challenges they confront cannot be overstated. Indeed, the impact of these fledgling institutions is all the more remarkable, when one considers how they struggle to survive under enormously difficult conditions and with resources that most collegiate institutions would find unacceptably restrictive.

A typical tribal college, for example, has no financial base. It cannot and should not charge high tuition. It receives only token financial support from the tribe, and has no tax base to pay education costs. Meanwhile, the limited federal support these institutions receive--which is the backbone of their funding--keeps going down.

Classes at tribal colleges frequently are held in a collection of shabby buildings--even trailers--and students use books and lab equipment that are embarrassingly obsolete. At the same time, these colleges are called upon to educate students who are often the first generation to enter college and frequently as adults have important obligations to their families.

Tribal colleges also struggle to offer community services--family counseling, alcohol abuse programs, job training projects--with little financial or administrative support. Even successful programs often are abruptly ended because budgets must be cut. These institutions are so underfunded that there is no cushion to absorb financial cutbacks.

We conclude that tribal colleges should be applauded for their accomplishments that often are heroic. Providing education and community service through an Indian controlled institution is absolutely crucial. But we also conclude that these special institutions urgently need help. The goal must be to create--by the year 2000--a network of vital, mature tribal colleges, institutions that are capable of providing quality education to their students and a spirit of renewal to their nations.

In this section of the report we set forth a series of recommendations and an expanded role for four key members of American society: the federal government, grant-giving institutions, nonIndian colleges and universities, and the states and local communities that are served by the presence of a tribal college.

First, we urgently recommend that the federal government adequately support tribal colleges by providing the full funding authorized by Congress.

The United States government has both a moral and legal obligation to respond to the needs of American Indian society. The persistence of fractured cultures and poverty in many Indian communities cannot be tolerated, and increasing support for tribal colleges is an important strategy by which this obligation can be met. America's responsibility did not end with the creation of these colleges which directly address two key goals of Washington's Indian policy: social and economic development and tribal self-determination.

For more than a decade, federal government support for Indian higher education has been focused on the Tribally-Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978. We urge that it continue to do so, since this legislation is essential for the survival of many of the colleges. The funds provided through this act were, in fact, critical for the establishment of many of the tribal colleges in this decade. In addition, the Navajo Community College Assistance Act of 1978, the legislation supporting the college of the Navajo Nation, is of equal value to that institution.

However, the harsh truth is that federal support is not keeping pace with the rate of growth in the tribal colleges. While Congress authorized \$4,000 for each full time equivalent student in the original legislation, the amount appropriated has never matched that figure. Moreover, as the number of tribal

colleges continues to grow and as enrollments continue to expand, the money available for each FTE student has decreased sharply. In 1981, for example, there was a total full-time equivalent of 1,689 Indian students enrolled in tribal colleges, each generating \$3,100. By 1989, however, the number of students had climbed steadily to 4,400 FTE while money for each dropped to about \$1,900.

We urge Congress not to penalize tribal colleges for their success. Specifically, we recommend that the \$4,000 authorized per student be appropriated and that, from this point on, federal appropriations keep pace with the growth of Indian student enrollment.

Beyond this basic support, other federal agencies also *should* provide discretionary grants to a wide range of tribal college programs. The Carl Perkins Vocational Education Grant, for example, is a block grant to states used by some tribal colleges to purchase equipment for vocational programs. In addition, the Library Services and Construction Act is used by tribal colleges to buy needed books and supplies for their still growing libraries [LBH biannual self-study, 1986, p. 58]. Here again, however, these funds are wholly inadequate to the need.

Looking at the larger picture, we are concerned about the relationship between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian community, including the tribally-controlled colleges. This relationship has, and continues to be, marked by a ~~tradition of~~ tension ~~between these two groups at the federal level.~~ ^{ed} The issue *Concern* extends beyond the appropriation of federal funds--in this the

bureau is largely held captive by the limitations of the federal budget. Instead, the bureau has been criticized harshly by both members of Congress and the college community for not being a more positive participant in the development of tribal colleges. Programs and funding have been delayed for years when the bureau did not complete required rules and regulations.

In 1986 reauthorization hearings, for example, Senator Mark Hatfield, then chairman of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, reported that the BIA had "failed to establish regulations, or even to publish proposed regulations for comment" on amendments voted on three years earlier [Congressional hearing, 1986].

From the perspective of some tribal college presidents, this inaction and lack of support is seen as a form of political sabotage. "The BIA refuses to really acknowledge, fully and sincerely, our existence," charged Sinte Gleska President Lionel Bordeaux. "It's almost as if it's the last attempt to keep us suppressed."

Indeed, from throughout the larger Indian community, it is often argued that the bureau thwarts the self-determination being pursued in Native American communities and supported by the government through the 1975 Indian Self-Determination Act. Full Indian control of programs and services once held by the bureau would threaten the existence of this agency, it is believed.

This attitude is not always held towards bureau offices and officials at the local level. On a growing number of reservations, the bureau office is viewed as a benign presence,

especially as the number of Indians employed in its offices grow. On the Turtle Mountain reservation, for example, all but one of its 100 positions are filled by Native Americans. There, only the superintendent is not an Indian.

The atmosphere of cooperation that exists there, however, is missing at the national level, to the detriment of the tribal colleges. We urge, therefore, that the Bureau of Indian Affairs join in a partnership of educational excellence with the tribal colleges. The colleges should be viewed, not as another regulatory burden, but as an effective link between the government and the Native American communities they serve. Support for these colleges benefits all members of tribal society and helps fulfill the bureau's responsibility to promote Indian welfare and development.

Second, we recommend that the physical facilities at tribal colleges be improved.

Typically, in Carnegie reports we focus on teaching and learning, not on buildings; but tribal colleges must be an exception. ^{At the same time, the reality is that} Many of these institutions carry on their work in trailers and abandoned government buildings that other colleges would have hauled away or bulldozed over twenty years ago. Not only do these ^{poor facilities} ~~arrangements~~ restrict learning, they make a powerful statement of neglect.

Sinte Gleska College's administration is an example. It is housed in a former Bureau of Indian Affairs building that has been condemned. Several miles away, outside the town of Mission,

a half dozen small buildings surrounding a gravel parking lot house the college's main classrooms, faculty offices, and student services.

The college has been resourceful. Some buildings--such as the relatively spacious science center and the newly expanded library--were constructed from private, corporate, and government grants. However, others, such as the Native Studies department, are in trailers. Two additional buildings--a fine arts studio and the bookstore--are in small frame buildings constructed by students in the building trades program.

With severely limited funding, Sinte Gleska has a functioning campus for well over 500 students. But space and educational supplies are at a premium. Limited classrooms make scheduling difficult, and there is no place for students to congregate, and no food service is provided. There are no sports facilities of any kind on campus.

Little Big Horn College offers some of the most unusual classroom facilities in the nation. On this campus the main college building is, in fact, an old tribal gym. Several rooms to one side have been converted into administrative offices while others have become the science department by renovating cramped locker and shower rooms into classroom space and a science lab. The basketball court in the middle is used as an informal student lounge and meeting room. Between classes students sit on bleachers--the only seating available--to talk and eat lunch.

Little Big Horn's library, about half a mile away, is in a small, windowless corrugated metal building. Although the

college's collection includes only about 6,500 volumes, shelves are filled and there is only limited space for students to read and work. The checkout desk is an old kitchen counter and the librarian has had to use his own money to purchase lighting.

A short distance in another direction is perhaps the most unusual science lab in academe. Given access to a sewer treatment plant that was never used, the director of the science program has turned a small room used for chemical analysis into additional laboratory space for his department. To get to class, however, students must walk on a narrow metal catwalk and squeeze past a two-story high steel container. The well-insulated room does, at least, keep out the odor of the nearby sludge pond.

Other colleges have more traditional facilities. Some, in fact, have found funds to build relatively adequate facilities. Navajo Community College, for example, has a large campus facility, and Oglala Lakota College's main administrative building is an elegant circular structure set on a hill on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Salish Kootenai has a much smaller campus that is stretched to its limits, but it is also attractive and well furnished.

But most colleges struggle daily for space, equipment, and supplies. The innovative solutions some have found demonstrate the resourcefulness and creativity of tribal college administrators, but they are not permanent solutions. For a college to be a respected part of the tribal and academic community, it requires good facilities. In addition, for students to be fully served, there must be--at the most basic

level--adequate classroom space, campus buildings that are not scattered and inaccessible, and sufficient learning materials.

We urge the federal government to appropriate funds for construction as authorized in the Tribally-Controlled Community College Act. We also urge that foundations help improve facilities at tribal colleges. Many foundations have, in fact, supported in the construction of new buildings and the supply of materials--from books for libraries, to computers and lab equipment.

Montana's six tribal colleges, for example, have benefitted from a Fred Meyers Charitable Trust grant to its libraries. Based at Salish Kootenai College, money has been provided for a pool of reference works and periodicals that are shared among the institutions. The grant is also used to build collections that focus on local tribal heritage and Native American studies in general.

The Pew Charitable Trust has also helped provide much needed facilities. [personal communication, Bob Bigart, 3/23/89]. We do not propose spacious facilities for these institutions. All we call for are spaces that would bring dignity to the institutions and greater effectiveness to learning.

Third, we urge that connections between tribal colleges and nonIndian higher education be strengthened.

Many tribal colleges began with the support and guidance of other higher learning institutions. In their formative years, nonIndian colleges offered courses, provided administrative support, and brought legitimacy to the tribal college movement. In some cases, this cooperation has continued and everyone has gained.

Turtle Mountain College, for example, began in the late 1960's when a group of young tribal members--calling themselves the Associates for Progress--invited colleges in the state to offer courses on campus. In time, this fragmented series of programs were organized into a tribal educational center that existed under a nearby campus of the North Dakota State University. By 1973, the enrichment center was recognized as Turtle Mountain College. It is now a fully tribally-controlled institution [Stein, pp. 137-143].

Similarly, Fort Peck Community College in northeastern Montana was preceded by a series of courses offered on campus by Dawson Community College. The tribal college began later under a bilateral agreement with another institution, Miles Community College [Stein, p. 218].

Standing Rock College began as a learning center with Bismark Junior College [Stein, p. 164], and Oglala Lakota College in South Dakota developed in its early years agreements with a wide range of institutions, from the University of Colorado to Black Hills State College and the University of South Dakota [Stein, pp. 85-96].

Collaboration has continued. Salish-Kootenai College, for example, is now working to develop a nursing program in cooperation with a regional institution [self-study, 1989, p. _]. Likewise, Turtle Mountain's network of cooperative arrangements with colleges and universities in North Dakota for its new health services program broadens that college's educational base [Pfeifer, 3/23/89].

Little Big Horn College has developed a close and cordial relationship with Montana State University through its science program. Selected as a research site for a federally-funded biomedical research program, Little Big Horn works closely with the state university, the recipient of the grant. Money is provided through the university for a federal researcher, student assistants, and necessary equipment on the project. More importantly, however it places Indian students in laboratories at the university's Bozeman, Montana campus and builds connections between the two institutions.

According to Little Big Horn President Janine Windy Boy, students benefit through the hands-on experience in a field traditionally ignored by Native Americans. In addition, through work at the university campus, students are able to see that there are relevant educational opportunities outside of the reservation and, from this, the tribal college can work as a more effective academic bridge [Windy Boy, personal communication, 3/24/89].

Faculty, too, are strengthened by the association which builds professional connections between instructors. "It creates

avenues for our scientists to be colleagues with scientists at MSU," Windy Boy said, an otherwise difficult task for the small and isolated college [Windy Boy, 3/24/89].

Cooperation between these two institutions exist in other projects as well. Looking for additional ways to ease the often difficult transition from tribal college to state university, science instructor Robert Madsen tries to keep his courses compatible with those at Montana State. In some cases, he follows the same texts and syllabi used at the university. This, he believed, better prepared students who plan to continue their studies at that institution [Madsen, personal communication, 5/25/88].

For Montana State University's part, a tribal relations office has been created to work with tribal colleges statewide and coordinate joint projects. Hoping to increase cooperation between the institutions, President William Tietz even asked the university's vice presidents and deans to meet with members of the tribal college community in the state.

With connections at all levels, Little Big Horn--although small and not yet fully accredited--has benefitted enormously. Faculty have grown professionally and students have been given both the opportunity and the skills necessary to succeed at a nonIndian college. As an example of the program's potential, a total of seven Little Big Horn students who have participated in the research program since its beginning in 1983 have successfully transferred to Montana State [Windy boy, 3/24/89].

Montana State University has benefitted, too. Through these innovative programs, faculty and administrators better understand Native American issues, and Indian students who enter their institution from the tribal college are more likely to succeed. In addition, Montana--like any college or university nationwide--benefits whenever a former tribal college student enrolls in their institution. Data in this area is extremely limited, but there is strong evidence that tribal colleges are educating students who continue their studies at a four-year institution and are more likely to complete a degree.

~~For example,~~ a survey of tribal college students completed by the Center for Native American Studies at Montana State University found that many students viewed tribal colleges as a valuable first step in higher education. Nearly 60 percent of the respondents said they enrolled in a tribal college to improve basic skills before transferring to a four-year college, and 45 percent reported they intended to complete courses needed to transfer to a four-year college [Wright, 1986, p. 9].

As expected, the actual transfer rate is much lower, but still significant. Of the 75 percent of the respondents who were no longer enrolled in a Montana tribal college, nearly 20 percent had completed a degree or certificate program, 24 percent successfully completed their educational goals and just under 7 percent were enrolled in a four-year institution at the time of the survey [Wright, p. 13].

Not all students enter a tribal college intending to complete a degree and then transfer. A significant percentage

enter to improve present job skills (55 percent), complete a high school equivalency certificate (15 percent), update teaching certificates (22 percent), or simply to learn for learning's sake (80 percent). But those who do transfer to a nonIndian college are better prepared socially and academically. While more research must be completed, the Center for Native American Studies has estimated that graduates from tribal colleges are at least twice as likely to succeed in a nonIndian college when compared to Indian students who did not first study at a tribal college [Wright, 1988, p. 12].

This achievement does a tremendous service to colleges and universities. Indians have traditionally had among the highest non-completion rates of any college population. This early evidence suggesting that tribal colleges--although still young and small--can have an impact on this persistent failure is encouraging.

We conclude that both Indian and nonIndian colleges are strengthened when they work together. Cooperative programs improve student education, faculty development, build bridges of understanding, and, ultimately, result in students who have skills and confidence to work or continue their studies at nonIndian institutions.

Fourth, we recommend that community development programs at tribal colleges be aggressively expanded.

Beyond the academic curriculum at each tribal college, there is a commitment to respond to the tribe's economic and social needs. Salish Kootenai, for example, emphasizes the training of individuals through a work experience program. Turtle Mountain maintains close connections with tribally-run industry. Sinte Gleska sponsors an institute to study the tribe's economic needs. Oglala Lakota, meanwhile, works with the tribe to fund and support small-scale enterprises.

~~A focus on urgent social needs is also offered at each college.~~ A literacy program has been developed at Sinte Gleska along with community education programs in alcohol and drug abuse. The college focuses on alcohol education with its "Drug Free Schools" program funded through a Department of Education grant. Courses, workshops, and in-service training is offered to educators and other professionals throughout the Flathead reservation [Self-Study, 1989, p. VIC.1]. [↑] Other colleges also offer a varied selection of cultural and continuing education programs for their communities.)

Each of these programs is an essential part of the tribal colleges' mission. Through such efforts, the impact of the institution is felt, not just by enrolled students, but by the entire tribe. In addition, they demonstrate that the Indians themselves can resolve reservation needs.

Another dimension of community development is the growing link between the tribal colleges and schools that educate Indian

children--public, tribal, and private. Although programs are not extensive, tribal college administrators are building connections to the schools, recognizing that the social and academic failure of Indian students begins long before they enter college.

Some tribal colleges--such as Sinte Gleska and Oglala Lakota--have been directly responsible for the increased number of Indian school teachers through their teacher training programs. These institutions and others also help support programs in Indian culture at the schools, based on the belief that elementary and secondary students benefit from the increased understanding and respect shown for their heritage and cultural expectations.

As Indian students and colleges work together, the quality of education can be strengthened through cultural programs for students and in-service training to staff and teachers who teach Indian children. The colleges and schools also can promote the transition from school to college by offering classes that earn college credit. More directly, college students could receive credit for tutoring students in a variety of subjects. In turn, the colleges will be rewarded with students who are firmly grounded in the basic skills and more confident of their abilities and self-identity.

On quite another front, Turtle Mountain is working with US West, the region's telephone company, to offer degrees in the health field. The college is creating cooperative arrangements with other area institutions for training in such professions as occupational therapy, nursing, and medical records. Students

will complete a certificate degree through Turtle Mountain or be prepared to transfer elsewhere if a four-year degree is required. For its part, US West is providing the support needed to study local needs, plan programs of study, and develop agreements with other colleges and universities.

Fifth, we recommend that state governments more adequately support tribal colleges--especially community service programs.

A strong self-supporting reservation not only benefits the members of the tribe, but also these larger communities as well. In states with large or multiple reservations, the economic and social health of the whole region can be greatly influenced by the status of these Indian communities.

Some connections, of course, already exist. Indians do participate in surrounding economies, vote, and increasingly participate in local politics. In addition, most Indian children are now educated in public schools alongside nonIndian children.

Some reservations co-exist peacefully with the Anglo population and maintain cordial relations with local and state governments. In these cases, openness and cooperation exists between the tribe and surrounding communities. In recent years, for example, public schools serving the Flathead reservation of Montana and the Rosebud Sioux reservation of South Dakota have worked to teach young students an appreciation for local Indian culture.

Often the mood of state government toward tribal colleges is less supportive, best described as an air of indifference. The

needs of Native Americans frequently are not fully recognized by legislators, and with limited economic power and little to nonexistent political representation, Indian voices are rarely heard in the corridors of power. Policies affecting Indians, when they are considered by state agencies, often do not include adequate consultation. Thus, programs intended to benefit the Indian population may be ineffective--or even counterproductive.

Tribally-controlled colleges offer a splendid opportunity for legislatures to assist the Reservation in their states. These institutions strengthen political participation, economic growth, and access to quality education at all levels. They graduate people with skills to enrich the state, economically and civically, as well. From the voting booth to government offices, communities benefit when Native Americans are educationally well-prepared.

In addition, tribal college programs in community development--from alcoholism to economic opportunity--benefit both Indian and surrounding Anglo society. When a tribe works to improve its own quality of life, the whole community feels the results. We recommend, therefore, that state and local governments join with tribal colleges in partnerships for community development and educational excellence.

Together, these programs address the most central but largely unmet needs of the tribal colleges. While tuition and federal support through the Tribally-Controlled Community College Act provide the financial foundation, the institutions have been strengthened by support for specific projects. An expanded

cooperative effort between tribal colleges and government officials can improve the quality of education at each college and the breadth of their services.

Sixth, we recommend the establishment of a comprehensive program for faculty development and administrative leadership at tribal colleges.

All colleges need programs ~~that~~ ⁺ enrich faculty and build leadership with the administration. At tribal colleges, these needs are especially acute. ^S Since these institutions are young, operate under difficult conditions, and are isolated from the mainstream of higher education. There is a strong need for foundations to support collaborative programs in support of leadership development of tribal colleges. ^A At Turtle Mountain, ^{College} ~~for example,~~ with its severely limited budget and isolated location, there is little opportunity for instructors to interact with peers. But with Bush Foundation support, Turtle Mountain faculty have a variety of professional development programs. During the three-year program, all vocational education teachers became certified in their fields and many other faculty have become active with their professional organizations. ^A Support from the Bush Foundation has worked to increase professionalism, knowledge of student needs, appreciation for native culture and, of equal importance, discussion among the faculty. The Bush Foundation's programs in faculty development have been productive and well received. In addition, Little Big Horn's cooperation with Montana State University in biomedical research has been

praised, not only for what it offers students, but for how it builds connections between faculty at both schools.

Support for tribal college administrative leadership is crucial, too. Like instructors, college administrators also need to grow in their professions, meeting as a group within other tribal colleges, as well as leaders in broader higher education circles.

for presidents
There is a need to work together to support common goals. All tribal colleges, for example, share similar educational, financial, and administrative challenges. While the overall structure of the colleges vary greatly from campus to campus, all share financial hardships and the broad goal of promoting education for Indian self-determination and tribal development. Programs and innovations found at one college can be meaningful to all colleges. From teaching methods to fund-raising options, tribal colleges understand that they have much to offer each other.

Professional growth is also fostered among new and inexperienced administrators. Over the years, many tribal colleges have suffered from a high turnover rate among presidents and top administrators. In addition, new colleges are often started by a cadre of people who are extremely dedicated to the cause of tribally-controlled education, but may not have extensive administrative experience. The mentoring ~~and support~~ these people are offered within the college community is essential.

But, again, restricted funds limit such support. The presidents of tribal colleges do meet several times a year to discuss funding and legislative needs. In addition, they also get together once a year to hold small seminars during a week-long retreat. But the most valuable discussions--ones that can bring together a diverse range of tribal college staff, administrators, instructors, and outside educators and policymakers--is simply not possible.

Most tribal colleges are members of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. Together they provide guidance to new or struggling colleges and also maintain a small Washington, D.C. office where Indian and education-oriented legislation is monitored.

Recognizing that each institution is part of the larger tribal college movement as well as American higher education as a whole, tribal college administrators believe that much more must be done to develop intellectual and administrative leadership with their institutions.

Two new strategies have emerged - both, which hold great promise.
 First, The presidents of the consortium recently have organized a new continuing education arrangement called The Tribal College Institute. Under the sponsorship of this organization, faculty and administrators from tribal colleges can meet regularly--in seminar fashion--to discuss common needs and seek solutions to shared problems. The Institute is committed to building greater connections among tribally-controlled colleges and the larger educational community. We strongly recommend that foundations collaborate to support the Institute in its initial ~~three~~ ^{five}-year program.

Tribal colleges have also ~~recently~~ started a new journal called Tribal College Journal. This publication also will strengthen the network of institutions, provide for intellectual exchange, and give a sense of identity as well. The first issue, soon to be released, provides a forum for both administrators and faculty, and in the future, this journal can be closely linked to Institute programs, too. Again, we urge that this project be supported during its initial ~~three-year~~ period.

The achievement of the tribal colleges--like any institution--is directly linked to the people they employ. Indeed, their creation and growth is testimony to the dedication and ability of college staff faculty. For the colleges to continue to grow and mature, it is essential that the people associated with the college continue to grow in their professions as well. Along with direct support to individual institutions, we believe the Institute is a valuable vehicle for this reflection and support.

Seventh, we recommend that the national awareness and advocacy programs for tribal colleges be strengthened.

Better public policy means better public awareness, and there simply must be an increased understanding of the role tribal colleges play in American society. These institutions, as a group, are leaders in the movement for Indian self-determination and are increasingly responsible for the total number of Indians in higher education. In Montana, for example, the six tribal colleges enroll more Native Americans than all of the state's institutions combined.

However, most educators and policymakers do not even know these colleges exist. They have no idea that a network of tribal colleges play an important role in Native American education or in community development. Nor are they credited with the increasingly significant role they play in shaping the nation's American Indian policy.

The tribal college consortium employs a part-time Washington representative who represents their interests in the Capitol. This presence must be strengthened. We recommend, therefore, that private philanthropies collaborate to provide, for three years, support for a Washington, D.C. office with a full-time director. Through such an office, the colleges would enjoy the increased visibility they need to increase public awareness and legislative understanding.

In addition, the urgent need for data on enrollment, growth, and graduation and employment rates, could be organized from this central office. Until now, the colleges have had little time or money to complete this essential research at their own institutions and there is only the beginnings of a consortium-wide effort. Yet, to argue their cases effectively, this information must be gathered in a professional and consistent manner.

Finally, we recommend that a nongovernmental endowment be established to increase the fiscal support of tribal colleges and bring long-term stability to their institutions.

In a consortium-wide effort, the Phelps Stokes Fund of New York is providing administrative support to the development of the American Indian College Fund, an ongoing project of the tribal colleges to develop a \$5 million endowment. While such money cannot replace federal support, it can provide the merger of excellence, funding scholarships and specific development projects. The Phelps Stokes Fund should be considered for helping to nurture this still young and otherwise unfunded effort.

On most tribal college campuses, budgets are tight and administrators are strained to simply provide basic academic and administrative demands. Support from foundations, corporations, and federal funding agencies provide much needed base support. Grants from these agencies help bridge the gap between merely existing and building a strong community of learning.

During the Carnegie Foundation's two-year study of tribal colleges, we have become convinced that the idea of Indian-controlled higher education is both valid and long overdue. We also concluded that the growing network of approximately two dozen tribally-controlled colleges offers great hope to the Native American community and the nation as a whole.

We saw many problems. Tribal colleges have some weak academic programs, distressingly inadequate facilities, poor salaries, and frequently they encounter divisive tribal politics. Graduation, continued education, and employment rates are not well documented. The need for sound research is urgent. All of this was noted in our visits.

But, as a movement, tribal colleges are an inspiration. Native Americans are creating the opportunity to piece together a cohesive society that pulls from the past but is firmly grounded in the needs of the future. Through the continued support of the federal government and all segments of American society, we believe they can continue to grow, mature, and offer hope to a people who have for more than 300 years suffered shameful misunderstanding and neglect.

This year marks the sesquicentennial of the Trail of Tears-- the forced relocation of thousands to "Indian Territory" west of the Mississippi. The time has come for Native Americans to enter a new era of hope and self-determination. Vigorous support for tribal colleges provides the way by which this goal can, in fact, be met.