Contention through Education

From Indian Education to Hopi Education

By

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ABSTRACT

This paper primarily focuses on the Hopi Tribe of northeastern Arizona and how historical events shaped the current perception and applications of educational systems on the Hopi reservation. This thesis emphasizes the importance of understanding historical contexts of a community in order to understand the current predicament and to devise solutions to contemporary issues in which I primarily focus on education. Education is broken down in regards to the Hopi communities by history, how this history has affected those communities, ideas of sovereignty and power within education and then future probable solutions to integrating language and culture into Hopi schools.

This research is primarily literature and educational reports on the Hopi Tribe and other American Indian communities. The research was then compiled to find commonalities with other Indian communities to depict barriers to educational success as well as effects of western education such as traditional culture and language decline. Solutions and results that other Indian communities had devised were also researched to determine if they could be incorporated into the Hopi educational system and if they supported the language and culture that the Hopi people are trying to retain.

DEDICATION

For the communities that this work aims to help

To my family, to whom none of this would be possible without their support

The American Indian community at Arizona State University

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Early Educational Experiences: Contradictions of Two Cultures

As a young child growing up in a community that bordered the Hopi and Navajo reservations, I lived a life that bordered two cultures. Our family lived in Tuba City, but as a young child I was not exposed to the surrounding Navajo community as my mother and father's occupations caused me to spend most of my day with my So'oh (grandmother) in Moencopi. I was exposed to my Hopi culture and language at a very young age. My So'oh spoke Hopi to me along with my nephew who was living with her at the time. She taught us traditional morals and ethics and how to carry ourselves as Hopi people.

Growing up in Moencopi, I gained an understanding of the Hopi religion and participated in traditional practices such as farming, traditional games, and developed Hopi ideologies. However, when I became of age to attend elementary school, I was exposed to a completely different educational paradigm. I entered Moencopi Day School (MDS) at the age of 4 and although this school was located on the Hopi reservation and had Hopi faculty, the curriculum was influenced by a non-Hopi paradigm. It was difficult at a young age to contextualize some of the information that I had learned in school as it was contradictory to my Hopi education. It would have been helpful if my parents or grandmother could articulate and contextualize the differences of the two pedagogies however this was never done.

The information that we learned in school such as history, English, and science created this notion that these ideas were superior to the education that I had received by Hopi elders. The idea's of white-American science and technology seemed superior to

my traditional culture as it was prevalent not only in our community but also in urban areas that we often visited such as Flagstaff and Phoenix in Arizona. As a result, it was difficult to understand my position in society as a Hopi individual. I realized that much of American society did not support my cultural and religious beliefs. Much of our own community members also put strong emphasis on American ideals as a result of undergoing the same educational system.

During my teenage years, I questioned much of what was taught to me in high school, as it did not correlate with the teachings provided by my elders. I often attempted to contextualize the differentiating teachings provided by school and my elders. If it had not been for the strong beliefs in our traditional ways by our elders, and the way that they were persistent of our involvement in cultural practices such as farming, ceremonial participation and encouragement to speak our language, I would have prioritized American ideals over traditional ones. Our elders were also very expressive on their stance on bahana (white man) ways, they understood that encroachment on our culture was their way of attempting to eradicate those aspects of our society in order that we assimilate into their ways.

Due to the educational dynamic that existed on the reservation, I simply thought that this is how it was and that there was no way to change it. Despite growing up on the reservation, we did not learn about issues that were prevalent in our communities or even the history of our people. Instead we learned about histories of places that we had never heard of or seen. This type of neglect of our own histories and issues lead us to believe that places like the original 13 American colonies were more important and had more significance than our own Hopi villages. Much of what was taught to us in school

prioritized American culture, and I understood that our culture and language had no place in the educational setting.

It was difficult mentally to understand and accept that there were not many supportive spaces for Hopi culture and language. It seemed only in our villages, that Hopi identity was accepted and encouraged. I understood that this was a problem. I understood at a young age that our Hopi identity was diminishing as a result of assimilation and colonization. The teachings that my so'oh provided me, gave me the courage and strength to contest against assimilation practices, which were causing issues in our communities. Alcohol/drug abuse, health issues, domestic violence, gang activity, and suicide were all a result of our people disregarding traditional morals and ethics and living a life that was considered qa-Hopi (misbehaving, living a life that is not in correlation with Hopi morals). I did no know how I could change these issues back when I was a child, but I was determined to find a solution, and during my graduate studies at Arizona State University I developed a strong belief that education could be the answer to our problems on the reservation.

Introduction

Aliksa'i (this is how it was) is the first word that is uttered by Hopi storytellers before they begin to tell stories to their children: stories that teach cultural morals and cultural values as well as Hopi history. Through western perceptions, Hopi historical accounts maybe considered nothing more than mere "stories", fairy tales of mythical animals, magic, and pagan religious beliefs. Such perceptions perpetuate western societies failure to recognize Hopi and their knowledge of the world as legitimate and in some ways more advanced than that of European Nations. The Eurocentric mentality of western society has allowed for the de-valuation of Hopi costumes, cultural practices and religious beliefs. Such a culture of colonialism has lead to a cycle of federal policies that continue to erode the culture that would cause the near collapse of one of the largest villages on Hopi. The decline of language and culture leaves contemporary Hopi leaders to devise new and innovative methods of nation re-building while relying on traditional philosophies.

As a young Hopi scholar, this is where I will examine critical historical events that lead to the introduction of Indian education into Hopi communities. Indian education, an assimilative approach devised by the United States government privileged Christian American morals and ideas while devaluing Indigenous ones. As a result, Hopi culture and language is on the decline and in order to reverse these effects, cultural and language revitalization efforts must be prioritized. One solution could be to incorporate culture and language in school curriculums to reverse

assimilation caused by western education but to use educational institutions as a means to strengthen culture and language in Hopi villages.

Today the Hopi villages are located on 1,542,306 acres in northeastern Arizona, which is a small percentage of their original ancestral territory.[1] The Hopi people, their communities and religious practices are among the most researched in the United States and continue to attract anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists, historians, artists, and tourists.[2] The Hopi are known for their intricate and highly complex ceremonial cycle, and have been regarded by one researcher as "the most religious people in the world".[3] Clanship system and ceremonial hierarchy are the foundation of Hopi society and are the glue that holds communities together. Through these systems, they appropriate individuals with duties and responsibilities to their community.[4]

The clanship system is very important in Hopi culture. Each clan is autonomous to itself and controls land through traditional inheritance. Every clan designates their own leaders in accordance with traditional customary laws and practices. Each clan holds specific responsibilities to the villages which they reside in.[5] Oral history states that each clan acquired knowledge through their experiences during migration where they made journeys through Central and South America, to

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[1] www.itcaonline.com
[2] Waters, Frank. *The Book of the Hopi*, (New York: Penguin Publishing, 1977)
[3] Unknown source
[4] Richland, Justin. "Hopi Sovereignty as Epistemological Limits". *Wacazo Sa Review* 24, (Spring, 2009): 89 -112.
[5] Titiev, Mischa. *Old Oraibi: a Study of Hopi Indians on Third Mesa*, (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1992)

[2] Waters, Frank. *The Book of the Hopi*, (New York: Penguin Publishing, 1977)
[3] Unknown source
[4] Richland, Justin. "Hopi Sovereignty as Epistemological Limits". *Wacazo Sa Review* 24, (Spring, 2009): 89 -112.

the Pacific Ocean and to other parts of the world.[6] With this knowledge, each clan could be admitted into one of the major villages by displaying or sharing their specific knowledge and skill, thus bringing beneficial teachings and lifeway's. Within the major ceremonies, certain clans held these ceremonies as the primary keepers, thus privileging them with distinction, certain benefits, and higher social and religious positions within Hopi society.

Farming is the primary source of sustenance for Hopi, and in the arid semi-desert climate of northern Arizona, moisture is the fundamental element of survival, which is why it resonates through ceremonies and why the primary function is prayer for rain. Hopi villages have been situated at what they refer to as Tuwanasavi (center of the universe) for centuries. The village of Oraibi is the oldest continuously inhabited community in the United States making the Hopi one of the oldest societies in the country.[7] Currently, there are 12 villages of Hopi and Tewa people, and in these villages, the traditional culture and old knowledge are still being taught as well as the ancient practices of dry farming all while sustaining the complex ceremonial practices which bring harmony to the universe.

The Hopi people have demonstrated deep devotion to their traditional way of life and have contested to any intrusion that was first witnessed by Spanish explorers. In 1540, an expedition of Spanish soldiers, Catholic priests and Indian guides led by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado trekked the southwest in search of riches and religious converts. They eventually came across the villages of Zuni in

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[6] Sakiestewa-Gilbert, Matthew. *Education Beyond the Mesa: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute*, *1902 – 1929*. (Lincoln: UofNebraska Press, 2010).
[7] James, Harry C. *Pages from Hopi History*. (Tucson: UofA Press, 1974).

New Mexico (Waters 1977). Mistaking Zuni as the fabled cities of gold, Pedro de Tovar was dispatched to the Hopi villages, and the entire process established what Albert Memmi describes as the relationship between the "colonizer and the colonized". The Mexican and American governments much later in time also employed this relationship of oppression.[8] The Hopi would have to rely on faith in their cultural ways in order to survive the onslaught of colonization.

A commonality between the three foreign European derived governments and their peoples – Spanish, Mexican, and American - was their inability to conceive indigenous societal practices as meaningful, worthy or even human; they were instead perceived as inadequate and useless in community building and likely a nonfactor in nation building. The focus of this paper is to directly respond to these misconceptions and reveal that through the Hopi-centric framework of education.

Indian education is a highly researched topic since it reveals a history of failed federal policies that led to dire situations for American Indian communities.[9] Today, tribal leaders are still working to reverse the effects caused by the failed policies of Indian education, mean while it still functions as an assimilative institution that promotes white-American ethnocentric values.[10] This same system still dominates schools that serve Hopi students, which is why I endeavor to develop an educational system that better caters to Hopi culture. The goal of this thesis is to

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[8] Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991).
[9] Reyner, John & Jeanne Eder. *American Indian Education: a History.* (Norman: Uof Oklahoma Press, 2004).
[10] McCarty, Teresa. "The Impact of High-stakes Accountability Policies on Native American Learners: Evidence from Research". *Teaching Education* 20, no 1, (2009): 7-29.

develop an educational framework that not only strengthens traditional forms of languages, values, ethics, and perspectives and that also fosters achievement in mathematics, reading, and sciences for career and academic opportunities on and off the reservation.

History is an important variable to examine, when deconstructing or decolonizing Indian education, especially in the context of our Hopi communities since certain historical events have laid the foundation for today's conditions (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010). Through research and implementation, we can offer practical solutions to our current educational challenges. The Spanish occupation of Oraibi, Songopavi and Awatovi are good examples that reveal both the long-term effects of colonization and the contention demonstrated by the Hopi as they resisted. For example, the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was the first successful revolution facilitated by an Indigenous group in which a European power was expelled in North America (Waters 1977). Hopi contention to the current system should follow the same philosophies of resistance and should be perceived as a reasonable reaction to years of cultural dominance over Indian education, especially since the relationship between the colonizer and colonized has yet to subside. This philosophy is important to take into consideration in order to understand the decisions that Hopi leaders will have to make when facing age old policies of assimilation and dominance and how they could use this information to develop culturally appropriate educational curriculum.

I have constructed this thesis by first discussing the introduction of western education into Hopi society through the split at Oraibi and the boarding school

experience. I feel that this lays the framework of how western education was perceived through cultural contexts and the contradictions that it created. The last two chapters I discuss ideas of sovereignty, power, and practical applications to education to make it more appropriate for Hopi students. The Hopi Tribe can use education to strengthen their sovereignty by taking charge of their own educational structure and create their own educational curriculums that strengthen language and culture in their communities.

In chapter 1 entitled the "Split of Oraibi", I examine a critical historical event to understand how it has shaped the current landscape of division within Hopi communities as well as to create a framework on the introduction of western education. This event reveals the fission that was developed during the later part of the 19th century into the turn of the 20th century as the residents of Oraibi were waging an internal war against foreign policies that was instigated and implemented by the federal government and Christian missionaries. The examination of this event gives description to the will of the Hopi and their leaders to hold fast and adhere to traditional Hopi law, as well as the resulting impact on Hopi religion and societal structure caused from community division. This event leads to the division of Oraibi and allowed for federal and school agents to attract and kidnap more Hopi children to boarding schools.

The boarding school era is another important historical context for the Hopi. During this time, many Hopi children including some Hopi leaders were forced to attend western educational institutions. This era demonstrates the impact that federal policies had on Hopi communities as boarding school not only introduced

western education but also brought a strong presence of Christianity within the villages through Christian missionaries. The purpose of boarding schools was to mentally assimilate the Hopi, and also to include religious conversion in order to create "productive citizens" of western society (Sakiestewa–Gilbert 2010).

The boarding schools also introduced the Hopi to the world by showcasing their skills of long distance running in the national and international arenas. In chapter 2, entitled "Boarding School and the Hopi", I explore the experiences of those Hopi's who attended early boarding schools. I discuss certain aspects of their culture that they were able to take with them into the boarding school institutions to survive. They displayed that their culture and identity can exist off the reservation and aid them when needed. Despite the assimilative agenda of boarding schools, many Hopi returned back to the reservation, continued to speak their heritage language and practice religious beliefs, which were all acts of contention against assimilation.

In chapter 3, entitled "Challenges of Sovereignty and Education", I shift the discussion to ideas of power and sovereignty. These are important concepts when discussing Indian education as federal policy has used education as a means to maintain power over the Hopi, infringing on their inherit sovereign right to decide for themselves on how their children should be educated. The Hopi along with the other 566 federally recognized tribal nations are distinct from other people of color in the United States because of their political recognition. Indian education researcher K. Tsianina Lomawaima argues that tribal nations fight for diversity not

standardization; this supports scholars such as Vine Deloria Jr. who write about Tribal Nations wanting to have their own variations of education.[11]

The landscape of Indian education transformed from assimilation to self-determination as the Meriam Report of 1928 revealed the dire situations that Indian communities were in as a result of failed federal policies.[12] Today the self-determination era provides room for the Hopi to re-organize their own education policies utilizing culturally grounded education, ideas that were made successful by other Indian communities. The final chapter entitled "Reclaiming education through Hopi education" explores ideas of culturally responsive schooling and Indian controlled schools. Culturally responsive schooling allows for culture and language to be incorporated into school curriculums, which are instrumental in establishing strong cultural identity.[13] Hopi scholar Sheila Nicholas states "cultural experiences are key to developing a personal and cultural identity as a Hopi, but a linguistic competence in Hopi, especially in a ceremonial context, is fundamental to acquiring

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[11] Lomawaima, K. Tsianina and Teresa L. McCarty. "When Tribal Sovereigns Challenge Democracy: American Indian Education and the Democratic Ideal". *American Educational Research Journal* 39.2 (2002): 279. And Deloria, Vine Jr. *Custer Died for your Sins: An Indigenous Manifesto*. (Norman: Uof Oklahoma Press, 1988).

[12] Szasz, Margaret. *Education and the American Indian: the Road to Self-Determination, 1928 – 1973*. (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1974).

[13] Brayboy, Bryan & Angelina E. Castagno. "Self-determination through Self-education: Culturally Responsive Schooling for Indigenous Students in the USA". *Teaching Education* 20, no. 1, (2009): 31 – 53.

a complete sense of being Hopi".[14] Through Hopi cultural perspectives, identity through language and culture is essential.

Through this thesis I will attempt to deconstruct the term "Indian education" because "Indian education" is associated with negative schooling that has denigrated Hopi society. "Hopi education" is more appropriate since it defines an educational process that would be beneficial to Hopi children and communities. The curriculum of "Hopi education" is derived from Hopi culture and communities in correlation with some western educational practices. The final chapter will explore to see if this method would be feasible for the Hopi since there are few practical solutions that are beneficial for all Indian communities.

Education is an important aspect of any society as it is the process in which children are taught to be effective and contributing members of their communities. This topic is especially important in contemporary contexts for the Hopi as American Indian students continue to struggle in school and most suffer the brunt of the social ills on reservations. Today's challenge is to devise and to develop a more successful educational system that caters to Hopi students since their history, and culture should be prioritized because Indian students have a right to continue their traditional practices. The current educational system does not fit the uniqueness of Indian and specifically Hopi communities. This system allows for the decline of culture and language and the perpetuation of a colonial relationship that is long overdue for change. The development of culturally grounded education will allow

[14] Nicholas, Sheilah. Becoming 'Fully' Hopi: the Role the Hopi language in the Contemporary Lives of Hopi Youth – a Hopi Case Study of Language Shift and Vitality. (PhD Diss.., Uof Arizona, 2009).

for the Hopi to reverse years of a failed educational system whose primary function was to assimilate. Only then can the Hopi empower and develop their communities in as they see fit for the sake of their survival.

Chapter 1

"The Split at Oraibi"

The Hopi managed to sustain themselves in a semi-desert environment utilizing advanced dry farming techniques for centuries. Through religious beliefs and cultural practices they managed to thrive as one of the oldest civilizations in the United States. Yet, unfortunately the continued explorations and settlements of European-Americans and continued encroachment of rival Tribal Nations brought unwanted attention to Hopi villages. Primarily, the arrival of European-Americans would alter the cultural and religious practices of the Hopi. These new arrivals would test Hopi faith, and would drive a wedge in Hopi communities that would leave long lasting effects that are still seen today.

The split at Oraibi is an important historical event that was caused by a series of occurrences that led to internal conflict within the largest Hopi village during the latter part of the 19th century, and peaking in the early part of the 20th century. The root cause of the conflict stemmed from constant interference from the federal government. Although, many anthropologists who studied this event would argue that the split developed from economic factors that affected the village, such as drought, overpopulation, and lack of resources to support the population.[15] The federal government had instituted assimilation-based policies for all American Indians and one such policy that was forced on Indian nations was westernized education, which was developed in the form of Indian boarding schools.

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[15] Levy, Jerrold E. *Orayvi Revisited: Social Stratification in an "Egalitarian" Society*. (Sante Fe: School of American Research Press, 1992)

The hegemonic expansion of the United States required the elimination of certain aspects of Indian society primarily religion, culture and language.[16] Boarding schools proved to be very effective although the means by which they were effective could be perceived as inhumane.[17] The purpose of subjecting Indian people into this form of institutionalization was for the sole purpose of "civilizing" which is another form of colonization and genocide.[18] This foreign educational system was sold to Indian leaders as beneficial to their indigenous communities but as history has shown, these schools devastated them. The Hopi, much like other Indian communities had already developed and maintained a complex and sophisticated societal structure and had done well to maintain their way of life without any outside influence. Yet the United States felt that their way of life would not suffice an eminent dominance of American society.

Few Indian nations were able to remain united when deciding whether to send their children to boarding school as the removal of their children would off set their traditional ways of life. Often times, there were inconsistent perspectives of sending children to schools, as some leaders perceived institutionalized education as a means to strengthen their communities by gaining western knowledge, other leaders perceived this as a method of corruption for their traditional life style. This

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[16] The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions Under U.S. Policies of Self-determination*. (New York: Oxford U Press, 2008).

[17] "Our Spirits Don't Speak English: Indian Boarding Schools". Dir. Chip Richie Rich Heape Films (2003)

[18] Pewewardy, Cornel. "Ideology, Power, and the Miseducation of Indigenous Peoples in the United States". From *For Indigenous Eyes Only: a Decolonization Handbook*. Ed. Waziyatawin Angela Wilson and Michael Yellowbird, (Sante Fe: School of American Research, 2005): 139 – 156.

event would also shape the current landscape of Hopi communities primarily those villages that had branched off from the village of Oraibi. The intrusion of U.S. dominion caused a persisting socio-political division amongst the citizens of the village that continues today.

Oraibi was the largest of the Hopi villages and, in the year 1890 the population exceeded 1000 residents.[19] The village's demographic made it the prime target for the federal government because they believed that if Oraibi complied to assimilation then the rest of the Hopi villages would follow suit.[20] It than became imperative to federal officials, that Oraibi leaders and it's residents would accept western idea's including enforcement of children to Indian boarding schools by any means necessary. The purpose of course would be to alter the ideologies of their children by creating a perception of dominance and superiority of western ideas over Hopi ones.

In 1887, an Indian boarding school was constructed at Keams Canyon (Adams 1979). The Hopi were not enthusiastic of this new form of education, and attendance for the school was very low. During the same time, Thomas Keam, a former government interpreter and trading post owner, helped arrange a trip in which selected Hopi leaders traveled to Washington D.C. (James, 1974, Rushforth and Upham, 1992). The purpose for the leaders who traveled on this trip was to ask for protection due to constant encroachment of white settlers and enemy tribes primarily the Navajo. This was a primary concern for Hopi leaders, as they were

[19] Simmons, Leo, Ed. *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*. (New Haven: Yale U Press, 1970).
[20] Waters, Frank. *Book of the Hopi*. (New York: Penguin, 1974).

aware that Navajo families were moving closer to Hopi villages and would often conduct raids for corn, cattle, women and children (Simmons 1970 Talayesva 1970). The leaders that traveled to Washington D.C., were the most recognized leaders of the major villages on Hopi. Those leaders were Lololma from Oraibi, Honani from Songopavi, Sima and Ahnawita from Walpi.[21]

Federal officials took advantage of this trip and arranged for these leaders to make stops at Carlisle Indian Industrial School and other Indian boarding schools (Gilbert-Sakiestewa 2010). The government also showcased military demonstrations. The purpose of this act was obvious: to demonstrate the military power of the United States so the Hopi would not challenge them in warfare. This trip had changed the original perspectives of Lololma on White-American society. He had witnessed how American society utilized technology to grow corn at an exponential rate; he was impressed with what he had seen.[22] Prior to this trip, he had developed an anti-American sentiment, which was imparted from his father Kuyingwu (Titiev, 1944, James 1975, Waters, 1974).

Federal officials were convinced that Indian education was necessary for Hopi communities to adapt to the changing landscape of America, as they wished for them to become well versed in American costumes and habits. The visits to the Indian boarding schools were to demonstrate what skill sets and knowledge that Hopi children could acquire in order to serve them better in American society. The technological advancement of American society impressed Lololma. It was enough

[21] James, Harry C. *Pages From Hopi History*. (Tucson: U of Arizona Press, 1974).
[22] Sakiestewa-Gilbert, Matthew. *Education Beyond the Mesa: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929*. (Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 2010).

for him to buy into western education and used an old Hopi belief to legitimize his decision on his change of mentality. Clan groups were permitted into the main villages if they could demonstrate knowledge through power and ceremony that would convey useful contributions to Hopi society. He saw this as a way to allow for western education to be incorporated into Hopi life.

In a way, Lololma understood the inevitable expansion of the United States. He held a council in Oraibi in which Hopi leaders were invited from other villages (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010). He utilized a sand pile inside of the Kiva that they were meeting in to demonstrate the larger population of White-Americans to Hopi. He picked up a pinch of sand to demonstrate the ratio of Hopi to Whites. In this meeting he informed those in attendance that he would begin to comply with the federal government and to allow for Hopi children to attend school. He also encouraged his fellow Hopi to allow their children to attend school as well.

Lololma's decision to comply with the federal government was perceived as heresy by some (Dorsey and Voth 1901). Several Hopi's spoke out against Lololma creating a divide of the people. As a result of the division, two groups emerged in a sense splitting the village population in half. Lomahongyoma emerged as the main opposition to Lololma's encouragements to accept federal policies (James 1974). Lomahongyoma organized his followers to contest any implementation on Hopi life that was suggested by federal agents. As a result of their non-compliance, federal agents labeled them "hostiles" as their actions were perceived as hostility towards the federal government. However, Matthew Gilbert-Sakiestewa points out that this term limits their actions to be perceived as negative by any non-Hopi unfamiliar

with Hopi perspectives (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010). He choses to label them as Hopi resisters since from their perspective, the "hostility" they demonstrated was a means to preserve their traditional way of life. Naturally, Lololma and his followers were labeled as "friendlies" for their friendly attitude towards the federal government. However this term as well insinuates Lololma as an "uncle tom", and Sakiestewa-Gilbert choses to use the term "accommodators" instead (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010).

The climax of the split occurred on September 8, 1906 where the opposing factions decided to settle their quarrel once and for all. It was noted by several sources that Yukieoma leader of the "hostile" group at that time, drew four horizontal lines on the ground and challenged Tewaquaptewa, Lololma's successor, and declared that if they could push him and his followers over the line that they would willingly leave the village (Titiev 1992 James 1974 Waters 1974 Simmons 1970). He stated that if his group pushed the "friendly" faction over the line, than they would have to depart Oraibi. This historical account is still remembered by many Hopi. Don Talayesva recounted that a large crowd of men gathered at the southeast edge of the mesa (Simmons 1970). Talayesva recalls the men armed themselves believing that open warfare was imminent. School officials and Christian priests discouraged them from firing on one another reminding them of their peaceful nature. Any weapon that had been brandished was confiscated and it was decided by the leaders of both factions that no blood would be shed (Simmons 1970).

Helen Sekaquaptewa recalls that men from the "friendly" faction began encroaching on the homes of the "hostile" families and forcibly removed them from their homes with the intent of driving them out of the village. In photographs taken by Kate Cory of the incidents described by Sekaquaptewa, depict three men on the ground all struggling with one another and it was noted that this was the common scene.[23] Tewaquaptewa had ordered the men from Songopavi, who had been recruited by Yukieoma to reinforce his faction, to leave the village. When they would not comply with the kikmongwi's order, men from the "friendly" faction seized them attempting to physically remove them. As soon as someone from Tewaquaptewa's group laid hands on the Songopavi men, another individual from Yukieoma's faction would come from behind attacking Tewaquaptewa's men (Waters 1977).

There are inconsistent accounts of who met Yukieoma face to face during the shoving match. The popular connotation is that Tewaquaptewa stood face to face with Yukeioma as their respective followers pushed against their backs attempting to force the opposing faction over the 4 horizontal lines. However, Mischa Titiev and Peter Whitely proclaim that another man took the place of Tewaquaptewa whose name was Humihongniwa.[24] This would make sense with Hopi ideology as the kikmongwi position is perceived as sacred in terms of dealings with his people who are viewed as his children. Although Tewaquaptewa's quarrels with the "hostile" faction was known, it still would have been in the best interest for him to exclude

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[23] Cory, Kate. *The Hopi Photographs, 1905 - 1912*. (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1988).
[24] Titiev, Mischa. *Old Oraibi: a Study of Hopi Indians of Third Mesa*. (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1992). Peter Whitely. *The Oraibi Split: a Hopi Transformation*. (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 2008).

himself from the altercation. Onlookers saw clouds of dust rising in the air as a result of the shoving, and in the end, the “friendly” faction was successful in forcing Yukeioma over the lines resulting in the forced departure of the “hostiles”.

There were many events prior to September 8, 1906 that caused strain in the village. In 1834, White trappers shot 20 Hopi men who were attempting to intervene when the trappers were raiding their cornfields (Titiev 1992). This event was the source of bitter feelings that many Hopi held about White-settlers. The kikmongwi at that time was Talaiyaoma and as a result of this occurrence had grown to hate the encroaching white race. According to Titiev, Talaiyaoma served as kikmongwi from 1825 to 1850 and his successor Nakwaiyamptiwa, took charge from 1850 to 1865 (Titiev, 1992). The man who was chosen to succeed leadership from Nakwaiyamptiwa had passed away before taking position and Kuyingwu, a man of the Water Coyote clan was chosen as interim kikmongwi to hold for Lololma who was chosen over his older brother Sakhongyoma (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010). The antagonistic perspective for white-Americans was maintained in the transition of leadership between Lololma and his father. Lololma became the first kikmongwi to demonstrate a willingness to cooperate with white-Americans.

Lololma and Lomahongyoma, would wage a game of human chess, both sides taking actions to undermine the other. Each leader was legitimized by their leadership positions that they held in Oraibi. Lololma of course was the kikmongwi authorized by belonging to the Bear clan thus having a prominent position in the Soyal ceremony. Lomahongyoma was the head of the Spider clan, which was in the same clan phratry as the Bear clan meaning that the two opposing leaders were

related; he was also a prominent figure within the Blue Flute and Soyal ceremony as well. His clan also held a prominent position within the warrior society making him a formidable opponent to Lololma (Titiev 1992).

Oral history and prophecy are important factors within Hopi communities (Mails 1995). Indigenous historical accounts are perceived as myth and story by western accounts due to the fact that they are not written. This ethnocentric perception creates concepts of primitive societies on how indigenous people chose to structure their communities. Hopi oral historical accounts and prophecy are seen as the makeup of traditional law, which is a strong influence on how they structure themselves and carry out their decisions (Sekaquaptewa 1991). Ideas of traditional law, then makes it understandable on steps taken by the two opposing leaders on how they chose to leverage themselves over the other.

An example of the usage of prophecy to leverage position is that of the "white brother". Thomas E. Mails worked extensively with Hopi elders from Hotevilla, which became the permanent settlement of Yukieoma and his followers after leaving Oraibi.[25] His work with Dan Evehma, Katchhongva and others promotes concepts of Hopi law, which are derived from Hopi history and prophecy. In one prophesized event, a long lost "white brother" is to come to the aid of the Hopi, bringing with him salvation from difficult times (Mails and Evehma 1995). Lololma believed that the United States government was the embodiment of the "white brother" and his education was the means for salvation of the Hopi. Of course Lomahongyoma disagreed with this belief.

[25] Mails, Thomas. *The Hopi Survival Kit*. (New York: Welcome Rain, 1997).

Lomahongyoma would utilize prophecy to assert his authority over Lololma and to usurp village control from the Bear Clan. Oral history recounts that the Hopi had made a covenant with the deity Masau'a, and pledged that they would always live in accordance with his instructions in reciprocation for allowing them to occupy this world over which he claims ownership (Mails and Evehma 1995). If they deviated from their traditional life way that destruction would befall them. Lomahongyoma argued this point, and accused Lololma with failure to uphold his duties as kikmongwi by allowing assimilation policies to alter the Oraibi societal structure, and argued that he had a right to overtake the kikmongwi position.[26]

The utilization of prophecy as well as oral history reveals that these Hopi leaders held fast to their Hopi ways and were faithful and loyal to these teachings and philosophies. The leaders authority also originated from the teachings of their respective clans and their roles in the ceremonial cycle. These leaders are the best evidence of the importance of the clan and ceremonial institutions, which are unequivocally the basis for Hopi society. Unfortunately, the conflict that arose from the fractionalization would eventually have severe impacts on the clanship and ceremonial systems and positions.

Yukieoma would begin to take a more prominent leadership position among the "hostiles", and would eventually replace Lomahongyoma as leader. Yukieoma belonged to the Fire Clan. He also belonged to the warrior and antelope societies (Titiev, 1992). Masua'a, is the guiding spirit of Yukieoma's fire clan. He would use

[26] Mails, Thomas and Dan Evehma. *Hotevilla: Hopi Shrine of the Covenant: Microcosm of the World.* (New York: Marlowe and Co, 1995).

this status and power of his guiding spirit in an argumentative manner to replace the bear clan as leaders of the village (Titiev, 1992). Yukieoma employed other tactics to strengthen his "hostile" group, but created more friction within the village, which would escalate into attacks and counter attacks from both sides, eventually leading to the removal of the "hostile" group from the village.

After Lololma passed away in 1904, his nephew Tewaquaptewa was chosen as his replacement (Levy 1992). Tewaquaptewa inherited the turmoil of the divided village. Tewaquaptewa maintained the same mentality as Lololma continuing to cooperate with the federal government and Christian missionaries. Tewaquaptewa also encouraged his people to send their children to boarding schools and this continued to fuel tension that had already been established and caused the "hostile" faction to take action. Yukieoma invited Hopi's from Songopavi who shared his perspectives and antagonistic approach to the federal government (Waters 1970). Now Yukieoma and his contingency outnumbered Tewaquaptewa and his faction.

The "hostile" alliance between the Hopi's from Songopavi infuriated Tewaquaptewa. Yukeioma had undermined Tewaquaptewa as village chief by inviting a foreign Hopi group to move into Oraibi. Lomahongyoma proclaimed authority and sanctioned the group from Songopavi to construct their homes and designated lands where they could plant their cornfields (Titiev 1944). Farming was an ongoing issue since in previous years the crops had not done so well and it

seemed that there was an imminent drought.[27] Tewaquaptewa discussed the farming issue with Agency Superintendent Lemmon, who represented the arm of the U.S. Government, and he agreed that the Songopavi people were wrongfully occupying Oraibi and proclaimed that Tewaquaptewa had every right to forcibly remove them (James 1970). Tewaquaptewa hesitated to forcibly remove his fellow Hopi and he sought a more peaceful solution. In an attempt to counter the sizable force of the "hostiles", he asked the village of Moencopi to send reinforcements to bolster the size of the "friendlies". The village of Moencopi responded to their chief and sent a sizeable force (Whitley 2008).

The different perspectives in the fractionalization of Oraibi are important to examine. Certainly the literature only offers a portion of perspective of the events that occurred and certainly from the perspective of whom it was written by. Many publications about the split are written by non-hopis and they do attest to having Hopi consultants it still offers room for critique. In regards to the development of identity for Hopi students, these aspects of history offer community members insight on how their communities and culture were perceived by white-Americans. C.E. Vendever and Leo Crane upon their work with the Hopi, assessed that although the Hopi possessed some form of intelligence were "vulnerable to a state of apathy" and possessed "no morals of the white man's morality" (Adams 1979).

The split at Oraibi from a Hopi perspective attributes pride and cultural understandings of students that come from those communities that were involved.

[27] Rushforth, Scott and Steadman Upham. *A Hopi Social History: Anthropological Perspectives on Sociocultural Persistence and Change*. (Austin: U of Texas Press, 1992).

The approach by both factions demonstrates faith and adherence to traditional Hopi law, which is important to take into consideration, as it was the chosen methodology to contest against assimilation. The lessons that could be taken from historical accounts such as the split, would strengthen traditional lessons that Hopi children still learn in their villages, disallowing any cultural contradictions that often develop when educational curriculums fail to take into consideration the unique attributes of a community that those schools are teaching. It would benefit students from the Hopi community more so, to read about their communities as "highly developed intricate societies" as expressed by Homer Cooyoma as opposed to "no morals of the white man's morality" expressed by Indian agents Vendever and Crane (Courlander 1982 Adams 1979).

In Harold Courlanders *Hopi Voices*, Harold Cooyoma expresses his frustrations with the encroaching white-Americans and blames the division of the Hopi on the federal government and holds them responsible for the separated factions.[28] Since the Hopi had failed to unify to contest against the intruding government, they separated believing that each groups own course of action was the appropriate counter to the intrusion. However, after carefully examining the influence of the decisions made by each faction, I argue that each group reacted in accordance to their cultural beliefs; in the end each strongly believed that their choices would allow for the continuation of their people, whether that be through a

[28] Courlander, Harold. *Hopi Voices: Recollections, Traditions, and Narratives of the Hopi Indians*. (Albuequerque: UNM Press, 1982).

spiritual existence by continuing the old ways or through adaptation of the changing environment as a result of the presence of white-Americans.

Another concept that is rarely discussed in the literature that helps strengthen the autonomy of the Hopi is the idea of diingavi (Krutz 1973). The termed diingavi defined by Krutz, refers to "designed in deliveration". This concept suggests that the Hopi were well aware of the possible outcomes of a civil war in Oraibi. They also perceived it as inevitable and even a fulfillment of prophecy. This concept is also consistent with Hopi oral history of villages that had allowed to be destroyed in a manner of self-destruction for the purpose of punishment. Hopi knowledge of diingavi shaped the historical account of this event basically insisting that Hopi maintained control throughout the split and even created the end results to serve a purpose beyond the understandings of the federal government. This idea suggests that Hopi leaders were steps ahead of the U.S. government utilizing Hopi law and prophecy as its basis.

Another foreign policy that had caused turmoil in addition to education policy was allotments. Lololma allowed the federal government to survey Hopi land in order to establish individual allotments for Hopi individuals.[29] This was perceived as anti-Hopi and disrupted the clanship system, which was the authority that traditionally controlled land. The U.S. approach of land ownership came to the Hopi with the General Allotment act of 1887 or Dawes Act. This policy was aimed at disrupting the communal lifestyle that Indian communities traditionally established

[29] Dorsey, George A. and H. R. Voth. "The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony". *Publication of the Columbian Field Museum* 3 no. 1, (March, 1901):

for themselves, and replacing this with a western individualistic approach by allotting land to individuals, and educating them with western perspectives of land ownership.[30]

The "hostile" faction adamantly opposed the allotment policy. Hopi "hostiles" destroyed survey markers, and would quickly tear them down as they were set back up as well as threatened to burn down the school at *New Oraibi*[31] (Waters 1974 Krutz 1973). Such act of defiance created numerous problems for the federal government who were the primary benefactors of the policy. U.S. agents began arresting individuals responsible for the vandalism and detaining them in jail. Through the actions of the "hostile" group, the federal government formally allied with the "friendly" faction, and demonstrated their power by dispatching police against the "hostiles" not only for destroying the survey markers but also to capture children in attempts of forcing them into the boarding school system (James 1977).

The strength of this alliance the federal government and the "friendly" faction, seemed to seal the fate of the village; that the removal of the "hostile" faction was imminent. Surprisingly the "friendly" chief did not agree with all recommendations of the federal government as Lololma and Tewaquaptewa attempted to act in a manner in accordance with traditional Hopi customs. Harry C. James notes examples of this, in his book *Pages from Hopi History*. He states that although Tewaquaptewa was urged several times to forcefully remove Yukieoma and his followers by the U.S., however he felt that there was another solution that

[30] Encyclopedia Brittanica Online. "Dawes General Allotment Act".
[31] New Oraibi now known as Kykotsmovi

was consistent with Hopi beliefs (James 1974). This example shows that although the "friendly" faction was accepting of western aspects of society, they still held true to Hopi traditional law, which contradicts the mentalities of many "hostile" and their descendants that claim that Lololma and Tewaquaptewa intended for the complete assimilation of their people to American ways.

In a highly religious society such as the Hopi, the insurmountable tension was partially created by traditional beliefs that over stepping boundaries created by clan and religious system could lead to dysfunction. The allotment system for example invaded the sacred understanding of stewardship of land held in place by each clan. The actions taken by Yukieoma and Lomahongyoma were also considered by "friendly" Hopi's as attempts at usurpation of power as it was well recognized by all Hopi, not just those living in Oraibi that the Bear Clan was the legitimate leading clan. The argument that the Bear clan was no longer in power because they allowed for outside interference from federal government and church personnel, also contributed to the tension.

Since specific clans were solely responsible for their ceremony, none other could replicate the rituals of others. In 1899, the "hostile" group, with the intentions of re-creating the major ceremonies, built a kiva and from the perspective of the legitimate ceremonial leaders, the Bear clan of the Soyal, the recreation of the Soyal was blasphemy (Titiev 1944). In an attempt to foil the plots of the "hostiles", the Village Chief asked for aid from the federal government to intervene and stop the attempts to recreate ceremonies, as the "friendlies" attested that it would create extreme misfortune for the Hopi (James 1974).

The autobiographies of Don Talayesva and Helen Sekaquaptewa give testament to the negativity that was created in the village when two of the same ceremonies took place at the same time by these opposing factions. Both recall that when one faction held a ceremony, the families from the opposing faction would close their doors and windows to invalidate the ceremonies that were taking place.[32] Talayesva also recounts the tragic misfortune that had befallen upon the Hopi having to have separate ceremonies, since both groups failed to unite the hearts of the people in order for good fortune (Simmons 1970).

The most unfortunate demonstration of contention against one another was when the "hostile" faction held a separate Niman or Home dance, which represented the closing of the Kachina season. Encouragement from Hopi's from the "friendly" faction, Tewaquaptewa reluctantly allowed for men from his faction to block the path that lead to the sacred shrine to which the Kachina beings pray and depart from (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010). Sekaquaptewa recalls that the largest men from Tewaquaptewas followers were chosen to defend the path and disallow the ceremony to end in the proper manner (Sekaquaptewa 1991). As the Kachina's attempted to depart home, their path was blocked by these large men, and arguing commenced for several hours before the Kachina beings were lead to an alternate place in order to pray and depart (Udall 1991). The Kachina beings themselves had no part in the argument since custom dictated that it was beneath them to take part in such actions.

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[32] Simmons, Leo, Ed. *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*. (New Haven: Yale U Press, 1970). And Louise, Udall. *Me and Mine: the Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa*. (Tucson: U of Arizona Press, 1991).

The actions of both sides against one another may be difficult to understand from an outsider, especially if one is unknowledgeable about Hopi traditions. Fractionalization in other societies has often led to violence, bloodshed and even wars, the decisions of the Hopi leadership from both side's reveals that both still held regard for their beliefs of peaceful dealings with one another. This conflict also reveals the contradictions and differing perspectives between the Hopi and the federal government, especially since they were relentless in forcing assimilation and jurisdiction on traditional Hopi lands, even when they surely had no power to do so.

The split at Oraibi had devastating effects creating conflicting attitudes amongst the Hopi about their perception of the contemporary American society and dealing with culture change. The terms "friendly" and "hostile" have since been replaced with "progressive" and "traditional" and the continuance of non-cooperative attitudes towards one another continues to persist and creates barriers for the development of Hopi as a community. It cannot be ignored: that the implementation of western education, foreign religion, land allotment and foreign governance were major factors that contributed to the split. The federal government's justification for implementing these policies was to be for the betterment of the Hopi villages, but it created an internal conflict that resulted in the division of the largest village at that time.

The split also effected the foundation of Hopi culture: the clan and religious system. A large number of "hostiles" who were forcefully exiled from Oraibi once held high positions within the important ceremonies, and when they were removed they took with them sacred objects that were used in the ceremonies (Talayesva

1970). Due to religious beliefs these objects could not be recreated and therefore some important rituals had to be omitted or altered. Also, much like any civil war, families were torn apart. This was the final altercation since people witnessed their own relatives fighting against themselves severing the close-knit ties that had been held together by this system of clanship and religious societies for generations (Talayesva 1970 Sekaquaptewa 1991).

There are other factors that researchers contribute to the "disintegration" of Oraibi, such as the environment and farming (Rushforth and Upham 1992). Drought and poor crops have been speculated as contributors to the split and this is sensible since Tewaquaptewa recognized that the stability of the village became imbalanced since the crops and water could not support the additional population generated when Yukeioma invited the people of Songopavi. The sense of urgency to remove the "hostile" faction surely could have been influenced by the lack of stability and resources for the village.

The educational aspect that contributed to the split left negative impacts as well. When the "hostile" faction was removed from Oraibi, other Hopi's were removed to attend off reservation boarding schools such as Sherman Institute and Phoenix Indian School (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010). The federal government also sent Tewaquaptewa and his family along with Frank Siemptewa the governor of Moencopi to Sherman Institute at Riverside California with the hopes that they would learn to speak English and convert to Christianity (James 1974). During Tewaquaptewa's absence, many Hopi in Oraibi had converted to Christianity and began constructing western style homes along the edge of the mesa and at the base

of it leading to creation of another community known then as New Oraibi. It has since has changed its name to Kykotsmovi.

The federal government aided the village of Oraibi in a way that they felt would move them towards assimilation. During this era, was the first experience that Hopi's had with westernized education, although this history is associated with the broad term of Indian education. In this context, Indian education encompasses the history of Indian boarding schools, Christian education, and Indian self-determination (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010). Indian education was not a means to strengthen Hopi society but a way to severe it. One must wonder how the federal governments felt they were aiding American Indian communities, when they were implementing policies that changed their societies. The trust responsibility was not carried out in a proper way during this time as the introduction of Indian education destroyed much of Indian society as shown with the Hopi and the split at Oraibi.

The impacts of Indian education would not end in the village of Oraibi. The "hostile" faction set to establish a village near Hotevilla spring, but the federal government was determined to establish its imposition within Hotevilla as well. Indian police and military soldiers were dispatched to force children to attend boarding schools by physically removing them from their families because the people within the newly established Hotevilla village disallowed their children to attend. There was very much distress with followers of Yukieoma as their exodus from Oraibi was very difficult, not only were they dealing with forced removal from their home, but also the Government arrested several individuals whom refused to allow their children to attend school. For a time, many families were left with only

women and children, and with winter quickly approaching in 1906, the people at Hotevilla were left without permanent housing and scant supply of food (Mails 1995).

The perception of the Indian Agents such as Superintendent Lemmon associated Hopi religion and religious priests as problematic (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010). Tewaquaptewa had accepted western education, also following recommendations from Indian agents that he enter western educational institutions and attended Sherman Indian School with a number of other Hopi children. It was hoped that he would be absorbed by western society and convert to Christianity as well. The government hoped that this was the model that all Hopi should follow. It was the intent of the government to make examples of individuals who resisted such as Yukieoma, and this was conducted through arrests and holding him and his followers prisoner at several different jails, the most infamous Alcatraz prison (Titiev 1992).

The effects of the split at Oraibi is evident in modern times as well, the once largest village of the Hopi has dwindled down to less than 100 residents (James 1970). Communities that stem from Oraibi such as Moencopi, Hotevilla, Bacavi and Kykotsmovi are much larger, although none of these villages hold the prominence that Oraibi once held in terms of culture and religion. The early founders of Hotevilla make claim that they were the prominent religious village as they took with them sacred objects and other knowledge that was once used in Oraibi (Mails 1995). It is interesting to note, that despite Tewaquaptewa and his followers, who demonstrated support for the federal government and its policies, the village of

Oraibi is currently amongst a few Hopi villages that does not participate in the Hopi Tribal Council, the formal Hopi government system that is currently in place. The reasoning behind that is the Hopi Tribal Council functions as an IRA (Indian Reorganization Act) government, and according to Hopi beliefs, Hopi will only govern themselves in a traditional system of governance (Titiev 1944).

As noted before, after the split occurred many Hopi were taken off the Hopi reservation and were taken to federal off-reservation boarding schools. The experiences made by Hopi are noted in many publications and this will be explored more in the next chapter. Hopi Professor Mathew Sakiestewa-Gilbert states in his book *Education Beyond the Mesa*, "Hopi oral history states that the people migrated throughout the world, learning different methods of survival from other people throughout the world". This knowledge that they acquired was then codified when all clans reached "Tuwanasavi" or the center of the universe, which the Hopi refer to as their homelands. He uses this same context to describe the experience of Hopi's at boarding schools throughout the country where they had to interact with people of different Indian Nations as well as learning the western ways (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010).

“Boarding School Era and the Hopi”

Chapter 2

The term “Indian Education” has traditionally been used to define the formal education of American Indians, which is the western form of education. Today, different Tribal Governments and Indian agencies have researched the current state of Indian education and using that information to enhance the educational experiences of American Indian students. They rely on the term “Indian education” to reflect just that: the education that Indian students are receiving. The history of Indian education was defined by the 1969 report by the special subcommittee of the United States as “Indian Education: a National Tragedy, a National Challenge”.[33] To use the term “Indian Education” in a contemporary context is a reflection of this failed educational system.[34] Policy makers originally created it for Indians and their communities to assimilate to the dominant American culture. The current status of Indian education is a reflection of its history of failure since it is not as effective when comparing the success rates of Indian students to mainstream statistics.[35] Schools that serve Indian students continue to rank at the bottom in comparison to

[33] U.S. Subcommittee. “Indian Education: a National Tragedy, a National Challenge”. A 1969 Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.
[34] Idea developed through conversation with fellow AIS colleagues
[35] McCarty, Teresa L. “The Impact of High Stakes Accountability Policies on Native American Learners: Evidence from Research”. *Teaching Education* 20 no.1, (March, 2009): 7 – 29.

other ethnicities, and Indian students continue to struggle with standardized testing and state required policies, especially in the state of Arizona[36]

Among Indian scholars the term "Indian education" is often associated with much negative historical and contemporary effects of colonization. I argue that "Indian education" should be decolonized and replaced with the term "Hopi education" in referencing education that Hopi students should be receiving.[37] It is a mistake to homogenize the learning experiences and problem-solving strategies of all Indian people. One only needs to review the old, failed policies that the federal government implemented for all Indian nations. Although some policies benefitted some, they had devastating effects on the majority. In order to reverse the process of colonization, when looking to education as a tool for decolonization, it is important to focus on examining one particular community, its history of education, to formulate solutions that are created from within those communities. This way education can address specific needs that will strengthen their language, culture and religion and society.

American society has traditionally been strongly influenced from western European countries, from which white-Americans originally descend. "Western education" then can be interpreted as simply becomes the educational teachings of western society. For the purposes of my study, it is important to define the term "western education". The term alone "education" is commonly associated with the

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[36] State of K-12 Indian Education in Arizona. *Rigor and Relevance in Indian Education: a Pathway to Strengthening Communities*. (Phoenix: Inter Tribal Council of Arizona, 2014).

[37] Idea developed with fellow colleague Waquin Preston

institution of schools in which the youth of society is raised with values, history, and any useful knowledge that will train them to work in occupations and for the development of a community.[38] The term "education" however is certainly not restricted to this one definition. "Knowledge acquisition" is another term that speaks of a broader concept of learning and teaching.[39]

It is a mistake to dismiss any learning process utilized by indigenous people as non-educational, but this mistake has been made countless times by colonial societies. Colonial thinking and ethnocentric perspectives have allowed for officials to devalue indigenous knowledge and label their traditions of knowledge acquisition as "primitive": thus marginalizing Indian education. Ironically, western society has continued to benefit from indigenous knowledge as they pirate their traditional uses of botany, astrology, zoology and other forms of sciences.[40] In particular, Hopi oral history suggests that they endured a mass migration shortly after mankind's emergence from the Grand Canyon, and their path took them to various places throughout the world (Gilbert-Sakiestewa 2010). Their journey and interactions with other peoples led to the development of their knowledge base, which they took with them when they settled at "Tuwanasave" or Hopi land. Their

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[38] Barlow, Earl J. "Indian Education: State and Federal" from *American Indian Nations: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. Ed George Horse Capture et al, (New York: Altamira Press, 2007): 85 – 98.
[39] Idea presented by ASU Professor Simon Oritz
[40] Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. "Research Through Imperial Eyes". From *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People*. (New York: Zed Books, 1999): 44 – 60.

descendant communities then possessed teachings of their own collection of knowledge that came from the entire globe.[41]

Western educational institutions have been utilized and have been the most successful method of assimilation. “Kill the Indian, save the man” was the phrase coined by Richard Henry Pratt to describe the desired outcome for Indian students once they were properly educated.[42] The perspective of men like Pratt was that Indian people needed to be immersed into western society and in order for this to occur they had to forget their traditional ways and adopt Christian worldviews. This way the “savage Indians” could become “civilized” and saved from damnation. The term “civilized” has been used to promote a false idea of superiority while devaluing the traditional lifestyles of American Indians.

In order for the United States to become a legitimate society on stolen Indian land, this civilizing process was a necessity because the only barrier was that Indian peoples and their descendants were unwilling to part with their traditional homelands. Warfare was too costly and therefore other means were needed to pry the land from its original inhabitants.[43] Pratt was instrumental in the assimilation process as he was the founder of the first off-reservation boarding school (Adams 1974). Carlisle Indian Industrial School would become the model of many off-reservation boarding schools that was affective because they removed Indian

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[41] Sakiestewa-Gilbert, Matthew. *Education Beyond the Mesa: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929*. (Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 2010).
[42]The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions Under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. (New York: Oxford U Press, 2008).
[43] Echo-Hawk, Walter R. In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided.(Golden: Fulcrum, 2010).

children from their communities and followed through with Pratt's vision to fully immerse them in western society.

The traditional communities of the Hopi were highly developed intricate societies (Courlander 1982). Homer Cooyama states that Hopi's practiced a government system in which conflict was settled in peaceful manners, religious leaders directed ceremonies which was organized by several fraternities and phratries comprised of community members. [44] There was also a complex social hierarchy. From the Hopi perspective, the idea of "civilizing" is deconstructed as from their own perception, they already were civilized. In terms of education, it is important to understand the differences of perspectives of the term "civilized". This creates the idea that traditional teachings plays a part in the development of Hopi students within their own communities and are not perceived as barriers which western curriculums elude to.

When attempting to construct an institutional educational system that caters to Hopi communities, the history of education is important to consider. Education within Hopi communities is perceived as a necessary component for human development. Due to assimilation and colonization, institutional education has become the dominant form of education. This form of education supersedes that of traditional Hopi education. To understand the context on how institutional education was introduced to Hopi communities, it develops understanding that it

[44] Courlander, Harold. *Hopi Voices: Recollections, Traditions and Narratives of the Hopi Indian*. (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1982).

was a means to replace traditional education eluding that it should not be perceived as superior to traditional education or even as a replacement.

Historically, Indian boarding schools were the first experience of institutionalized education for Indian communities and this was true for the Hopi. The boarding school experience has extensively been documented and for the most part, paints a picture of despair and horror (Reyner 2004). The experiences of those that attended boarding schools could paint a picture that Hopi students currently could relate to more so than experiences recalled by Indians of different communities. For example, the experiences of Talayesva at Sherman Institute would create a historical lesson that Hopi students could understand in regards to the threat against the Hopi language and religion. The story of Talayesva's death journey from his autobiography also reinforces Hopi traditional beliefs, that if one strays from the traditional life path, that forces beyond human understanding will correct that individuals conduct (Talayesva 1970). Also, his continued references to his "guiding spirit" are also another concept that is still taught to Hopi children today. To learn of boarding school experiences of Hopi's that are similar to Talayesva, helps to strengthen Hopi beliefs to students.

The role of Indian boarding schools and Indian agents worked hand in hand to eliminate Hopi language and religion (James 1974). The narrative of assimilation throughout Indian country offers a broad description of the damage that affected Indian language and religion. To narrow this narrative specifically to individual communities offers more context and understanding of the effects of assimilative policies like boarding schools and allotments. Its one thing to hear of the atrocities

that occurred to plains Indians, but to learn that Kachina dances were recommended by Indian agents to be banned, develops an understanding of what their leaders were contending and strengthens an appreciation for their history and culture that has been maintained up to this point (James 1974).

To reinforce this idea, the assimilative approach to land and education was utilized with all Indian communities, but each community reacted differently.[45] The Cherokee Nation for example, had developed a society that included an orthographic system of writing their traditional language, developed their own school system, newspaper and engaged in western customs such as plantation lifestyle.[46] Although some Cherokee elite did have slaves. They had continued to maintain these adaptations, even after they were removed and after their reservation lands in Oklahoma were opened for settlement. The society that they had created was parallel to that of white-American society but maintained their identity through the usage of their traditional religions and beliefs.

In the case of the Hopi, they resisted assimilation, especially the influences of the Christian missionaries and federal agents on any recommendations to alter their traditional lifestyle. It was difficult for Hopi communities to progress in the manner as the Cherokee had because the division that was demonstrated by the split as a result of conflicting idea's of how to move forward as a community at Oraibi. The

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[45] Cornell, Stephen et al. "Seizing the Future: Why Some Native Nations Do and Others Don't". from *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development*. Edited by Miriam Jorgensen, (Tucson, UofA Press, 2007)
[46] Smith, Chad. Leadership Lessons from the Cherokee Nation: Learn from all I Observe. (New York: McGraw Hill, 2013).

division created as a result of the split, made it difficult for those Hopis to progress in the manner that they saw fitting for themselves.

Indian boarding schools purpose was to strip the identity of Indian children and replace them with a Christianized one (Gilbert-Sakiestewa 2010). In these schools, Indian languages were banned, as it was understood that language was integral in the development within Indian societies.[47] The goal of these schools was to erase anything incorporated with Indian identity, with the hopes that Indian students would than have no use to return to a traditional lifestyle, but rather integrate into American society. The federal government promised education and other services to Indian leaders disguising it as a beneficial exchange for land that was succeeded. Land exchange plays an integral part in understanding "Indian education".

Today there is a common misconception is that American Indian people receive services from the federal government for free. Within most Indian communities, it is generally known that land was surrendered and majority of Indian communities that still exist either were removed from the original homelands or had to succeed a portion of it. This was true with the Hopi, as much of their original land claim was lost not to the federal government, but to the Navajo.

The succession of Indian land added to the already established government-to-government relationship between tribal governments and the federal government. Hopi and many other Indian nations gave up their lands in exchange the federal government promised services such as health care, rights to sovereignty

[47] Romero-Little, Mary Eunice. "Language Socialization of Indigenous Children".

and education. This relationship has been referred to as a trust-responsibility relationship between the federal government and Indian tribes. Since the U.S. assumed the role of a protectorate, they look in the best interest of Indian nations History has shown that this role not always assumed and the trust concept created a paternalistic relationship in where the federal government dictates the quality of life and the future for American Indians.

Based on numerous recommendations from various Indian agents, a reservation was needed for the Hopi to discourage raids by the Navajo and would allow for the Hopi to concentrate on sending their children to school. A reservation than was established by executive order from President Chester Arthur in 1882.[48] In 1887, a school was constructed on the Hopi reservation at Keams Canyon. This was met with contention as mentioned in chapter 1. But government officials were convinced that education, along with moving from the mesas would ensure their chances of survival and adaptation to western society.

The educational system that was devised for the Hopi was based upon a three-tiered system that was developed in the far west.[49] First Hopi children would be subjected to on-reservation day school, then progress to on-reservation boarding school, and finally to an off-reservation boarding school (Adams 1979). Enrollment was an issue early on with the Hopi, as some refused to send their children to these schools, they were mistaken if they had thought that the federal government would

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[48] Sakiestewa-Gilbert, Matthew. *Education Beyond the Mesa: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929*. (Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 2010).
[49] Adams, David Wallace. "Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887 – 1917". *Pacific Historical Review* 48 vol 3, (Aug, 1979): 335 -356.

have a passive attitude about attendance. The federal government was determined to make boarding schools a part of Hopi lifestyle.

Lololma proclaimed his support for western education, he stated "my people are blind. Their ears are closed. I am the only one. I am alone" (Adams 1979). Through this statement, Lololma understood the relentlessness of the federal government to convince the Hopi to send their children to attend boarding schools. The federal government practically gave the Hopi no other option in terms of education. When the enrollment for the Keams Canyon School was low, they took matters into their own hands and dispatched Navajo police and African American soldiers to the Hopi villages, and took children against their parents will to the school in Keams Canyon. This practice became common, as when it came time for Talayesva to attend school he wanted to demonstrate his bravery by going on his own rather then having to be carried in by a soldier.[50]

The history of the Hopi and "education" began when Hopi children were forcibly removed from their homelands to attend off-reservation boarding schools. The most prominent schools that children were sent to were Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Sherman Riverside schools, Phoenix Indian School, and schools in New Mexico. Other schools would be constructed throughout the years and they would also be sent to those schools.

Boarding schools were thought of as the answer to the "Indian Problem", and would be the standard on how Indian children would be standardized to conform

[50] Simmons, Leo, Ed. *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*. (New Haven: Yale U Press, 1970).

into mainstream society. Boarding schools created clashes of cultures and forced Indian children to conform to western ways the most infamous tactics were cutting the hair of young Indian boys, banning Indian languages, and replacing traditional Indian names with American names (Rich 2003).

Boarding schools had negative ramifications for Indian children once they survived their white American education. Severe abuses left psychological effects and as a result they felt that being Indian was a negative connotation, a perception developed by western society. This resulted in them refusing to teach their own children how to speak their native language believing that they would develop properly only speaking the language of whites: English. This affect would resonate into the modern deterrent for Indian students success, since today they struggle with their other peers within the education system. The boarding school affect had different results, although from a negative perspective this is the one that is prevalent as some Indian children experienced atrocious experiences and credit boarding school for destroying their Indian identity.[51]

The Hopi experience is documented in *Sun Chief* and *Me and Mine*, the autobiographies of Don C. Talayesva and Helen Sekaquaptewas. The experiences of these Hopi's and many others were not as severe as other Indian students who reported severe abuse, possibly due to the differing forms of schooling since all schools were managed by different Christian dominions as well as those schools managed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Christianity however, was a primary focus

[51]"Our Spirits Don't Speak English: Indian Boarding Schools". Dir. Chip Richie Rich Heape Films (2003)

of boarding schools as stated by Talayesva as he was encouraged to join the YMCA and renounce his "pagan" Hopi religion and adopt Christianity (Simmons 1970). Most Hopi's first experiences were with on-reservation boarding schools: the first was constructed at Keams Canyon on the Hopi reservation near first Mesa, however to accommodate Hopi's that lived at Oraibi, a day school was constructed at the bottom of the mesa in order for easier accessibility for the Oraibi residents in March 1893 (Gilbert-Sakiestewa 2010). In reality, the accommodation was not necessarily for the residents of the nearby villages, but was more of a method to bring assimilation to the Hopi's doorsteps.

Surprisingly, the boarding school era also helped to foster the success of Indian athletes in the mainstream spot light. This was especially true for some Hopi students that greatly excelled in athletics in particular cross-country running. The most prominent of these Hopi runners was Louis Tewanima, a Hopi from Songopavi village. He had attended Carlisle Indian Industrial School. The off-reservation experience was meant to remove Hopi children from their cultural surroundings. If children constantly were immersed within their own culture, it would be difficult for them to adopt outside cultural norms and therefore assimilation would not be as successful.[52]

Boarding school offered some activities that were consistent with traditional Indian practices. Athletics seemed to be the activity in which Indians strived and for Hopi students it was running activities that were offered through cross country and track and field. In Hopi villages, children were taught the importance of running

[52] "U.S. colonialism and the Hopi Nation" Akwesasne Notes (May 31, 1979): 13 -13

practices within their culture. It was mandatory to some extent, and therefore was intertwined with religious practices. Running was also the main mode of transportation before the arrival of horses, donkeys, and burros, which were introduced by Spanish settlers (Waters 1970). The recollection of Talayesva from his autobiography recounts that he was taught as a young boy to wake up before the sun, and run to the springs in which they were to bath even in the coldest of winter mornings (Simmons 1970). These teachings were meant to help children understand the importance of exercise through the idea that running and exposing oneself to the harsh elements such as bathing in cold water strengthened a persons body and reduced the risks of injury and sickness. Through these teachings, all Hopi children were raised with this important lesson of strengthening the body for endurance and resiliency.

There are other accounts that reveal the strength of Hopi running before the runners who attended off-reservation boarding schools demonstrated their talents. The Hopi recount before the village of Moencopi was a permanent settlement, that farmers from Oraibi who had cornfields in that area would depart early in the morning on foot, racing to their fields.[53] They would work their field and return home on the same day making an approximate 100 mile round trip. Today, there are "ultra runners" who cover that distance with extensive training. However the Hopis of that time did it for basic living, which prolonged their life. Their running was not only to exercise their bodies but to also harvest corn that was used as sustenance for

[53] Sakiestewa-Gilbert, Matthew. "Marathoner Louis Tewanima and the Continuity of Hopi Running, 1908 – 1912". *The Western Historical Quarterly* 43 no.3, (Autumn, 2012): 325 – 346.

their families. Such accounts of athleticism are still part of modern Hopi oral tradition in villages, another setting in which children are taught the extensive running tradition of their people.

When Tewanima learned of the track and field team he was interested in participating, but because of his small build it was thought that he would not be able to hold his own against the nation's best (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2012). He was insistent and proclaimed to coach Glenn "Pop" Warner: "Me run fast, All Hopi run fast". [54] With this proclamation, Tewanima was given a chance and proved that he did indeed run fast. He would go on to compete alongside famous teammate Jim Thorpe and won several national races. The most famous of his accomplishments was placing 2nd at Stockholm England in the 1912 Olympics setting an American record for the 10,000-meter race. Although it may have been true that all Hopi's ran fast, it would not have been recognized at a national or even international level as was the case with Tewanima if they had not left their ancestral homes in order to comply with the wishes of the United State government to undergo the western American educational process. Tewanima is easily recognized as the fastest of possibly all the Hopi's during that time, because he certainly was faster than any American and only one other in the world after placing 2nd in the Olympics. Interestingly enough, many Hopi proclaimed that they were much faster runners at Hopi than Tewanima, but these runners were not given the same opportunity to

[54] Sakiestewa-Gilbert, Matthew. "Hopi Footraces and the American Marathons, 1912-1930". *American Quarterly* 62 no. 1, (March, 2010): 77 – 101.

compete at the international level that he was because they remained on the reservation (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010).

Off-reservation schools were considered successful with many Indian students in severing the cultural ties that they had had with their traditional communities, but many Hopi returned from these institutions to continue their cultural practices and remained loyal to the traditional teachings that were instilled in them. Some Hopi converted to Christianity and eventually influenced others to do the same. These Hopi's would have a role to play in Hopi history since they were the primary folks who worked closely with U.S. officials when establishing and implementing foreign ideals and institutions in Hopi communities including the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council in 1932 (Akwesasne 1979).

The continuation of the Hopi religious cycle was reasoning for contention against western education when discussing the Hopi experience. As mentioned previously, the removal of children from the villages removed them from undergoing sacred ceremonial rights that would customarily allow for them to assume their place of honor within Hopi society for the continuation of these practices. It is very important in Hopi custom that boys and girls undergo initiation rights into their respective gender specific societies. It was important for boys to undergo the Wuwuchim and Soyal initiation rights following admittance into the Kachina or Powamu society (Simmons 1970). For girls, there are respective

societies as well that hold a significant place in female life such as the Lalkon, Owaqol, and Marua ceremonies.[55]

The rites and rituals of these ceremonies served specific purposes for prayers for good fortune and served as the structure of the community in which Hopi adolescents matured into adulthood (Simmons 1970). Along with the clanship system these important ceremonies served as the glue that held the villages together. It then becomes understandable as to why Hopi parents were unwilling to allow their children to attend off-reservation boarding schools when first presented the idea by government officials and Christian missionaries.

Outsider perspectives of the Hopi resistance to off-reservation boarding schools typically came from misunderstandings and ignorance of Hopi culture. For example, in a newspaper article written in 1818, the author stated that Hopi medicine men were against children attending off-reservation boarding schools, but depicted the reasoning was that the children would learn "the true workings of the universe" through western science and therefore would learn that their medicine men's power was merely "savage" beliefs and practices (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010). This perception of indigenous religious beliefs was obviously developed by whites that were without any knowledge of Indian societies, philosophies and histories. Yet it was accepted as reasonable. Perceptions such as this, was held by the same people who were in position to undermine traditional Hopi ways and force them to allow their children to undergo an educational system that developed and fostered the same negative perceptions of Indian cultures.

[55] Waters, Frank. *Book of the Hopi*. (New York: Penguin, 1974).

It was in these educational institutions that racist and ethnocentric perspectives were developed and reinforced. Dysfunction could be the only result. We must then question who controlled these institutions that allowed for these negative perspectives to thrive. The power of educational influences was in the dominion of Christian churches, and obviously, Indigenous children that had been raised in their traditional culture and religion were forced to attend schools that already deemed them uncivilized. The only task at hand was to remedy that they had not yet been saved and converted to Christianity.[56]

Through the experiences of Hopis that attended boarding schools, we can examine the effects of exposure to western society. Hopi's that were "educated" were used as tools by the federal government to lobby for policies that would benefit them such as the adoption of an IRA government.[57] The federal government perceived traditional education such as those experienced by Hopi children who had undergone initiation into their respective rights into adulthood through ceremonies mentioned above as inferior (Simmons 1970). Hopis who had obtained education through boarding schools and those who were converted to Christianity were perceived as higher in stature as far as the federal officials were concerned.

The boarding school educational process would alter life within the Hopi villages leaving negative impacts on culture and language. The immersion of Hopi children in mainstream society devalued culture and language within the minds of

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[56] Deloria Jr. *Vine. Custer Died for your Sins: an Indian Manifesto*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1988).

[57] Clemmer, Richard. "Hopis, Western Shoshones and Southern Utes: Three Different Responses to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934". *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 10, (1986): 15 – 40.

those Hopi's. It was than acceptable to adopt foreign forms of governance, languages, ideologies, and religions without contention. Bringing back to the Hopi villages, the attitudes of acceptance for American ways of life, changed the dynamic of Hopi society. This would allow for the continuance of fractionalization amongst Hopi villages, as now more Hopi people were strongly vocal and demonstrated their acceptance of American ways by attending church services, usage of electrical technology, and would promote the importance of white education.[58]

Indian boarding schools created this false perception that western ways were superior to traditional ways and was successful in changing the perceptions of many Indian students that this was true.[59] As the Christian missionaries were successful in converting some Hopi at Oraibi, boarding schools were successful in assimilation to an extent, and this gave more power to the Hopi Tribal Council and this introduces new issues for the Hopi. Prior, each village worked as autonomous governments, and made decisions without outside consultation. The Hopi Tribal Council now spoke for all Hopi villages, ignoring traditional mechanisms that were set in place to authorize those that were rightfully in charge.

History is important to examine in order to understand the current situations involving contemporary Hopi communities. The history of boarding schools and the Hopi reveals the introduction of western culture into Hopi villages that would drastically alter the power dynamic between traditional ways and western ways.

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[58] Notarianni, Diane M. "Making Mennonites: Hopi Gender Roles and Christian Transformations". *Ethno History* 43, (Autumn 1996): 593 – 611.
[59] Robbins, Rockey et al. "Colonial Installations in American Indian Boarding School Students". Educational Foundations (Summer – Fall 2006): 69 – 88.

Boarding schools laid the foundation that would make western education a permanent component of Hopi lifestyles, and from that, language and culture would be affected as it has shown a drastic decline (Sakiestewa-Gilbert 2010). Today, Indian Tribes struggle with identity, which is linked directly to culture and language, they struggle to balance maintaining Indian identity while preparing their students for educational and employment opportunities on and off the reservations.

The historical accounts of Indian boarding schools, specifically Hopi experiences offers context for the development of Hopi communities in two ways. Integrating a curriculum that caters to Hopi students in institutional education can be based upon these experiences. Reflecting back on traditional knowledge that was taught to students historically such as was taught to Talayesva and Sekaquaptewa reinforcing them as Hopi student are more than likely receiving the same lessons in the home. The experiences from Indian boarding schools offers students relatability in learning policies that had negative impacts in Hopi villages relating to assimilation and colonization.

The second understanding that can be of beneficial use to Hopi communities is the understanding of how the Hopi Tribal Council was established. Sovereignty plays a large role in education, and understanding the extent that the Hopi Tribe can exercise their sovereignty is huge in terms of creating an educational process that suits better for their students. The histories of Indian boarding schools offer that early educational experiences were created by non-Hopi for Hopi students. This method is impractical and has shown unsuccessful results. Understanding that in order to develop students that are knowledgeable about their community's history,

and culture as well as formidable to common core is up for Hopi leadership to determine and establish.

"Challenges of Sovereignty and Education"

Chapter 3

The Hopi Tribe as a result of adopting a governing system that was extracted from the Indian Re-organization Act are now poised to take charge of their own educational systems that serve the Hopi villages. The obstacles that are in place in doing so, is deconstructing the effects that institutionalized education has had on the Hopi communities. The white-American Indian educational system was successful in devaluing traditional forms of education and knowledge and perpetuating a false connotation of superiority for western knowledge (Cite). Much research has been done to configure solutions to creating an educational system that would be better suited for Indian students. Common findings are that culture and language are integral to the development of Indian students.[60] However due to the idea of western superiority, the assimilative educational approach is still preferred by Indian parents (Brayboy and Castagno 2009).

Another barrier that exists is the struggle for control over curriculum between tribal governments and state governments. The educational curriculum is standardized to acculturate Indian students into mainstream society. Much of the educational curriculum is designed for non-Indian students. Standardized testing also plays are large role in the educational setting for Indian students, as schools

[60] Skinner, Linda. "Teaching through Traditions: Incorporating Languages and Culture into Curricula". In *Next Steps: Research and Practice to Advance Indian Education*. Ed Karen Gayton Swisher and John Tippeconnic III, (Chareston: ERIC, 1999): 107 – 133.

create curriculum that is catered to these tests. Other state mandated policies create issues within schools that leave Indian students at a disadvantage.

To combat disadvantages that are created by states, tribes have the ability to exercise sovereignty as the Indian Re-organization Act allows for tribal communities to take charge of certain aspects of community, education being one of them (IRA). In this chapter, I will discuss sovereignty and how it relates to education. Understanding the dynamic of sovereignty and how it plays into education is very important for tribal leaders to understand. This knowledge is commonly not known to many tribal leaders, placing themselves at a disadvantage.

In correlation to sovereignty, the perspectives of the Hopi communities is important to consider, especially how these perspectives do not correlate with some ideas of white-Americans. Understanding the perspectives of Hopi communities helps to understand the stance on issues involving such things as sovereignty and education. Understanding the differences of perspectives also establishes the disconnect with some ideologies as examples will be given below:

Indian education is a highly researched topic because it continues to change and is influenced by policy, resources and challenges Indian sovereignty. As a researcher of Indian education, who explores it through an AIS paradigm and from a Hopi perspective, I bring fundamentally different themes to distinguish my research from other scholars. It has not been until recent that Hopi academics such as Sheilah Nicholas, Willard Sakiestewa-Gilbert, Jeremy Garcia, and Mathew Sakiestewa-Gilbert began to examine the intersection of academia and Hopi culture through language,

science and education.[61] It is important that the Hopi perspective is valued and privileged to understand their contributions and place within contemporary disciplines. The indigenous perspective is often omitted or ignored in mainstream western disciplines such as astrology, geography, and ecology, which carry false ideals of Indians. Certainly Hopi's along with other indigenous peoples have developed their own notions of astrology, geology and ecology. Such notions have been revealed and demonstrated by scholarship of those mentioned above.

The earliest works depicting perspectives through Hopi culture and religion were the autobiographies of Don C. Talayesva and Helen Sekaquaptewa.[62] These autobiographies depict their lives as Hopis at the turn of the 19th century. They capture the unique experiences and changes that were forced upon their lives and their communities during the early intrusions of western society. They both document that they had to decide if they would continue to live their lives on the Hopi path or assimilate to western ways (Simmons 1970 Udall 1991). In the academy, their autobiographies are primarily used as an anthropological study of Hopi Indians and ceremonial customs and traditional beliefs, rather than factual narratives and histories from Hopi perspectives. Although they explore the Hopi cultural and religions beliefs as a complex and highly developed system, but Talayesva and Sekaquaptewa also voice their concerns about the encroaching

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[61] Sakiestewa-Gilbert, Matthew. "Foreword to the Second Edition" from Simmons, Leo, Ed. *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*. (New Haven: Yale U Press, 2013).

[62] Udall Louise. Me and Mine: The life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa. (Tucson: UofA Press, 1991). and Simmons, Leo, Ed. *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*. (New Haven: Yale U Press, 1970).

whites and their effects in their communities. Certainly, there is much room for elaboration on the effects of an encroaching foreign ideal, rather than limiting study to culture and religion.

The narratives of Talayesva and Sekaquaptewa also reveal the early introduction of western education to the Hopi communities, particularly in the village of Oraibi. Talayesva recounts his early opinions of white Americans, describing them as "wicked, deceitful people" (Simmons 1970 Udall 1991). Talayesva's description validates that the perception that the Hopi held towards Christian missionaries and government agents was not positive at all, especially since he witnessed, first hand the earliest dealings between white-Americans and his people. This perception had been developed and handed down to their children as this was Talayesva's perception as a child. The perception that Talayesva and many Hopi had on encroaching whites creates a realization on the stance that many indigenous communities took on the idea of western education. Why would they allow "wicked, and deceitful people" to educate and influence their children?

From the Hopi perspective, there societal ways had served their purpose by aiding them through drought, warfare, and famine. There was no reason for them to deviate from their ancient practices to adopt modern western customs or religious conversion. This is evident with several historical events in which the Hopi would have to defend their cultural ways. Homer Cooyama describes Oraibi before the infamous split at Oraibi; he states, "Old Oraibi was a very complicated society. We were involved with different organizations, with fraternities, with groups

[comparable to] the Masons, many things we don't know too much about today".[63] This description demonstrates that the Hopi were very content with their societal structure, why would they be willing to allow for a foreign system to be implemented that goes against their very well being?

There are numerous disciplines and subjects in mainstream educational institutional settings that deliberately ignore or disregard perspectives from Indigenous communities; some contribute to a false perception that Indigenous people are without any knowledge worthy of knowing. Such paradigms create the false perception that Indigenous communities have neither sense nor application in matters of sciences, when in fact this is far from the truth. It is the duties of Indigenous scholars to break down these misnomers and promote Indigenous intelligence for example astrology for example in Hopi culture; it is the tool for astronomy.[64] Hopi calendar systems were monitored by religious priests and used when determining times for certain religious ceremonies, and the location of the Sun, where it rises and where it sets, was used to determine the planting season (Simmons 1970). These purposes and applications of knowledge of the world and universe are starkly different from those of the western perspective, but this does not mean that such knowledge non-existent in the Indian world.

Indigenous science has gained much more attention than previous, as demonstrated at the American Indian Studies Association Conference at Tempe

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[63] Courlander, Harold. *Hopi Voices: Recollections, Traditions and Narratives of the Hopi Indian*. (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1982).
[64] Dorsey, George A. and H.R. Voth. "The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony". Field Columbian Museum 3 (March, 1901).

Arizona 2014. Jeremy Garcia, for example, presented a paper on an indigenous model of the water cycle.[65] First he explained the western scientific model of the water cycle: the cycle of water begins with evaporation from the ocean as it rises into the clouds, then the clouds releasing it as rain, then the rain soaks back into the ground, and from there it flows back into the ocean. He then posed the question: "what would this visual look like from the Hopi perspective?" He then revealed a figure depicting the water cycle from a Hopi perspective. He than emphasized: "the one component missing from the scientific rain model is the people". His construction of the water cycle also depicted Hopi men praying through a tobacco pipe, which is the customary practice for the Hopi when asking for rain.

Garcia demonstrates the belief of the Hopi that human beings are very much involved with nature. They have a relationship with the cycles of the earth and this relationship fits within the water cycle. Garcia further emphasized that the Hopi ceremonial cycles primarily centers on moisture for their crops, which are the center of life for Hopi farming. Through ceremonies and prayer, the Hopi are able to make the clouds appear, and then rain is produced to bring water for not only their crops but for all life, as no life can sustain itself without water. Garcia's analysis revealed that while western perceptions removed people from any interpretation of nature and separated humans from the earth the Hopi perception affirms a harmonious relationship between humans and nature and that they are intertwined with in balance.

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[65] Garcia, Jeremy. "Sacred Landscapes: Implications for Indigenous Curriculum and Pedagogy". Presentation at the American Indian Studies Association Conference, February 7th, 2014. Arizona State University.

Garcia's decolonized research demonstrates how the intersection of western educational disciplines can be revalued through Hopi perspectives and through their own traditional practices. Through these kinds of examinations we can show how Hopi culture, as well as other American Indian cultures, developed sophisticated life ways and philosophies that can compete with and even come to surpass those of western society. Such deconstruction and decolonization is also important to consider when examining history and instances when western society deemed Indian culture inferior. In some cases Indian societies developed their cultures and societies to the peak of humanity; which is why it seems that replacing traditional forms of pedagogy with western ones was unnecessary.

I take this decolonized approach in the study of traditional education as well. The perception of education from the federal government stems not only in education of how to aid in the progress of western society by learning specialized skills, but also from teachings found in western forms of religion.[66] It is no wonder why U.S. officials worked directly with missionaries to convert Indians and equated Christianity with civilization.[67]

Hopi villages, like every other Indian society, had developed their own form of education for their children. Helen Sekaquaptewa succinctly describes the Hopi form of education:

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[66] Shafer, Paul J. "Education for American Indians". The Clearing House 4, (December, 1976): 145 – 146.
[67] Smith, Andrea. "Boarding School Abuses, Human Rights and Reparations". *Social Justice* 31, (2004): 89 – 102.

> Hopi children had on-the-job training. Children learned to care for the sheep and raise corn in the day-by-day school of experience. Girls learned from their mothers to grind corn, prepare the food, and care for the household. Men and boys met in the kiva in wintertime for lessons in history, religion, and traditions – all taught in story and song (Udall 1991).

Sekaquaptewa's interpretation of Hopi education describes the learning processes for children that would properly prepare them for skills and tasks that are needed to live in the semi-desert landscapes of Hopi land.

The Hopi also had their own forms of formal education. Jr. Miller, a historian of the Canadian residential school system exclaims: "not all societies have schools, but all human communities posses educational systems".[68] Miller's statement resonates that education is still accomplished without institutions that are commonly associated with education such as school buildings. The Hopi people were already "civilized": through their own perception, it was the failure to recognize this by the federal government ultimately led to hardship, especially since they forced others to adhere to their own colonial gauge of what was "civilized" and was not. When the U.S. forced the Hopi to abide by policies that were foreign, they created the conflict and therefore are responsible for the historical and persisting contentions against the educational system.

In the previous chapters, I examined the effects of western education on the Hopi contextualized in the split at Oraibi during the early boarding school era.

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[68] Sakiestewa-Gilbert, Matthew. *Education Beyond the Mesa: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929*. (Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 2010).

Among the Hopi, such frameworks are common when interpretation of destruction caused by westerners in particular moments in time. Although I have also discussed these events from the conceptual framework of assimilation and colonization, it has not been until recently that scholars have begun to examine the idea of "power" as the federal government colonized indigenous lands and peoples, especially in terms of Indian education. Scholars like K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa McCarty have discussed concepts of power struggles between the federal government and tribal peoples utilizing education as the vehicle of power.[69] They argue that education was a "weapon" wielded by the government to Americanize all minorities at the bottom of a hierarchy that grand scheme that they saw fitting that all American citizens should be. American Indians however, fought for their rights to remain distinct.

On the surface, the system of education supposed to encompass the educational process in which knowledge is passed from the teacher to the student.[70] The unique relationship that American Indian nations have with the federal government forces the idea of "Indian education" into a completely different paradigm then that of any other educational system, minority or mainstream. American Indians including the Hopi, succeeded lands to the federal government in exchange for services such as health care, resources and education. The Hopi however lost lands to the Navajo rather then to the federal government, but still fall

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[69] Lomawaima, K. Tsianina and Teresa McCarty. "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy: American Indian Education and the Democratic Ideal". *American Educational Research Journal* 39, (Summer, 2002): 279

[70] Barlow, Earl J. "Indian Education: State and Federal". From *American Indian Nations: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*. Edited by George Horse Capture et al, (New York: Altamira Press, 2007): 85 – 98.

into this order of having a trust responsibility relationship with the federal government.

Another aspect those tribes have the right to assert in educating their children, especially among federal recognized tribes that possess forms of sovereignty and all rights associated with it. Former United States Chief Justice John Marshall's dissenting opinion in the court case *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia,* labeled tribal nations as "domestic dependent nations" rather then independent nations.[71] Tribal nations therefore have limited sovereignty in the Federal system, but still retain internal autonomy as indigenous nations. This is why sovereignty is such an important element that needs to be understood and exercised when improving Indian education. Unfortunately there is a disconnection in the discourse, even among Indian leaders, when examining Indigenous perspectives versus western colonial ones.

The mainstream and most popular perspective that has been accepted and institutionalized is, when evaluated through an American Indian Studies paradigm, is that of the colonizer, which is defined Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and the Colonized* as a relationship of dominance.[72] Memmi reveals that three major discoveries need to occur for this relationship to establish a colonizer mindset: profit, privilege and usurpation (Memmi 1965). The United States has continued to profit from the land that was taken from Indians, as well as a set of certain privileges that has placed them in positions of power, even terms of education. Lastly, the U.S.

[71] Echo-Hawk, Walter R. *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided*.(Golden: Fulcrum, 2010).
[72] Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991).

had usurped the power from tribal communities to control their destines by controlling how and why Indian children should be educated. Such a relationship has challenged Indian sovereignty. I assert that Indian communities have the right to dictate their own future, especially the inherent sovereign right to educate their children as they see fit.

The publication of the Merriam Report of 1928, which was conducted by John Collier, revealed that tribal communities were suffering in large part to federal intrusion on tribal affairs.[73] This report changed the U.S.'s approach to Indian education and began to change policy with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, opening a new self-determination era. The Hopi were able to take advantage of the opportunities granted in the act, most important, to prevent further allotment of their lands.

The IRA was supposed to restore power back to Hopi communities by establishing a democratic form of government, but instead it created more division within Hopi villages since the collective Hopi mentality was set on preserving cultural and religious practices, including traditional governance. Despite ending allotment, the IRA was still perceived as another western threat that would take Hopi people off their traditional paths and onto a western one that inevitably leads to self-destruction. Many Indian scholars criticize the IRA and were considered by

[73] U.S. Subcommittee. "Indian Education: a National Tragedy, a National Challenge". A 1969 Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

many as a "cookie cutter" government that was applied as a "one size fits all" solution to governance problems that apply to different nations.[74]

Not surprisingly, the Hopi leaders held fast to their inherent sovereign rights and made their decision that they would continue to govern themselves utilizing the traditional system based on clanship and ceremonial hierarchy. In addition, the idea of having one centralized government to rule over all villages was a foreign concept, as each village was autonomous to itself. The introduction of an IRA government was interpreted as the complete marginalization of the rights of each village as well as the clanship system.[75] It was bound to fail, or at lease contribute to strife.

The majority of Hopi were opposed to adopting an IRA government, however it was in the interest of the federal government that the Hopi establish this form of government (Akwesasne 1979). Oliver LaFarge was assigned, by then Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier to persuade the Hopi to change their governance system. The Hopi's who were in favor of the IRA were typically those who had been educated through western educational institutions, BIA employees or were Christian converts (James, 1945). On December 14th, 1936 Collier signed the approval of the Hopi Tribal Council.[76] Despite a large number of Hopi in opposition to this government, those that opposed simply did not vote. Unfortunately their inactions were counted as "for" votes according to the rules of the act. Those that were in favor obviously voted for the change, and through this deceptive election

[74] James, Harry C. "Indian Reorganization and the Hopi". *In Pages from Hopi History*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press).201 – 214.
[75] James, Harry C. *Pages from Hopi History*. (Tucson: UofA Press, 1974).
[76] "The Creation of the Hopi Tribal Council". *Akwesasne Notes* 11, (Summer, 1979): 1 – 17.

process, it appeared that Hopi were largely in favor. The system did not consider the voices of those who were in opposition; they believed that they were cheated in the process and ignored. Such events could only contribute to persistent strife and discontent.

Sovereignty is considered inherit to tribal nations. Indians had their own forms of government and established relationships with other sovereign tribal nations.[77] The Hopi obtained their rights of occupancy to their land from beings of a higher power made through agreements.[78] The deity Masau'a had bestowed upon the Hopi the right to settle in the fourth world, this current world, and made them the caretakers of this earth.[79] In addition, Justin Richland documents that the clanship system also bestowed land ownership to clans and their associating families (Richland 2009). Clans possessed autonomy to themselves, and the villages functioned through this form of system. These rights that the Hopi were permitted, obviously is in contention with western concepts of power, education, governance and other concepts that would be forced upon the Hopi. Nonetheless, Hopi leaders continued to adhere to their sacred agreement, which is why Yukieoma and Lomahongyoma resisted against the federal government and other Hopi's who were willing to comply with foreign ideals.

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[77] Hicks, Sarah L. "Intergovernmental Relationships: Expressions of Tribal Sovereignty". From *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Developmen*t. Edited by Miriam Jorgensen, (Tucson: UofA Press, 2007): 246 – 272.
[78] Mails, Thomas and Dan Evehema. *Hotevilla: Hopi Shrine of the Covenant: Microcosm of the World*. (New York: Marlowe and Co., 1995)
[79] Waters, Frank. *Book of the Hopi*. (New York: Penguin, 1974).

The clanship system and the covenant made with the deity Masau'a, was not taken seriously by the federal government, as evidenced by their relentless efforts to undermine it (Mails 1996 Akwasasne 1979). It is interesting to note however, that the first federal agents to work within Hopi territory perceived Hopi's with some superior attributes. The Hopi were admired for being farmers and not living as hunter-gatherer civilizations as other tribes did: they were sedentary and they built homes with brick and did not live in lodges made of animal hides or brush.[80] From the white perspective, these traits made them superior to other Indians. The one aspect of Hopi lifestyle that government agents despised however was their religious practices. The one ceremony that was looked down upon was the famous snake dance. The dance was labeled by many federal agents was perceived as "heathen" and the only way for the Hopi to established themselves as human beings was to be converted.

Hopi religion was perceived by Government officials as a barrier, and after the split at Oraibi the government desired to remove all religious priest from the villages and to only allow educated, progressive Hopi's to reside in the villages that was best suited and fortified for living (Adams 1979). Tewaquaptewa and Frank Siemptewa were among those removed from Oraibi shortly after the split, but they were eventually relocated to Riverside California to attend Sherman Indian school. The federal government believed that Tewaquaptewa was partially responsible for the trouble that had occurred in Oraibi; therefore they stripped him of his position

[80] Adams, David Wallace. "Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887 – 1917". *Pacific Historical Review* 48 vol 3, (Aug, 1979): 335 -356.

of village chief (as if they had any authority to do so) and forced him to choose between Sherman Institute and Phoenix Indian School.[81] He chose to attend Sherman Institute because a large number of "hostile" Hopi were relocated to Phoenix Indian School.

After being relocated, Tewaquaptewa abandoned his support for the federal government. Tewaquaptewa understood the inevitable arrival of white Americans. He understood for the sake of survival, the Hopi would have to arm themselves with knowledge of white ways for defense against intrusion. This was his reasoning for accepting western education for his children (Gilbert-Sakiestewa 2010). It was not enough that the Hopi to be able to speak English and accept the values of western society, but the Hopi religion had to be forsaken. To add insult to injury and to insure that the Hopi never regain their traditional status, the Hopi also had to adopt western forms of governance. This was the formula employed to complete the process of colonization.

The next step and task at hand, is for me to evaluate the curriculum of Indian education, since I had mentioned previously that the term "Indian education" is in actually what Comanche scholar Cornel Pewewardy called "the miseducation of American Indians".[82] The makers of mainstream education curriculum, with the power being the institution, prioritized lessons and content that reinforced racist

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[81] Sakiestewa-Gilbert, Matthew. "The Hopi Followers: Chief Tewaquaptewa and Hopi Students Advancement at Sherman Institute, 1906 – 1909". *Journal of American Indian Education* 44, (2005): 1 – 23.

[82] Pewewardy, Cornel. "Ideology, Power and the Miseducation of Indigenous Peoples in the United States". From *For Indigenous Eyes Only: a Decolonization Handbook*. Edited by Waziyatawin Angela Wilson and Michael Yellow Bird, 138 – 156. Santa Fe: School of American Research, 2005.

and ethnocentric ideas that western society was superior, highlighting advancements of technology, medicine and literacy.[83] This was done for the benefit of the colonizer and at the expense of Indian students (Rockey et al 2006). Such curriculum created confusion in the minds of Indian children, as they were forced to learn about themselves and the world from a paradigm that was much different from their upbringing, which constituted learning from relatives, parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles. The old assimilative curriculum was forced upon Indian students, and is still in place at educational institutions on reservations today.[84]

Currently in the educational setting, the power struggle has changed. Whereas before tribal governments were competing with the federal government over power to educate their children, today tribes clash with states (Lomawaima and McCarty 2002). There are numerous schools located on the reservations that are designated Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) or that are state-funded public schools that must abide by the regulations set by outside entities. After all they control the funding. Money, therefore largely dictates the learning experiences of Indian students at schools they attend.

Another factor are state created and mandated standards such as Aptitude Inventory Measurement Services (AIMS) and common core standards.[85] These state standards give little if any regard to the uniqueness of American Indian cultures, and

[83] Robbins, Rockey et al. "Colonial Installations in American Indian Boarding School Students". Educational Foundations (Summer – Fall 2006): 69 – 88.
[84] Lomawaima, K Tsianina. "Tribal Sovereigns: Reframing Research in American Indian Education". *Harvard Educational Review* 70, (Spring 2000).
[85] http://www.azed.gov/assessment/

leave American Indian histories, cultural and language curriculum and classes out of numerous schools on and off reservations that primarily serve Indian students. This is another example of the struggle that the Hopi are enduring.

Recent surveys conducted by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office reveal that the number of fluent Hopi speakers is on the decline (Nicholas 2009). Although some schools, classes, and curriculum on the Hopi reservation emphasize culture, and the values, teaching, and philosophies of Hopi culture, the residual effects of the split of Oraibi and the relocation of Hopi's to off-reservation schools has continued to effect the practice of Hopi religious ceremonies and the prominence of the clanship system has been decimated.

Hopi scholar Sheila Nicholas offers some insight on the current perspectives of young Hopi students and their struggles to adhere to both paradigms of Hopi and western expectations. The Hopi still strongly believe that language knowledge has a major role in forming identity, but with many Hopi youth who lack the ability to speak they feel disconnected from feeling fully Hopi. In Nicholas article "I live Hopi, I Just don't Speak it: The critical Intersection of Language, Culture and Identity in the Lives of Contemporary Hopi Youth" young students proclaimed that they still feel a sense of connection to their culture even though they are not fluent in the language.[86] Nicholas reveals that Hopi culture remains as a strong aspect and continues to have a presence in the identity of Hopi youth. Hopi children still receive traditional Hopi names, witness and participate in Hopi ceremonies as well as learn

[86] Nicholas, Sheila. "I live Hopi I Just Don't Speak It: The Critical Intersection of Culture, Language, and Identity in the Lives of Contemporary Youth". *Journal of Language Identity and Educatio*n 8, (2009): 321 – 334.

cultural work practices such as farming and cooking which all contribute to a healthy identity.

The disconnect and dysfunction of identity occurs with the loss of language, which also causes different types and levels of identity issues in Hopi communities (Nicholas 2009). A common issue within all Hopi villages is that there is a disconnection, not only between youth and the language, but also between the youth and their elders. This is directly related to the loss of language proficiency (Nicholas 2009). Older Hopis, who are fluent and well versed in the Hopi language, often feel that their children are not prepared to advance their understandings of Hopi spirituality or have full appreciation of their culture (Nicholas 2009). Because the lack of language proficiency creates barriers between elderly and youth, certain customs, practices and teachings are no longer passed down through the generations and much knowledge is lost.

There have been attempts by the Hopi Tribe to reverse the trend of language and culture declination, however due to the strong influx of western practices, primarily education, there has not been much success. The presents and dominance of western education and thinking has a much bigger impact then what people recognize. Nicholas describes her own upbringings as she mentions that Hopi was her first language and due to harassment from fellow classmates of her lack of proficiency of the English language. She chose to stop speaking Hopi in order to

grasp the English language better.[87] Her experience is common for many Hopi as they struggle with proficiency in the Hopi language. Typically when Hopi children leave their homes where Hopi is still dominantly spoken, they enter into schools where the primary language spoken is English and they develop habits of only speaking English even when they return home to their homes where Hopi is spoken.

I strongly believe that the Hopi people are now in a more advantageous position than Lololma, Tewaquaptewa, Yukieoma or Lomahongyoma were in regards to education. In other Indian communities, tribal leaders and scholars have experimented with Indian Controlled Schools and some have been successful in re-introducing culture and language to their children by having it integrated into the school curriculum.[88] I believe that this would be an essential assertion of sovereignty in order for the Hopi to reverse language and cultural declination. There have also been other methods such as language immersion programs and offering language courses and lessons that coincide with the general formal educational process. This facilitates learning the language as it is spoken to children as they progress into higher-grade levels.

In the next chapter I will discuss the emergence of knew perspectives of Indian education with the utilization of Indian controlled schools, culturally responsive schooling, and best practices in which Indian communities are

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[87] Nicholas, Sheilah. E. "Becoming "Fully" Hopi: The Role of the Hopi Language in Contemporary Lives of Hopi Youth – A Hopi Case Study of Language Shift and Vitality." PhD Diss., University of Arizona, 2008.

[88] Roessel, Robert A. Navajo Education in Action: The Rough Rock Demonstration School. (Rough Rock: School Board Inc., 1977).

attempting to take control of school curriculums in order to strengthen culture and language. I also explore how some scholars describe this process as empowerment. Education has largely been utilized to devalue Hopi culture and language, and has also been used for the empowerment of the federal government. A new trend of Indian education will allow for Indian communities including the Hopi to re-empower their governments, as well as their communities by having this power and to exercise their sovereignty.

"Reclaiming Education through Hopi Education"

Chapter 4

Another aspect of Indian education that is of concern is the student success rate of Indian students compared to the national average. The success of Indian students can also be viewed as evidence of the impact that western education has had on Indian communities. American Indian student's academic performance is lacking when compared to their non-native peers. Educational researchers have stated numerous factors for these reasons as to why American Indian children fall below the national average of academic achievement.[89] Most factors that contribute to the failure of Indian students include impoverished conditions, isolation, underfunding, and cultural incompetency from school administrators.[90] Certainly the history of Indian education would demonstrate the contradictions created by federal policies, and failed attempts to assimilate Indians contribute to the failure of Indian students.

Historically, Indian education was managed at the national level; policies were administered to handle 566 federally recognized tribes and this was typically done with complete disregard to the unique qualities of each tribe. Some tribes were able to thrive under federal policies, while others did not have the infrastructure to successfully govern themselves, thus leading to their dependence on the dysfunctional system (Harvard Project 2008). In some cases, federal policies have made the effective exercise of sovereignty challenging for those tribes that

[89] Teresa McCarty, Bryan Brayboy and Angela Castagno
[90] Szasz, Margaret Connell. *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928*. (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1999).

continued to practice traditional systems. Today, each of the 566 federally recognized tribes still cannot be managed following a standardized method; some tribes have strong economies, while others struggle with economic development, some tribes still have a strong cultural and language bases, while others have lost nearly or all fluent speakers and culture. In order to properly address the concerns and challenges of American Indian communities, each tribe must be consulted to determine to what extent help is needed.

One power struggle exposed by K. Tsianina Lomawaima is that federal and state governments utilized education as a means to dictate tribal communities in their pedagogical developments of school curriculums in an attempt to standardized tribal communities. [91] Lomawaima explains that the national policies of education, federal and state governments, fail to recognize the diverse communities within the United States as well as tribal communities. This idea along with the idea of Vine Deloria Jr. where he states that Indian communities differ from other minorities in the United States, is that they do not argue for equal rights much like the Black/African leaders advocated for during the civil rights era, but rather argue for unique rights, that are given to Indian tribes due to treaties and policies that were made between the federal and tribal governments. [92]

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[91] Lomawaima, K. Tsianina and Teresa McCarty. "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy: American Indian Education and the Democratic Ideal". *American Educational Research Journal* 39, (Summer, 2002): 279

[92] Deloria Jr. *Vine. Custer Died for your Sins: an Indian Manifesto*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1988).

The ideas that these scholars present reveal that education for American Indian communities differs from that of other minorities in the United States. The fact that tribal nations are also political entities alters any formulas applied to other people of color because of the dynamics of Indian nations and their special relationship with the United States. Now that tribal governments retain rights of governance, they should be able to exert their authority and take control of schools within their tribal lands. This option is open for tribes, but a majority of people is unaware of how much power that they actually have to change the educational dynamic on reservations.

Nearly every policy aimed towards Indian education was developed by non-Indian legislators and government agents. The importance of public schooling is that the community is involved as much as possible, serving on school boards, and deciding how to implement new policies for the benefit of the schools and their community. This has not been the common practice for American Indian communities. Battle for control of Indian communities has been waged between federal, state and tribal governments.

It would greatly benefit Indian leaders to be more involved and engaged with the educational system that children from their community attend. With the change of attitude towards federal policies, which were aimed at assimilation, tribal leaders could run their schools and be able to develop their own curriculums that would be more beneficial for the strengthening of culture and language to prepare their students to be successful citizens on and off the reservation. In this way, Indian communities can strengthen their cultural identity, while maintaining high

academic standards in preparing for the futures of students who pursue higher education.

The Hopi reservation has its difficulties with education in the modern era. The rural location of the Hopi villages makes it difficult to attract quality educators and administrators. Within the Hopi reservation, there are 8 schools, 7 of which are Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) schools and one is a Christian funded school.[93] The major issue with BIE schools is that they are underfunded in comparison to state funded schools, which spend less per student, and most BIE schools lack quality facilities and employees are paid less than their counterparts.[94] Reservation schools also face challenges that affect the quality of education that are non-existent in urban areas. For example, although other impoverished communities struggle with poverty, as it can take attention away from students and their focus on school work. In addition domestic violence, alcoholism/drug abuse and home environment are also contributors to poor school performances on the Hopi reservation.[95]

The situation of education for the Hopi people is similar to that of many other tribal communities: when citizens acquire new knowledge through an Indigenous framework, they can apply these skills to contribute to the much needed change to create a platform within the educational system to allow for the support of culture

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[93] www.bie.edu

[94] The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions Under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. (New York: Oxford U Press, 2008).

[95] State of K-12 Indian Education in Arizona. *Rigor and Relevance in Indian Education: a Pathway to Strengthening Communities*. (Phoenix: Inter Tribal Council of Arizona, 2014).

and language. Furthermore, if the leaders and in particular the Hopi Tribal Council embraced such changes, especially in efforts to advance Hopi education, the nation as a whole can directly influence and come to improve the success rates of Hopi students. There have been attempts to implement culture and language classes in the Hopi school curriculum, but the major challenges that arose with these classes is that they are taught within a limited period of time, typically not enough time for the students to become understandable of the culture and proficient in the language had the subject matter been prioritized.[96] Mainstream subject matter and the standard subjects, like math and science; still dominate the curriculum so Hopi students spend more time in these areas. I believe that there needs to be a fair balance with culture and language classes.

In this current era of self-determination, tribal governments are allowed more control over their communities since colonization. Implementing such self-determination is an important step to strengthening Indian communities, especially for the Hopi. There is a need to push for "self-determination through self-education".[97] There are opportunities, through the BIE, for the Hopi to gain involvement in the development of their schools. Western concepts have been strongly been emphasized through the assimilative model of schooling, this model

[96] Romero-Little, Mary Eunice et al. *Indigenous Languages Across the Generations: Strengthening Families and Communitie*s. (Tempe: ASU Center for Indian Education, 2011). And Nicholas, Sheilah E. "Prospects and Processes for Heritage Language Revitalization: Lessons from Hopi". From Indigenous Languages Across Generations: Strengthening Families and Communities. Ed by Mary Eunice Romero-Little et al, (Tempe, ASU Center for Indian Education, 2011): 106 – 128.

[97] Brayboy, Bryan McKinely Jones and Angela E. Castagno. "Self-Determination through Self-Education: Culturally Responsive Schooling for Indigenous Students in the USA". *Teaching Education* 20, (March, 2009): 31 – 53.

also has been perceived as a superior model due to the fact that it is the same model that gauges student performances. The misconception is that if schools began to implement language and culture into school curriculums, Indian students will fall behind in what are perceived as more important disciplines such as math and science. Since Indian students are already behind, this argument seems rather redundant. Nonetheless, such assumptions continue to promote and rely upon an outdated assimilative model to gauge their success (Brayboy & Castagno 2009).

Despite the challenges, there are a number of Indian communities that have taken the education of their children into their own hands.[98] The key aspect of such community movements is the community's ability to take initiative and decide what components are important to the community by directly addressing their own community needs (Brayboy & Castagno 2009).

Culture and language are also important components in education throughout Indian country. Elders believe that their children should have the opportunity to learn their languages and about their traditional cultures in order to foster a healthy Indian identity. Identity is also important for Indian students in Indian schools, because of their locale, having the privilege and opportunity to learn traditional values from their elders, an aspect of self-development that is especially important for Hopi students. Unfortunately, culture and language have been left out of the colonized education systems due to early beliefs that they would not serve a purpose after Indians assimilate into American society.

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[98] Martines, Glenabah. *Native Pride: The politics of Curriculum and Instruction in an Urban Public School*. (Cresskill: Hampton Press, 2010)

The Rough Rock community on the Navajo reservation implements an example of a revolutionary approach to Indian education.[99] The Rough Rock demonstration school was successful because they were able to accomplish what other locally managed schools had done and take control of their children's education. The school had strong community commitments; they hired community members to work in the school and opened class session for other members to sit in on, and in some instances they held educational sessions for them as well. Another important component to the success of the school was that the community was involved in the development of the school curriculum. The common approach is to allow outside entities to dictate school curriculums, and to allow little to no input from the communities that those curriculums were serving.

The philosophy of the Rough Rock Demonstration School states that Indian people are ready to take control of their own schools and educate their own children (Roessel 1977). This statements speaks about educational institutions as Indian people have always had the capacity to dictate their own educational process, however as the Rough Rock Demonstration School has shown they are now ready to utilize a western concept that intertwines with traditional Indian philosophies and teachings. Such initiatives in education enable parents to provide their children the education that will prepare them for good lives whether they live on or off the reservation. Furthermore, and most importantly, such clearly articulated missions and goals contribute to strengthen the tribal identities and improve community

[99] Roessel, Robert A. Navajo Education in Action: The Rough Rock Demonstration School. (Rough Rock: School Board Inc., 1977).

proficiency in their heritage language. The general attitude of this school is that both the community and school employees believe in and hold a deep understanding that their children be skilled to handle life in both their Indian cultures and in the predominant white world. The knowledge of two languages is vital to their students but will benefit their children in the long run.

Tribally controlled universities or TCU's are also important new efforts that are being devised by tribal nations. The first TCU to be established was Navajo Community College, which is now known as Din'e College (Citation). By 1991 there were 22 tribally controlled community colleges and 74 schools that implemented the Rough Rock School as a model.[100] This is important because previously, schools did not address the unique issues that Indian communities faced. Allen D. Yazzie, chairman of the Navajo Tribal Education Committee, stated that educational systems that Navajo children had previously attended did not address critical areas such as meaningful local school boards, cultural identification, community education, community development, native language learning, home visits, guidance, or counseling (Roessel 1977).

The current curriculum within the Hopi schools strongly emphasizes western aspects of community. For example, the economic work force on Hopi is poor, a majority of Hopi are self-employed by selling arts and crafts or work within schools. In order to achieve within the work field many Hopi's leave the reservation in

[100] Reyner, John and Jeanne Eder. *American Indian Education: a History*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

search of employment off the reservation. In order to fulfill the success that western education emphasizes, many Hopi must leave the reservation.

Hopi perception of community is important in maintaining a strong sense of unification for the betterment of the entire community. With a curriculum that supported Hopi values Hopi children could gain the values and learn the importance of working within the community, strengthening it, and achieve what many scholars have termed "Nation Re-Building".[101] The challenges to the current educational system is that there is not a strong emphasis on Nation Re-building, rather students at Hopi are being prepared to develop other communities outside of their own. In order to develop better communities for Hopi people, the students must be taught the importance of their own communities through lessons on history of their own people, trials, and struggles. This will benefit them as well as learning laws and policies that directly affect them for example the Major Crimes Act and other legislation that affects Indian country.

Information and content like those found in federal Indian law and policy, is important for the development of Hopi students, since schools should provide them with useful and applicable information. Such curriculum is needed in order to develop concepts of who they are as Indians within their Indian community, as well as their place within mainstream society. Often times American Indian students are not exposed to current issues and there for do not understand circumstances created as a result that affect them. The standardization of school curriculum falsely

[101] Jorgensen, Miriam. *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development*. (Tucson: UofA Press, 2007).

misleads American Indian students into thinking that western cultures are superior and that the purpose of education is to develop reservation societies to model those of western ones. It also misleads students into believing that they and their communities are no different than those of non-Indians. Another false precept is that Indigenous languages have no place in dominant society and the learning of these languages will deter their educational progression allowing for them to fall behind the national student population.

A prime example of false perceptions developed by mainstream society, is the stereotyping that is perpetuated by media such as western movies and Indian mascots. These forms of racism create a false identity for Indian's, and since these concepts are expressed at a national level, it becomes the false education of American Indian communities to non-Indians. Mainstream society utilizes stereotypes in a manner to maintain dominance over Indian communities, as well as viewing Indians as vanishing people (Skinner 1999).

Culturally Responsive Schooling or CRS a term used by Brayboy and Castagno would be beneficial for Hopi students. CRS allows for schools to include culture and language as a platform for the learning experience of Indian students. This method aims to enhance the quality of education for Indian students by structuring the learning process to produce students who are able to succeed in areas of mathematics, science, writing, and reading, but by also allowing for cultures and languages to be incorporated so that students are well versed in that as well (Brayboy & Castagno 2009). The end result would develop students who excel in

areas of science and mathematics while still maintaining a strong sense of cultural identity.

Brayboy and Castagno discuss two different models that are currently being used in Indian school systems: an assimilative model and a culturally responsive model (Brayboy & Castagno 2009). They state that there are still debates as to which model to use in Indian communities, as community members are still advocating for the assimilative model because they believe that their students will have a better chance at success off the reservation. They both go on to argue that students who learn through bicultural and bilingual methods do accelerate better and test scores to prove it (Brayboy & Castagno 2009).

The National Assessment of Educational Process (NAEP) reveals data of the educational progress of American Indians in comparison with other students, and show that Indian students struggle to maintain high-test scores in reading and writing.[102]

William Demmert the first Deputy Commissioner for the U.S. Office of Indian Education discovered that culture and language are important in the educational process of Indian students. He states, "In motivating students, promoting a positive sense of identity and self, stimulating positive attitudes of school and others… and supporting improved academic performance."[103] He and his correspondence also

[102] www.nces.ed.gov
[103] McCarty Teresa. "The Impact of High-Stakes Accountability Policies on Native American Learners: Evidence from Research". *Teaching Education* 20, (2009): 7 – 29.

find a positive correlation between culturally responsive educational practices and strong language components.

Another issue that challenges culturally responsive schooling has been federal mandates that were engineered to strengthen the quality of education students at the national level. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 began holding schools accountable for the success rates of their students (McCarty 2009). The issues that NCLB caused stem from the fact that the act forces schools to emphasize success measured through standardized testing and penalize schools that do not meet the desired test scores. The emphasis of test scores causes schools to focus less on language and cultural initiatives, as well as other development like social skills and civics, in their schools and simply prioritizes test preparation. Other challenges that stem from NCLB is that schools began to removing low-testing students from their schools, "low stakes" subjects, and even led administrators to manipulate test scores and drop out rates (McCarty 2009).

There still are numerous other struggles regarding the federal government and tribal nations with education as they jockey for control. Education reforms such as NCLB reinforces the false idea of standardization and that all citizens of the United States regardless of race, religion, and cultural perspectives should be homogenized. The legislators that enacted this policy also failed to understand that culture also plays a role in the learning styles of American Indians. Standardized testing is a foreign concept of measurement within traditional communities, for example in Hopi villages, it is difficult for some children to grasp this concept or

even to be successful at it. Standardized testing does not measure the learning capabilities of students or their intelligence.

Standardization policies have continued to reveal their problematic outcomes, such as "common core" standards, which were adopted by the state of Arizona by what is known as Arizona's College and Career Ready Standards (ACCRS). "Common core" was developed through a movement to improve upon standards previously set by the state.[104] The problem with "common core" and NCLB is that schools were made accountable and given more obstacles to overcome without receiving additional funding. All Hopi schools are, and most Indian schools are BIE funded and face cuts when they are already underfunded and are struggling. By having to understand these policies and having to implement them, administrators are burdened with extra tasks and this makes success difficult for their teachers and students to achieve all standards.

In terms of college and career readiness, the Hopi had also struggled in preparing their students for higher education. In the late 20th century, 70% of Hopi High school students did attend 2 or 4-year institutions, and those who did soon dropped out and returned back to the reservation or sought employment off the reservation.[105] Most tribal leaders understood the challenges that existed and made changes to make higher education a possibility for their students. For example, the Two-Plus-Two-Plus-Two-Plus-Two program was instituted and it allowed the Hopi

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[104] "Arizona's College and Career Ready Standards" www.azed.gov/azccrs/
[105] Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, "Two-Plus-Two-Plus-Two Program". In *Tribal Governance Success Stories: Honoring Nations 2000* (Cambridge: Harvard Project, 2000): 14.

jr/sr High school to establish relationships with Northern Arizona University and Northland Pioneer College. From these relationships, the higher educational institutions offered college credit to senior level students at the high school. This was important because it gave those students the college preparation that they needed and allowed for them to take college credits on the reservation, thus keeping them connected with their culture within their communities. The implementation of the Two-Plus-Two-Plus-Two-Plus-Two program helped to connect Hopi students to higher education and is an example of success.

Another example of implementing culture and language within schools on the Hopi reservation is the development of the "Hopiikwa Tutuqaynayani" program through Northern Arizona University and the Hopi Tribe.[106] Presentations given by Sam Tenakhongva and Kiara Pahovama at the National Indian Education Association conference in Anchorage Alaska demonstrated the works that they and their colleagues are working towards to receive teaching certification by means of learning how to implement culture and language in the curriculum of classes that they teach.

Throughout this thesis, I have highlighted the importance of Hopi culture and language, as they are the focal point of Hopi education. I assert that by utilizing culturally responsive schooling and to gain more control of schools and curriculum that is being taught, the Hopi Tribe can devise and implement a system to foster the development of their educational system. Such a dream would be of much greater

[106] Tenakhongva, Sam and Kiara Pahovama. "Hopiikwa Tutuqaynayani". October 16, 2014, National Indian Education Association Conference.

benefit than what was previously in place. Boarding schools and the assimilative model only contributed to the loss of culture and language. But through Hopi-centered education, schools could prioritize culture and language by including them into curriculums that center on traditional concepts and instill into Hopi students cultural identity, cultural practices and also allow for quality education of common core.

I believe that early cultural lessons that were taught to individuals such as Don Talayesva could also be reinstituted within Hopi educational systems. Simple teachings should be prioritized such as hard work is a key concept in Hopi villages. That concept reinforces traditional values of citizenship as well as learning how to work in the fields, learning about medicines through botany, and other cultural practices.[107] Traditional applications of sciences should be taught using traditional cultural perspectives, which are currently being done by Willard Sakiestewa-Gilbert and Greg Cajete; these native scholars have integrated cultural teachings with elements of science in lesson to bridge the gap between science and native culture.[108] Implementations like this are a step in the right direction to create the base for Hopi education and to establish stronger educational system that would benefit Hopi communities.

The Hopi tribe is currently developing their education through the Hopi Education Office. Through this office they are attempting to create a platform into

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[107] Simmons, Leo, Ed. *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*. (New Haven: Yale U Press, 1970).
[108] Cajete, Greg. *A look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*. (Durango: Kivaki Press, 1994).

which they will utilize aspects of CRS to integrate culture and language into the school curriculums. This is an important step for the development of Hopi education. The history of Hopi education has been that of assimilative methods and the attempts of elimination of culture and language. Education was historically used as a weapon of the federal government to eliminate Hopi identity and to replace it with American values. The same weapon can now be used as a tool to decolonize and reverse the effects that early policies of education had within Hopi communities. It should be understood that a western educational system would not be able to completely reinstitute Hopi culture but allow for the schools to support culture and language.

Systems like CRS seem to be the best answer to challenges when recreating an education system that fits the Hopi, although there are many steps in order to successfully prepare for implementation of CRS or CBE (Culturally Based Education).[109] Decision makers and leaders must be knowledgeable about the issues of education, especially tribal leaders. It is critically important that the Hopi Tribal Council support these types of educational-institution change, that they allow educators to provide this type of education and provide support whether its financial or political. Support is crucial to change. For example, within the Ak-Chin community in southern Arizona, Vivian Juan Saunders exclaimed in an interview that the Ak-Chin tribal government is in full support of culturally based education

[109] Jaime, Angela and R. Timothy Rush. "A Three Part Strategy for Ensuring Culturally Relevant Pedagogy for American Indian Children". From *Standing Together: American Indian Education as Culturally Responsive Pedagogy*. Edited by Beverly Klug, (New York: Rowman Littlefield Education, 2012)

and has exclaimed that resources would also be allocated to the development of a school that will be culturally based (State of K-12 Indian Education in Arizona Report 2014). We need commitments from leaders like Saunders' from all Indian communities.

It is also important that state governments and officials support tribal initiatives when developing culturally based education. In the state of Washington, the 29 federally recognized tribes worked with the state Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction and other private and public agencies to develop a curriculum program entitled "Since Time Immemorial."[110] This initiative calls for the development of a curriculum that is framed through American Indian history, including theories of decolonization and tribal sovereignty. The curriculum can be adopted by any public school in the state of Washington, whether they serve American Indians or not. This is a step forward in Indian education and can be a model for states like Arizona, where there are 22 federally recognized tribes. I strongly believe that such a movement would be revolutionary, especially if sate and tribes can unite to recreate an educational system that offers lessons on the history of the state and its relations with tribal nations.

The education of community members and parents is also an important component in establishing a strong base for cultural education. Once students leave the classroom and return to the homes, parents and family members should continue the idea of cultural learning and institute elements of culture within the home. This is important as it allows for family members to be involved with their

[110] www.indian-ed.org

children's education as well as strengthen family ties, culture, and traditional methods of education. Parental and community education also allows for parents to be knowledgeable about what is being taught within schools. Historically there was lack of transparency on what was being taught to children. Today this practice is common and needs to change for the better.

Training of educators is also important, since teachers must be properly trained on culturally based education, especially in the areas of language and culture. Most scholars agree that such training is imperative in order for the continued development of language immersion classes (Romero-Little et al 2011). The development of language is very important and is equally imperative that community members are versed in their heritage language as well. When children are out of the classroom they will need to continue with learning the language.

I strongly believe that it would be greatly beneficial for the Hopi to take these steps and implement the approaches that I have presented here. The improvement of the current state of Indian education would lead to the resolution of many unresolved issues on the Hopi reservation. The reinstatement and reawakening of cultural values would develop pride and sense of identity, thus restoring a nation's pride and identity. This positive change could help curb social ills like the rise of crime and drug/alcohol abuse. Challenges such as these plague too many Indian communities, and by recapturing a tribal, indigenous identity, I believe that it would solve those issues.

The Hopi have been in contention with foreigners and foreign ways since the arrival of the Spanish, and they have continued to resist because their strong beliefs

in their own cultural ways. Through education, the Hopi would be able to determine their own destiny as well as empower their communities with their own religious and cultural beliefs. There is much work to be done at Hopi, but with the development of ideas like CRS and CBS, the tools are accessible to reverse the assimilation process created by boarding schools. The usage of these culturally based ideas would establish new forms of education that combine school institutions and culturally based education to give tribal communities the proper education that they need to nurture their unique status as federal and state recognized tribes as well as providing the tools needed for students to succeed in an ever changing world.

Conclusion

The research that I have presented on the Hopi and education demonstrates the assimilation and colonization practices of the United States and the struggles that ensue for the Hopi people. The early works of anthropologists and historians such as Mischa Titiev, Fred Eggan, Frederick White, Peter Whitely and Harry C. James demonstrates the strong cultural and religious perspectives of the Hopi. Within these works the struggle that the Hopi have had with the encroaching federal government and non-Hopi personal such as Christian missionaries is discussed at great lengths however discussion to devise solutions to combat colonization have not been discussed by these authors.

It then falls to Hopi academics such as Matthew Gilbert-Sakiestewa, Sheilah Nicholas, Willard Gilbert-Sakiestewa, Jeremy Garcia, and Ishii Lomayumtewa and other Hopi scholars to discuss the issues created by the imposition of the federal government and to devise solutions for these issues. This demonstrates that the Hopi people are the key in terms of de-colonization and nation re-building for their own communities. It does not take much to make this realization, as the works of non-Hopi researchers demonstrate that the Hopi had developed and intricate system that was based upon and intricate clanship and religious system. The Hopi were better off relegating their own affairs and it was when the federal government intruded into Hopi affairs is when several aspects of Hopi society was altered and created much trouble within Hopi society.

There is much to be learned from history when devising nation re-building tactics. The split at Oraibi is an important part of Hopi history, as the division of

Oraibi created a non-cooperative mentality, which is still in existence today in Hopi villages. The important lesson to learn is the severed relationship that was created by the division of the "hostiles" and "friendlies" did not serve the village and in fact aided in the destruction of some aspects of Hopi religion. Contemporarily, Hopi leaders must devise a solution in which all villages can unite on a single ideal that will work for the betterment of Hopi children. The status of Hopi villages is that some are in favor of progression towards a western society and there are villages that are considered "traditional" and would like to govern themselves in a more traditional way.

A median needs to be reached where the communities can agree for the betterment of the community and the historical context of the split of Oraibi can be utilized for that purpose. The historical event also demonstrates how much faith that the Hopi has had within their religious system, and that also is still something that can be visualized today within Hopi villages as they still practice much of their religious practices and demonstrates the importance of Hopi religion and culture that still exists. This cultural paradigm has been instilled into Hopi people and they are able to take it with them even when leaving the reservation, which was demonstrated by Louis Tewanima and Helen Sekaquaptewa.

The boarding school experience was a direct result of the split of Oraibi as well as a part of grand scheme of the federal government in which assimilation was the end goal of removing Hopi children from their homes and immersing them into western society. The boarding school experiences of Don Talayesva, Louis Tewanima, and Helen Sekaquaptewa demonstrate the assimilation policies of the

federal government but due to the strong influence and strength of Hopi culture allowed for each of these individuals to return back to their villages and be able to still participate in their cultural traditions. The communal lifestyle of the Hopi allows for the strength of their culture.

In terms of Indian education it is important to understand all the working parts to devise a solution. The ideas of sovereignty and power are an important concept of Indian education. The distinctions that federally recognized tribes posses is an important factor of Indian education and how tribal nations can go about taking the education of their children back into their own hands. The importance of the federal government to realize that the policies that they devised to "civilize" Indians was more detrimental to Indian communities and the realization that in order for Indian communities to strengthen themselves that they should have charge of their own affairs.

Despite this realization, there remains a struggle between the federal government, state government and educational institutions that served Indian students. This still plays into discussions conduced by K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa McCarty in which education was utilized as a grand scheme to homogenize all cultural communities into this idea of Americanization.[111] Tribal governments must contend against intrusions like these and configure ways to utilize sovereignty to take back the rights to determine the educational process for their own children. Although the federal government has taken steps to move in the right direction by

[111] Lomawaima, K. Tsianina and Teresa McCarty. "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy: American Indian Education and the Democratic Ideal". *American Educational Research Journal* 39, (Summer, 2002): 279

creating policy such as the "Native American Language Act" that allow for resources to be allocated to the preservation of Indigenous culture and languages, much work needs to be done as policies like No Child Left Behind of 2001 have created barriers in the development of culture and language programs.[112]

The development of culturally based Indian education makes it possible for communities to emphasize importance of culture and languages, and allow for cultural morals and values to be taught to students in order to develop identities of their tribal communities. The innovations of some communities such as Rough Rock make culturally based and community controlled educational institutions ideas a reality for some communities. Indian controlled schools demonstrates that Indian students excel and develop tribal identities when there own communities are involved with the development of school curriculums and infrastructure of schools. The history of boarding schools and Indian controlled schools also demonstrate that the betterment of Indian communities including Hopi villages were better off to handle their own affairs.

It is also important to keep in mind the diversity of tribal communities, as mentioned before in order to truly develop a concept of educational process that works for Indian communities, each tribal nation must be examined individually, their histories of education and how their cultural values can be intertwined with western education if it can at all. The history of contention of the Hopi and western implementation demonstrates their value of their culture and language, in

[112] McCarty Teresa. "The Impact of High-Stakes Accountability Policies on Native American Learners: Evidence from Research". *Teaching Education* 20, (2009): 7 – 29.

continuation in the present where the Hopi Tribal Council does not have support of all villages on the Hopi reservation. Culturally based education is almost predicated on working inside the western educational institution. Work would still need to be made to create a cultural sensitive way to incorporate certain aspects of Hopi culture into western educational institutions.

I have stated that in order to establish a successful form of education that suits better for Hopi students, that support would be needed from local leadership, state and federal governments, but the most needed support would be from community members. The historical perspective of the split of Oraibi demonstrate that Hopi's do not always agree in the progression of community development which is true for any community, but it is imperative that community members unite for the development of an educational system that better develops their children. Culturally responsive schooling seems to be a feasible solution for Hopi communities, but due to perspectives developed through cultural and religious beliefs, this model may have difficulty gaining full support from community members.

The Hopi have demonstrated strong adherences to cultural and religious beliefs and is commendable considering the insurmountable odds they faced in preserving their cultural ways. This resiliency is strength of Hopi and will be look to once more to push for culture and language revitalization efforts.

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