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Intercultural Adjustment in an Academic Enrichment Program

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This paper is a description and examination of an Academic Enrichment Program for students from a Bureau of Indian Affairs Day School in Stebbins, Alaska. Sixty Eskimo students travelled to Beaverton, Oregon in the winter of 1975, accompanied by their teachers and by village representatives. They were enrolled in Beaverton schools for a six-week period, and participated in a program designed to acquaint them with aspects of American culture previously known to them only through their textbooks.

The major emphasis here is on description of the interface between two cultural systems. While there is an attempt to identify the problems inherent in a program of this sort, this is not an evaluation of the

program.

The data reported here was obtained by participant observation in many aspects of the program. Students were observed in the classroom, on field trips, in play situations, and in the homes in which they stayed during their visit. Background information is included on the cultural milieus of the two participating communities.

Students in the program encountered several types of problems during the course of the program. Areas where differing cultural orientations contributed to misunderstandings between the Alaskan students and their hosts included the following:

1) perception of time
2) perception of spatial boundaries
3) discipline of children
4) communication styles
5) food sharing
6) sleeping habits

In the final chapter, suggestions are offered for changes which might help to ease the problems of adjustment for participants in future programs.

INTERCULTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN AN ACADEMIC ENRICHMENT PROGRAM

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Alaskan Eskimo children live in two worlds. Enculturated to a traditional hunting and fishing society, they are, by policy of the United States government, being acculturated to mainstream American society.[1]

This paper focuses on some aspects of the interface between the two cultural systems. It is a discussion of the Beaverton/Stebbins Academic Enrichment Program, a program designed to acquaint Eskimo students with the culture of their textbooks. It is an attempt to identify some of the areas where differing cultural perceptions of certain aspects of daily life caused misunderstandings between the Eskimo students and their hosts. There is no intent to evaluate the program, but rather to present data which may be of assistance to those who wish to evaluate this or similar programs, to compare this program with others, or to plan similar programs in the future.

In January, 1975, sixty Eskimo children from Stebbins, Alaska arrived in Beaverton, Oregon and were enrolled in Beaverton schools for a period of six weeks. They lived with Beaverton families, and participated in their day-to-day activities. The program in which they participated

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[1] For an outline of the history of educational programs for Native Americans, see Fuchs and Havighurst (1972, ch. 1). For a history of education for Alaska Natives, see Ray (1958).

was originated and directed by Dr. Paul Jensen, Professor of Education at Oregon College of Education.[2] This particular program was one phase of a continuing project which has brought hundreds of Eskimo students to Oregon over a period of more than a decade.

The method involved in this study is the classic method of participant observation. I attended classes with the Eskimo children daily, generally acting as a teacher aide in the classrooms. I accompanied the Stebbins children on all field trips planned for them during their visit, as one of the volunteer chaperones. Since I was acquainted with several families who hosted Stebbins students, I had the opportunity to deal with them on an informal basis. Finally, as an elected member of a Local School Committee, I had earlier become acquainted with several of the teachers and administrators involved in the program, whose comments and support were helpful to me. As a result of these several levels of interaction, I was able to examine the Academic Enrichment Program from a number of perspectives. The synthesis of this material, from an anthropologist's viewpoint, is offered as a study in the process of education for Native Americans.

As this study progressed, I sought answers for five major questions:

1) What specific problems, if any, in intercultural communication were encountered in the classroom?
2) To what extent did the Eskimo children interact with their peer group, host families, and teachers, and what factors enhanced these processes?
3) Overall, what adjustment problems occurred that could particularly be attributed to intercultural misperceptions, and how

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[2] Dr. Jensen, because his program has achieved national attention for a number of years, is mentioned here by name. Names of other informants, and of the schools in which the more concentrated study took place, have been changed to protect the anonymity of the informants.

were they dealt with
   A) in the classroom?
   B) in the host family?
   C) in other social situations?

4) Can differences in ease of adjustment for Alaskan students be attributed to differences in physical plants or in methodological orientations in the school ("open" vs. "traditional" schools.)?
5) How might information about intercultural adjustment in this particular situation be used to strengthen future academic enrichment programs?

During the course of the program, several areas were identified in which differing cultural orientations contributed to misunderstandings or to adjustment problems for one or both groups. These areas included:

1) perception of time
2) perception of spatial boundaries
3) discipline of children
4) communication styles
5) food sharing
6) sleeping habits

The final chapter offers suggestions for changes which might help to ease the problems of intercultural adjustment for participants in future programs.

CHAPTER II

BEAVERTON CULTURAL MILIEU

If I had been setting off for some unknown land to do fieldwork, I would have immersed myself in reading and research, to learn as much as possible about the culture I would be encountering.

Instead, I was dealing with a community in which I had lived for twenty years. I found I had taken as fact a number of assumptions I had made about the community. I had never given much thought to community values, as distinguished from my values. Writing a description of Beaverton forced me to come to terms with some of these for the first time. It has been a valuable experience.

While my knowledge of Beaverton is based on long first-hand acquaintance, my knowledge of Stebbins, Alaska, is gained entirely from others. I have never visited Alaska. My sources of information on life in Stebbins included the Stebbins students, the teachers and the village representatives who accompanied them on their trip, the Beaverton administrators who visited Stebbins, and Dr. Paul Jensen, the administrator of the program. If I have misinterpreted their descriptions, I apologize.

I feel it is important to an understanding of the problems of adjustment in a program such as this, to know something of the background from which each group of students has come. The two communities involved in the program were, needless to say, very different.

Beaverton, Oregon, with a city population of approximately 21,000, is located in the eastern portion of Washington County, Oregon, and is a suburb of Portland. Population of the Greater Portland Area is approximately one million persons.

School District 48 includes the City of Beaverton, and surrounding unincorporated communities. 1970 population within school district boundaries was 95,873. School enrollment in 1974-75 was 20,189. The District operated 28 elementary schools (grades 1-6), six intermediate schools (grades 7-9) and three high schools (grades 10-12). 1150 teachers and 800 other employees are on District payrolls. The area has undergone rapid growth in the past, (twenty years ago the City of Beaverton population was 1100) and is still growing rapidly. Projections for 1990 suggest a population of 198,350 within the District boundaries, an increase of 52%.

Geographically, District 48 lies in the eastern portion of the Tualatin River Valley. Most of the area was formerly small farms and orchards, and has been converted to suburban tracts within the last twenty years, although a few small farms still remain in the western portion of the District. The area is served by the Tri-County Metropolitan Transportation District of Oregon, with frequent bus service to Portland, but most families rely on auto transportation; many families have two cars. There is easy auto access to the Portland city center, with two freeways and several major roads leading to Portland from the west. About 60% of District children are transported to school each day by District-operated buses.

Climate is mild, and winters are generally rainy. During the time the Stebbins students were in Beaverton, daily temperatures were

generally between 40° and 50°F. There was no day on which there was snow on the ground for more than a few hours.

The majority of District 48 residents work outside of Washington County. Most of these work in Portland. Of 19 census tracts within the District, there are only seven in which the majority of workers are employed in Washington County. These seven tracts are in the western portion of the District. There is no tract in which more than 63% of the employed residents work in the county. The major employer in Washington County is Tektronix, a manufacturer of electronic instruments, which has about 9,000 employees. Beaverton, then, should probably be viewed as a part of the Portland Metropolitan Area, rather than as a separate entity.

Housing is a mixture of single family homes with small and large apartment complexes. Present population densities vary from about 100 per square mile on the northwest and southeast fringes of the District, to approximately 6,000 per mile in the central area. The western half of the District is more sparsely settled than the eastern half, which abuts the City of Portland.

Mean family incomes varies from a low of $9,826 to a high of $21,998, with an average for the 19 census tracts of $13,357. Median income in each tract ranges from $9,736 to $16,948, with an average for the 19 tracts of $12,538. The percentage of families in each tract with income below the 1969 poverty level of $3,743 ranges from 1.5% to 8.5%.

Racially, Beaverton a white community. According to School Districts figures, prepared in November, 1974, of 20,189 students, 19,759 or 97.87%, are classified as "White." 103 (0.51%) are classed as "Spanish Surname", 67 (0.33%) as "Black", 167 (0.82%) as "Oriental",

25 (0.12%) as "American Indian", and 68 (0.34%) as "Other Minorities". Included among the Black students are approximately thirty who are not residents of the District, and who are bussed in each day from schools in the Portland core area. Minority members are scattered throughout the District. There are two schools, both at the elementary level, which have no minority students. Overall range of minority members enrolled in schools is from 0 to 5.9%. Of the schools participating in the Stebbins program, percentages of minority students vary from 0 to 4.2%, with a mean of 2.3%.

Educational achievement of adults in the Beaverton School District is relatively high. Percentages of high school graduates in the various census tracts ranges from 63% to 88%. Median number of years of school completed ranges from 12.3 to 14.3.

A full range of community centered activities are available to residents. These include those which are organized around the schools, (Parent-Teacher Clubs, School Board and Local School Committees, school clubs and organizations, and school athletic events); those with religious focus (church groups and non-denominational religious organizations); fraternal organizations (Elks, IOOF, Rainbow Girls, DeMolay); those with recreational-athletic focus (tennis clubs, golf clubs, track, soccer, amateur and semi-professional baseball); educational activities (adult education, agricultural extension groups, League of Women Voters) [Portland Community College offers day and evening classes in the Beaverton District. 13,000 students enrolled for these extension classes in 1973-74.]; business groups (Chamber of Commerce, Jaycees); service clubs and auxiliaries (Beaverton Junior Women's Club, Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, hospital guilds) and other special interest groups (Senior Citizens,

Community Band, Community Theater, and Art Association). Further, all the activities of the Portland metropolitan area are available to Beaverton residents with a short drive.

Shopping facilities were in past years limited. In the past five years, however, two major shopping centers were developed in the Beaverton area. Residents no longer have to drive to Portland to shop in large department stores. Most of these stores, as well as numerous smaller shops, have opened branches in one of the two centers, Bernard Mall, and Washington Square. Thus, while the work locus for many families is not in Washington County, more and more shopping is being done there.

The majority (sixteen of 26) attendance areas have at least 90% two-parent families. Only three schools had below 80% two-parent families. (These figures are from Latch Key Survey conducted by Beaverton Schools Department of Administrative Services, in September, 1973.[1])

According to the Latch Key survey, the major trend is for the father of the family to work full-time, and for the mother to be at home or working part-time. One attendance area (CE Mason) has nearly as many mothers working full-time (47%) as fathers (50%).

In 1974, the firm of Bardsley and Haslacher was retained by School District 48 to conduct research to determine attitudes toward operations and communications of the District. 15% of district residents were surveyed, chosen by a random sampling technique.

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[1] Based on my personal knowledge of the District, I would question the accuracy of these figures. I feel that there are more single-parent families than their survey shows. I have no exact figures to support my feelings.

Each participant in the survey was asked at the outset what he or she liked best about living in the District. Answers were as follows:

QUALITIES	Total Sample	School Parents	Nonparents
Convenient Location, close to stores, transportation, work, shopping	47%	51%	44%
Quality of environment, natural scenes, trees, landscape, foliage, clean, quiet.	35	35	35
Quality of schools; academic standards, highly rated schools, advanced schools	21	39	6
Proximity of schools	3	4	2
Neighbors, friends, family; close to loved ones; family always lived here	17	17	17
Pleasant community; style of living; contented, hometown atmosphere	9	8	10
Habit -- only place we know	5	1	8
Miscellaneous: fire and police protection; sports availability, etc.	1	1	1
Undecided	8	4	11
Sample Size	400	180	220

On a scale of 0 - 100%, respondents rated the job performance of the District at 82.9%, indicating a high level of satisfaction. In polls conducted by the same firm in other districts within the state, average mean rating of job performance was 60%. Respondents felt the main strengths of the district were:

1. School Programs
2. Personnel
3. Record or Achievements.

Problem areas were seen as:

1. Finances or School Funding
2. Classroom size
3. Lack of Discipline.

CHAPTER III

STEBBINS CULTURAL MILIEU

Stebbins, Alaska is a village of 270 people located on Norton Sound, about 50 air miles southwest of Unalakleet, 80 miles northeast of the Yukon River Delta, 125 air miles southeast of Nome, and about 200 miles from the Cholotsk Peninsula of Siberia.

The layout of the village follows the shoreline. Houses are arranged in two rows parallel to the beach, in a grouping which appears from aerial photos to be fairly compact. The houses are protected from the ocean by a seawall made of oil drums filled with sand. The village airstrip is perpendicular to the shoreline, to take advantage of prevailing winds. The area behind the village is treeless, swampy tundra, with pothole lakes, rising to low mountains approximately 1500 to 2000 feet in elevation.

Temperatures vary from -60°F in winter to 60°F in summer, with occasional higher temperatures. The village is ice-bound nine months of the year.

Transportation in and out of the village is limited by climatic factors. There is air service to the village, bringing in mail and light supplies from Unalakleet two or threes times a week in good weather. The air strip accepts only small planes (four to six passenger capacity). The nearest commercial air carrier service is at Unalakleet. Once a year, in the summer, a Bureau of Indian Affairs ship, the North Star II, brings in building materials, groceries, gasoline and fuel oil. Any

heavy supplies must be ordered well in advance of this shipment.

Transportation within the local area has changed markedly in the past few years. In previous years, most families had owned dog teams, and there were 400 to 500 dogs in the village. Now there are no dog teams left in Stebbins. Travellers in the snow season use snow machines. If heavy loads are to be moved, snow machines are used to pull the traditional sleds that once were pulled by dogs. There are now 55 to 60 snow machines in the village. There are no roads, and no automobiles or trucks. There is one tricycle-type all-terrain vehicle, which is owned by the teacher.

In a discussion of the effects of the "snowmobile revolution" in the Arctic, anthropologist Perrti Pelto (1973) hypothesizes that "an intrusion of a significant new technological system, particularly one that depends on outside fuel sources for its maintenance and operation, will tend to generate inequalities in individual technoeconomic capabilities with a resulting shift toward social stratification." He notes that an immediate effect of this "revolution" has been to "create a sharp rise in the need for cash in Indian, Eskimo, and Lappish communities."

Technological advances imported into Stebbins in the past few years have made marked changes in the lifestyle of villagers. An oil-fired generator was installed in the village two years ago, which provides electricity for all village buildings. Prior to this time, the only electricity had been provided by wind-powered generators. Many homes in Stebbins now have some electrical appliances (radios, mixers, etc.) in addition to electric lights. Only the school has running water; for the homes, water is brought in from nearby lakes in summer. In

winter, snow or ice is melted to provide water. None of the homes has indoor plumbing. The only showers in the village are at the school. Students take showers there every Saturday. The village has one telephone, located in the store. The chain saw has become a valuable tool, allowing the easier harvest of driftwood which floats ashore from the Yukon Delta and Siberia. Driftwood, burned in stoves, is used to supplement oil as a fuel for heating and cooking.

A map of Stebbins shows 49 occupied houses and four empty houses. There are, associated with these, 39 caches and 30 outhouses. Community buildings include stores, the armory, two churches, a jail, Corporation buildings, the air terminal, oil tanks and generators, a community hall, steam baths, the school and its shop, and a few dog houses.

Houses are built of wood, most of which must be barged in. Contracts have been signed with the Bering Straits Housing Authority to build new homes for twenty low-income families in Stebbins during the summer of 1975. The Housing Authority will be assisted by the BIA under the provisions of a tri-agency agreement between HUD, BIA, and the Indian Health Service. These will be three-bedroom ranch style homes wtih indoor plumbing. Present homes will be torn down.

Subsistence activities are varied. The primary source of cash income for the Stebbins men is commercial fishing in the three summer months. Salmon are sold to passing cannery ships or to canneries in Unalakleet. Some of the men from the village are members of Forest Service firefighting crews in the summer. Many men are also members of the village unit of the Alaska National Guard, and have made trips out of the village to attend Guard encampments.

Many of the women are accomplished basketmakers. There is a conscious effort being made to revive this aboriginal craft. These baskets are sold for cash through Native Corporations stores. Stebbins women prepared 50 baskets for exhibit and sale in Beaverton, as part of the exchange program.

Other sources of income based on native crafts include the carving of ivory and wood by some village artists. These products are also sold by native stores in the region.

Reindeer herding was introduced into Alaska by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1890's. Stebbins has a community herd which numbers between 1000 and 5000 animals. The herd is allowed to range freely and is not milked, but is used for meat and hides. The switch to herding is proving difficult for the Eskimos, whose culture has stressed hunting for thousands for years.

The rather small cash income which comes in to the village from these sources is used to purchase supplies which must be brought in from outside. These include such items as fuel for cooking and heating, gasoline for snowmobiles, food items such as flour, sugar, canned goods, and fruits and vegetables, building materials, tools, and some clothing items.

The major portion of the diet of the Stebbins villagers is meat brought in by the men. Seal, fox, geese, and ducks are hunted in the fall, and later in the year, moose, caribou, rabbit, ptarmigan, and whale. When a whale is killed, the entire village shares the meat. Meat which cannot be used immediately is frozen (often in electric freezers, these days). Salmon is caught and dried in the sun for later use. A three man fishing team may bring in as many as 90 salmon a day. Many

families move from the village to fish camps in the summer. Other fish caught include tom cod, which are caught through holes in the ice. Three methods of fishing are used: a spinning reel and rod, a handline, or a net stretched between two holes in the ice. Clams are dug on the beach, and bird eggs are gathered from the area surrounding the village

Seals are hunted with a rifle, and once shot, are harpooned. The harpoon line is then used to drag the seal ashore. Seals are hunted in fall and again in the spring. Boys begin hunting at a young age. One 9-year-old who visited Beaverton had killed seven seals the previous winter. Seal skins are tanned and used for jackets and mittens, which are sewn by the women. The butchering of a seal takes about an hour. Oil, skin, and meat are carefully separated. One of the village representatives who accompanied the children to Beaverton showed slides of a seal being butchered in the kitchen of a home. I do not know whether this is standard procedure in all families.

Stebbins villagers eat mainly cooked meat and canned goods, supplemented with occasional greeens and berries gathered from the tundra. The cooking is fairly simple, and methods for the most part are similar to cooking in the Lower 48.[1] Canned and powdered milk, as well as other staples, are imported from the Lower 48.

Activities in the village have several foci, including the store-postoffice complex, the school, the churches, and the community hall. About 95% of the villagers are Catholic, the other 5% belong to the

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[1] "Lower 48" is a term used in Alaska to refer to the rest of the United States (excluding Hawaii). It is only coincidental that the school district the children visited happens to be assigned the number 48.

Assembly of God church. Services in the Catholic Church are conducted in English, since the priest does not speak the native language. Church attendance averages about 15% to 20% of the members.

The community hall is the site of some village meetings, of the dancing and singing associated with the annual potlatch (which will be discussed later in this chapter) and of movies and bingo games. The movies shown are mostly westerns and Canadian-produced Eskimo movies.

The school building was constructed in 1964, and even by Lower 48 standards, is well equipped, with video-tape equipment for use in the classroom, and a 25" TV on which tapes of programs of interest can be replayed. The couple who teach at the school and their daughter live in an apartment in the school building. The building is self-sufficient in that it has its own sewage treatment plant and two 2500 watt generators. In contrast to the homes of students, floors of the classrooms are carpeted, and classrooms are well lighted. Pictures taken in the school show that children remove their shoes while attending. The school has a kitchen, and a hot lunch program provides a substantial mid-day meal. Students take turns as kitchen helpers.[2]

There are 62 students in the school. The principal teacher during 1974-75 taught grades 3-8 (32 students) in one classroom. His wife taught grades 1 and 2 in the other classroom. Village adults served as teacher

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[2] The building described above burned to the ground in September, 1975. Classes were moved to the village armory, and the corporation building, with construction of a new school building expected to be completed in January, 1976. This will be a semi-permanent building with a projected life span of three to four years.

aides, assisting in the school and telling stories of the "old days." The teachers, Marilyn and Roger Haynes, are a young couple from Montana who have been teaching in Alaska for the past seven years. They have been at Stebbins for five years. He has a Master's degree in Education, and she is currently completing work for her Master's degree. Each summer they return to the Lower 48 for additional classwork. [Note: After the 1974-75 school year, they resigned their positions in Stebbins, and are currently teaching in Oregon.]

Haynes says that most of the teachers in BIA schools in Alaska are from Pacific Northwest states, although one village with which he is familiar has had all Southern teachers. Students in that school speak with a decided Southern drawl.

For the past thirty years the teachers in Stebbins have been a husband-wife team. The current teachers have stayed the longest of any teachers -- five years.

Students are required by Alaska State Law to attend school until they have completed eighth grade or until they reach 16 years of age. There are no high school facilities in the village, and students who wish to attend high school must attend boarding schools, the closest of which is over a hundred miles from the village. The principal says the Catholic boarding school at Saint Mary's is the best school, and tries to persuade his students to go there. Most of the students who go to boarding school drop out after the first Christmas vacation. No student from the village has completed college to date, although he believes that one may complete college within the next year.

Stebbins Day School has a school board made up of local citizens. Members of the school board in 1974-75 included two policemen, the head

of the Native Store, and the head of the Native Corporation.

One of the major social events of the year in Stebbins is the annual potlatch, which usually takes place in January or February. Residents of another village (usually Kotlik, 80 miles southwest on the Yukon Delta) are invited to Stebbins for a three-day feast and gift exchange. Presents are transported on large freight sleds pulled by snow machines. Festivities include much singing and dancing. Musical accompaniment for the dancing is provided by singers and drummers. Drumheads used to be made of walrus stomach, but are now made of plastic. No other musical instruments are used. There seems to be a conscious effort by the villagers to keep the old customs alive. According to one of the adults who accompanied the Stebbins children to Beaverton. "We're trying to bring back our customs we used to have long ago. Even Eskimo dancing is dying out."

Among the social activities for which the school serves as the setting is the annual Christmas party. All the families in the village celebrate Christmas together. Highlights of the 1974 celebration included Eskimo dancing, Christmas carols, and a piñata for the children. Presents from the villagers to each other and from the Beaverton host families to their future guests were distributed. Decorations included crepe paper streamers and an artificial Christmas tree.

Another important social event each year is the annual playday. Villagers from Stebbins and from St. Michael, ten miles away, meet on a frozen lake halfway between the two villages for games.

Village residents are of two distinct groups. Of the 281 residents, about one fourth are descendants of the aboriginal residents of the Stebbins area. The remainder (with the exception of six non-Eskimo)

are descendants of immigrants from the Nelson Island area, 200 miles southwest of Stebbins. Family names would suggest that there has been some Russian admixture. One informant has stated that two dialects are spoken in the village, one Yupik, and the other Inupik. The director of the Program, however, says that all the residents are Yupik speakers. While most of the residents speak some English, apparently the older generation relies mostly on the Yupik language. Children are bilingual, and speak only English in school. One of the Stebbins teachers says that they always play in English.

Houses in Stebbins are small by Lower 48 standards, and are of frame construction. From photographs, they appear to be one or two rooms, perhaps about 600 square feet. Village population would suggest that five to six people live in each house. There is electricity in village homes, but no running water.

The Program Director has described Eskimo families as "unorganized", "undisciplined", and "permissive". He feels that one of the reasons for this is that in the old Eskimo religion there is a belief in reincarnation. While all are Christian now, he says they still feel that a child has resident within him the spirits of deceased ancestors, and that in disciplining a child, you may offend the spirit of the ancestor. For this reason, there is little overt disciplining of young children.

In Eskimo homes, according to the Director, there is not the concern with the clock that there is in contemporary Lower 48 society. Food in the house is always made available to family members. The usual pattern is to eat when you are hungry, and sleep when you are sleepy. There are no efforts to have a set time when the family eats together.

The extended family relationship is important in Eskimo society. There appears to be much informal adoption of children within the village. The Director pointed out that in the past, uncles often raised their nephews, and aunts, their nieces. From informal census, it appears that not all the Stebbins children live with their natural parents. Much of this may have to do with the rigors of Arctic life, and the fact that many young men are killed in accidents, leaving wives who are unable to support a number of young children. These adoption practices appear to bear out the classic descriptions of Eskimo "extended family" patterns. In the sheet provided by the School District, 16 students list only one "parent or guardian." Three of these list a single parent or guardian with a last name not the same as their own. Seven other students list couples as "parent or guardian" whose last name is not the same as theirs. At least 39% of the children, then, appear to be from families affected by death or divorce, or to have been adopted by relatives. The percentage is probably higher, since this does not include children adopted by relatives with the same last name.

The village of Stebbins is a member of the Bering Straits Corporation. Native regional corporations hold subsurface rights to the land owned by native villages, as well as both surface and subsurface rights to other lands owned by the corporation. Corporation members must have been at least one quarter Eskimo, Indian, or Aluet in ancestry, and have been born before December 19, 1971. All children participating in the Academic Enrichment Program are eligible for membership in the Corporation.

CHAPTER IV

SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

The formal statement of "Scope of Contact" for the "Cultural Enrichment Program for Students of Stebbins Day School" describes the program as follows:

"The purpose of this contract is to provide a cultural enrichment program for Native children of Stebbins, Alaska, which is designed to increase their overall academic achievement level."

This contract was entered into by the U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affiars, Juneau, Alaska Office (the Contracting Officer) and the Oregon State Board of Education, acting on behalf of Oregon College of Education, Monmouth, Oregon (the Contractor).

The Contractor (OCE) and the Program Director, agreed to provide the following items, as part of the contract.

103. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL
Provide a cultural enrichment program for 58 (one through eighth grade) students of the Stebbins Day School, Stebbins, Alaska. This program shall include the following:

A. Pre and post testing using personal inventory tests developed by Oregon College of Education.
B. Lodging and food in transit for the students.
C. Arrangements for each student to live in a foster home in Beaverton, Oregon, with non-native students according to age level. The Stebbins student will be a full member of the foster family with full privileges and responsibilities providing an opportunity for observing and participating in the kind of living which takes place outside the Native village.
D. Enrollment in a Beaverton Oregon public school with an uninterrupted program of study Monday through Thursday for 6 weeks. This will include furnishing necessary

consumable school supplies such as notebooks, pens, pencils, rulers, water colors, crayons, etc., and daily hot lunches in the school cafeteria.

E. A Project Director who shall be responsible for planning and operating the project, and assisting in an evaluation of the project, some of which will be accomplished during pre and post visits to the community.

F. Field trips to cover a variety of experiences such as (but not limited to) visits to farms, factories, zoos, the ocean, mountains, movies, etc. Actual excursions will be determined according to expressed interests of the students.

G. Arrange for living quarters in Beaverton, Oregon for the four adults who are to accompany the students during the project period of 6 weeks.

H. Submit a detailed evaluation report of the project to the Nome Agency Superintendent prior to May 30, 1975. This report shall include pre and post-test results and interpretations, a narrative critique of the project and other reports and information as required by ESEA 89-10 law.

The Government agreed to provide the following services:

A. Provide medical and dental checkups on all students before leaving Stebbins and a course of study at Stebbins prior to the project period which will focus on the types of things the students will be doing in order to prepare them for this experience.

B. Provide transportation to Beaverton, Oregon, and return to Stebbins, Alaska, for 58 students and 4 adult chaperones.

C. Provide two teachers of the one through eighth grades of Stebbins Day School who shall accompany the students to Beaverton, Oregon, and remain there for the project period of 6 weeks. The teachers shall attend school every day with the students, conducting reading sessions if necessary, conduct letter writing sessions, assist classroom teachers, if asked to do so, and accompany the students on field trips.

D. Two community members selected by the School Board, City Council, and IRA council shall accompany the students. They will attend school every day with the students and visit them in the foster homes. They will be available to help the students adjust to life away from home and assist in any way needed.

The Contractor agreed to the following reporting system:

A. A narrative report, due at the end of each month, which shall give the status of the enrichment program. This will include the activities of the Program Coordinator with his suggestions and recommendations for future and immediate decisions which will increase the effectiveness of the enrichment project.
B. A final report due May 30, 1975, summarizing the academic enrichment program. This report must identify those students who participated and an evaluation of the project. Copies of this report shall be submitted to: Education Program Administrator,
Nome, Alaska
Federal Program Coordinator,
P.O. Box 120, Anchorage, Alaska

Budget for the program included the following items:

Lodging and food in transit (58 children)	$1200.00
Clothing and personal effects (58 children at $150)	8700.00
Study tours (busses, admissions, etc.)	2500.00
Beaverton School District Administrative Expense	2245.00
Pre and Post-Testing at Beaverton (Materials)	113.00
Printing of schedule, guidelines, reports, office expense	1200.00
Director's Salary	5400.00
Other payroll expenses	694.00
Director's Travel	
4 round trips - Monmouth, Oregon/Nome	1787.00
Charter - Nome/Stebbins 10 hours at $75/hr.	750.00
Per Diem - Approximately 42 days at $38	1596.00
Economy Car	741.00
Indirect Costs	1000.00
TOTAL CONTRACT	$27926.00

A further outline of the contractor's duties was included in Addendum B. of the Specifications. This was in the form of a Contractor's Proposal, dated August 4, 1974.

In the Stebbins Academic Enrichment Program for 1974-75, Oregon College of Education, Monmouth, Oregon 97361, proposes the following activities:

A. To plan and coordinate with the Education Administrator of the Nome BIA Agency, Nome, Alaska 99762, the following activities with the Stebbins BIA School:

1. Plan and schedule all orientation meetings with Stebbins School Board and Stebbins teachers and together plan all orientation activities;
2. Meet with parents at the BIA school and at home to establish comfortable communication.
3. Take individual pictures of children and obtain necessary information regarding clothing size and shoe size, etc.
4. Serve as an aide to the BIA teachers in preparing the children for comfortable and meaningful living in the Lower 48, using films, agricultural and manufactured products from the Beaverton area, slides, flat pictures, and lead discussions.
5. Meet with the oldest citizens at the school to hear stories on Stebbins. Record history for use in book.
6. Print schedule including songs and stories from Stebbins.
7. Make a slide and sound presentation on Stebbins with the assistance of the children and the teachers.
8. Meet with the village people and the children who are interested in making things that are representative of the culture of Stebbins. Use for exhibit in Oregon.
9. The coordinator will be actively engaged in orientation, planning, and evaluation activities in Stebbins for six weeks.
10. The coordinator will plan all study tours in transit to Oregon and make arrangements for housing of children and for meals.

B. To plan and coordinate with the Education Administrator of the Nome BIA Agency the following activities with the Beaverton School District, Beaverton, Oregon:

1. Plan and schedule all orientation meetings with parents. Show slides of children, parents, and the Stebbins Community.
2. Arrange for placement of all Stebbins children in Beaverton homes with one child to a home. Arrange for homes for village representatives and for apartment for the teachers.
3. Plan and schedule meetings with teachers who will have the Stebbins children in their classroom. Show Stebbins slides and share background information.
4. Take pictures of some of the host children and some of the host homes and parents.
5. Arrange for U.S. Health Service to all Stebbins children. List names of M.D.'s and dentists and hospitals available.
6. The coordinator will give a minimum of three weeks to planning and orientation in the Beaverton School District.

C. To implement and coordinate the Stebbins Academic Enrichment the coordinator will perform the following activities:

1. Travel to Stebbins to finalize all travel arrangements together with the Education Administrator of the Nome BIA Agency and the teachers at Stebbins.
2. Accompany the Stebbins group and together with the teachers and village representatives chaperone the children in transit.
3. Make bus arrangements to meet children at Portland Airport and arrange for a reception by Beaverton parents.
4. Together with the Stebbins teachers and the village representatives the coordinator will be available in person during school days for consultation in case of homesickness or illness, or by phone at other times.
5. Together with the Stebbins teachers and the village representatives the coordinator will conduct all study tours.
6. Together with Stebbins teachers and the village representatives the coordinator will give pre-test and post-test at Beaverton.
7. The coordinator will return with the children to Stebbins at the end of the six week program and together with the BIA Education Administrator make all schedule arrangements with the airlines.
8. The coordinator will give seven weeks to implementation of the program.

D. To evaluate the program the coordinator will submit a written report to the Nome BIA Education Administrator.

Appended to the Contract Document was the tentative timetable for the Academic Enrichment Program, which will be discussed in Chapter V.

The Academic Enrichment Program is the creation of Dr. Paul Jensen, Professor of Education, Oregon College of Education, Monmouth, Oregon. The Program grew out of Dr. Jensen's interest in, and experience with, Eskimo communities.

Jensen was born in Denmark. He remembers that the Danish government, during his boyhood, brought Greenland Eskimos to Denmark for education. His interest also was sparked by his contact with Danish explorers, from whom he learned about the Eskimo.

When he came to the United States, Jensen's interest extended to the Alaskan Eskimo. Among other projects, he worked with the Northwest

Regional Educational Laboratory in Portland, helping to develop a series of twelve "Alaska Readers" for use in Alaskan schools.

In 1962, Jensen was working with children in a school on St. Lawrence Island, He says he asked a child, after she finished reading a book, what she had read. Her reply was "Words." He says he realized at that point that the child had "no experience with the culture of her textbook." He began work on his program that evening. He sees as a major problem of Alaskan education that "We are asking children in Alaska to learn the same things as their contemporaries in Beaverton without the benefit of their culture." He notes that "Annually, these children take achievement tests that are filled with a culture that is outside their experience." The purpose of the program is to attempt to overcome this imbalance by allowing the Alaskan children to experience the "Lower 48" culture first-hand.

Since 1967, Dr. Jensen has been involved in academic enrichment programs funded by the U.S. Department of Education, through Title I funds.

Each year, an Alaskan school is selected to participate in the "Oregon Program." Dr. Jensen negotiates with an Alaskan School District, which designates which school in that district will participate in the program. Dr. Jensen says there is much competition among schools to be chosen for the Oregon Program.

In 1973-74, the Corvallis, Oregon School District played host to a group of Alaskan children. Dr. Jensen was a speaker at two in-service programs in which Beaverton teachers took part, later that year. Negotiations between Dr. Jensen and the Beaverton School District began shortly after these sessions.

By late June, 1974, the Beaverton School District was approaching commitment to an Enrichment Program. The Beaverton administrators knew Stebbins would be the village involved. Plans were being made to present the program to the Beaverton School Board for approval in August, 1974. District personnel made plans to visit Stebbins in late October or early November.

Beaverton was selected by Dr. Jensen for the 1974-75 Academic Enrichment Program, because he felt it was a school district which could handle his program as it was designed. One of Jensen's primary criteria was that there should be no more than one Eskimo child in each classroom, to encourage contact with the local students. The Beaverton School District had enough classrooms to make this possible. As a matter of fact, Stebbins students were placed in only half the schools in the District -- the remaining schools participated in later Academic Enrichment Programs involving students from Barrow and Sitka, Alaska.

With approval from the Beaverton School Board, preparations began in earnest. Early in October, when the participating schools had been chosen and Stebbins students assigned to them, letters were sent to parents in those schools, telling them about the program. Those interested in hosting Stebbins students were asked to notify the school principal.

Stebbins teachers requested videotapes of school activities in Beaverton. Taping sessions were planned for mid-December, and were to include comments from host principals, teachers, and shots of classroom, playground, and cafeteria activities.

CHAPTER V

BEAVERTON PROJECT PREPARATION -- OVERVIEW

For most Beaverton participants in the program, their first real information came in the form of a letter from Dr. Jensen and a tentative schedule for the program.

The schedule began with the August 19, 1974 meeting of the Beaverton School Board, at which the Academic Enrichment Program for 1974-75 was presented. It outlined the planning and orientation sessions to be carried out in Beaverton and in Stebbins. Day-by-day plans were set out for the seven weeks the Stebbins students were to be away from home. The letter provided, for most families, most of the information which they had about the Stebbins program prior to the first orientation meeting; that is, prior to deciding whether they wished to participate. The information in the letter included location, population, and language of Stebbins. It was noted that their school uses the same texts as in Beaverton. Other information included these facts:

1. Cultural presentations will be made by village representatives in each Beaverton school participating in the program.
2. Medical expenses for Stebbins children will be assumed by the U.S. Public Health Service.
3. Three orientation meetings will be held for Beaverton parents; one in October, one in December, and one a week after the children arrive.
4. $150 will be provided for each host family from Title I funds, to purchase the following items:

A. Clothing
B. Shoes
C. Raincoat
D. Boots
E. Kodak X-15 Instamatic Camera
F. Scrapbook
G. Footlocker
H. Purse.

Although the letter announced an orientation meeting to be held in October, none was held then, because it was necessary for Dr. Jensen to return to Alaska to coordinate a second program with Point Barrow School District, which would be sending their students to Beaverton later in the spring.

According to Dr. Jensen's tentative timetable, Beaverton host parents for Stebbins children were to be chosen by October 14. A month later, November 12, the principal at one school told be he was stalling choosing host families, because he felt he did not have enough information from Dr. Jensen to choose the families. He had understood that he was completely free to choose the families. His first inclination was to throw the names of all volunteers into a hat and draw out the appropriate number of "winners." He had fourteen volunteers to house the four children assigned to his school. On reconsideration, he felt that some screening of host families would be advisable, and wanted the Local School Committee to do the screening. He checked with Dr. Jensen on the matter and was advised that host families must be chosen by lot. He had requested that his school receive visiting first, third, and sixth graders, because these classes had the lightest loads. He specifically did not want fifth graders, because this was a problem area in his school. Students assigned to his school were a first grade boy,

a first grade girl, a third grade boy, and sixth grade girl.

The meeting for prospective host parents at one of the schools was held on November 21, 1974, in the principal's office, with 15 people present. It began with the principal giving a brief outline of the program, but noting that this was a case of "the blind leading the blind" because he felt he really did not know much about it. He stated that School District 48's participation in the project came about because the School Board had approved a "Human Relations Policy Statement" and had subsequently asked District administrators "What are we doing about it?" The principal saw two objectives for the program stated in the following order:

1. to introduce Beaverton Students to a different culture
2. to introduce the Eskimo children to our culture.

He said that schools participating in the Stebbins program had been chosen at random, those which did not host Stebbins children would host children from Barrow later in the year in a similar program.

The description of the village of Stebbins offered by the principal at this meeting included principally the following:

1. There is no running water in the village.
2. Students are behind in their schoolwork by Beaverton standards.
3. Standard Lower 48 texts are being used in classes in Stebbins.
4. There are problems (by our standards) with hygiene.
5. Hearing losses are common (he suggested they might be genetically caused.)
6. Many of the boys are bedwetters.

One parent who was present at the meeting, and who had been a volunteer to host a child, was a building contractor. He had been in Stebbins on business four times between 1960 and 1968. He offered several com-

ments on conditions in the village, and attempted to describe the environment and the people. His comments included these statements:

1. There is a strong tribal culture.
2. Most of the health problems are environmentally caused.
3. Bathing facilities are non-existent.
4. There is a marked difference between the Alaskan Indian and the Eskimo. The Indian is the "down" culture.
5. The Eskimo is Oriental in nature.
6. Most of them are Christian.
7. Their morality is stronger than that of the Indian population.

Host parents were then chosen, by lot, from volunteers who had children in the same classroom and the same sex as children assigned to that school. The result of this method of choice was that three of the four Stebbins children were assigned to families living in a one block area, and two of these were assigned to single-parent families. An alternate family was chosen in each case, to provide support to the host family. Alternate families were asked to invite the guest child to their home occasionally, and to provide a backup for the host family in case of emergencies which precluded their meeting the obligations of "host parent."

The principal announced that there would be an orientation meeting for host families on December 10th, and the meeting was adjourned.

Shortly after the host families had been chosen at this school, I received a call in my capacity as Local School Committee Chairman, from a parent. The parent was concerned about the fact that two of the four families chosen were single-parent families. She felt broken homes should have been omitted from consideration. I explained that the principal was committed to abide by Dr. Jensen's directive that families be chosen by lot.

On December 5, 1974, the Director of Educational Services for the Beaverton School District, who was the Beaverton coordinator for the Academic Enrichment Program, sent a letter to host school principals, apologizing for cancelling teacher and parent meetings scheduled for December 3rd and December 10th.

Attachments to the letter included the following:

1. A list of students to be attending that principal's school
2. Information on test scores of Stebbins children
3. Student information sheet for each host family
4. An addressed, pre-stamped envelope for each family, suitable for sending Christmas gifts to the Stebbins children.
5. A student-prepared shopping list of items host families might consider buying for the children while they are in Beaverton.
6. Required Purchase Listing -- items to be purchased for each student with a portion of the money provided to host families.

Host classrooms, teachers and/or students were encouraged to write to the Stebbins students in order to make them feel welcome.

Host families were requested to send pictures of the family and of the host child to Stebbins as soon as possible.

The first orientation meetings for host parents were held on December 19, 1975 -- one during the day, and one in the evening. I attended only the evening meeting. The format of the two, I am told, was identical.

A map of the village, prepared by the Stebbins students, was posted on one wall of the meeting room in the Beaverton School District Administration Building. Below the map was a table of artifacts which Dr. Jensen had collected in Alaska, including seal oil lamps, sealskin boots, a Russian milling stone, and a splitting wedge for woodworking. Coffee and cookies were served before the meeting, and host parents talked in small groups. About 50 people were present at the meeting.

The formal meeting began at 7:40 P.M., with the Director of Educational Services acting as chairman. He introduced Dr. Jensen, describing him as a Professor of Education at Oregon College of Education, a noted anthropologist, and a very fine educator, whose program of bringing Alaskan students to this area was in its seventh year.

Dr. Jensen began his program with a description of the area and the people, noting that Stebbins is in reindeer country, a village three quarters of whose residents are from Nelson Island, and one fourth of whom are descendants of aboriginal residents of the area. They are Yupik speakers, short in stature, dark-haired, and very friendly people. Dr. Jensen stated that when he is in the village, he lives with the people, rather than apart from them as do the teachers. For this reason, he says, he is regarded as part of the village, "rather than part of the BIA, which is not well thought of in parts of Alaska." A warm, trusting relationship with the villagers, he says, allows him to take a whole generation out of the village for a seven-week period.

He then discussed briefly the history of his project -- how it began, and how it has progressed. Since this material has already been presented in Chapter IV, it will not be repeated here.

Following this, Dr. Jensen gave an outline of work underway since September 1 in Stebbins to prepare the children for the coming trip. He mentioned some of the areas covered in their orientation, including traffic safety, food sources, (stressing the difference between the marine-oriented subsistence they know in Stebbins, and the land-oriented subsistence in Oregon). He stated that he has advised the Stebbins children that they are to be "copycats" while they are in Oregon; therefore Beaverton students should be reminded that they are serving as examples.

On the other hand, Stebbins children have been asked not to use snuff during the time they are in Beaverton, out of deference to local custom.

Each Stebbins child will arrive, the parents were told, with two changes of clothes plus what he is wearing. The $150 check from Title I funds should be used to purchase any necessities which the child lacks. Effort has been made to insure that each child will be healthy when he arrives. Dr. Jensen stated that two doctors and two dentists had visited Stebbins, and a public health nurse visits the village once a month.

Dr. Jensen stressed that the Stebbins visitors would be accepted into the family on the same basis as other children in the family. He should have the same privileges and the same responsibilities as his host child, he should share in his host's chores, and should receive the same allowance.

The room was then darkened, and a series of 96 slides were shown, including pictures of homes, people, fishing and hunting activities, group gatherings, and the school.

After the slide presentation, questions from the audience were answered by Dr. Jensen, including the following:

> Q. Might the psychological input these children make on their return to the village lead to the degradation of village culture?
> A. No. The children will be impressed not by material things but by the love and affection received here. The village represents complete security to them. As long as there is any food in the village they will never go hungry. The child does not mention what you have when he returns home. His scrapbook is proof of his visit. There have been homes where parents bought a dining room table so that they can eat together instead of the usual pattern, which is to eat when you are hungry and to sleep when you are tired. Three houses in one village were completely painted inside. Washing clothes on Saturday and Saturday housecleaning were new ideas introduced by the children. What you do will be brought to homes

in the North.

Q. Will they be offended, if, when we introduce them, we say they are Eskimo?
A. No.

Q. What about food?
A. Feed them anything. If they can use snuff they can eat anything. [Laughter]

Q. What foods are a special treat?
A. Fruit (especially bananas) and ice cream.

Q. Can we visit the village after the children return?
A. It has happened in the past -- 28 people visited St. Lawrence Island (Gambell). Talk with the Beaverton coordinator of the program about the possibilities.

Q. Are the children upset by traffic and rushing?
A. No.
Q. That's funny -- I am!!!!
A. They have seen many traffic safety films.

Q. Why is the curriculum for Alaska not based on Alaskan culture?
A. The Northwest Educational Research Laboratory in Portland has done an Alaskan Reader -- otherwise nothing has been done and there is no plan to alter that in the future. The only thing that Alaska natives have in common is the English language. Some Greenland books (in Inupik) are being rewritten in Yupik.

Q. Do children leave the village when they grow up?
A. Only one tenth of the girls who go to high school return to the village. Of those who attend Chemawa Indian School in Oregon, about ten percent return. Their ideal is to marry a Caucasian. It's the ticket to a life of modern things. It's a hard life for women in the Artic.

Q. What has interested them most about Beaverton?
A. First: "What does my host brother (or sister) look like?" Second: "Do they have TV?" (No house in Stebbins has TV).

Q. How old are the kids when they start in school?
A. Five or six. They are lacking in ability to read, so they stay in first grade two or three years.

Q. Our child does not have a father listed (on the information sheet).
A. In many cases we don't know the father. It's a permissive society. Mortality among men in accidents is high, and it's difficult for a woman to remarry because of a shortage of men. Therefore lots of children live with grandparents or uncles. Try to avoid asking direct questions like "What is your father's name?" or "What

does your father do?" Instead, say "What do fathers do in Stebbins?"

Q. Since 95% of the children are Catholic, should we see that they go to church on Sunday?
A. Only one sixth of the people in the community are in church for services. Whatever you do Saturdays and Sundays, do it. There is no problem with the Catholic priest in Stebbins.

Q. What if we want to take a weekend trip?
A. We would like it if you would call the Central Office and check out, if you go out of town, so if parents from Stebbins call, contact can be made.

Q. Our girl's mother is also coming. Will she see her?
A. We [Dr. Jensen and the Stebbins teachers and village representatives] will call at each of the schools three times during the first week, to prove the existence of the five adults in Beaverton. After that, no.

The question period ended, and Dr. Jensen announced that he would like to visit some homes, and take pictures inside and out, which could be made into slides and taken north so the children could see them before they come down.

Dr. Jensen then turned the meeting back to the Beaverton coordinator, who cautioned the group to be aware that the one key word for the schedule of events for the Stebbins program was "tentative." He also announced that Dr. Jensen's collection of Arctic artifacts would be on display at the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry January 18. The meeting was then adjourned.

On January 9, 1975, host parents recieved one final 2 1/2 page communication from the Beaverton coordinator, firming up the schedule. The main items discussed were:

1. Arrival time
2. Schedule change for swimming lessons
3. Study trips
4. Financial arrangements
5. Availability of copies of slides of Stebbins
6. Plans for school assemblies

This constituted the formal orientation of host families prior to the Stebbins students' arrival.

Orientation for staff members consisted of a meeting with Dr. Jensen similar to that described for the host parents. Principals were asked to re-arrange teaching schedules, if necessary, so that all host teachers would be able to attend. The meeting was held on Wednesday, December 18, from 2:30 to 4:00 P.M. at the Administration Center. Information on materials used in Stebbins School was provided to all teachers, as was a bit of information for each teacher regarding the particular child he or she would have in the classroom.

CHAPTER VI

TWO BEAVERTON SCHOOLS

For a number of reasons, I began my classroom observations before the Stebbins students arrived. First, I wanted the Beaverton students to be used to my presence. Secondly, I did not want to appear to be focusing my attention on the Stebbins students. Thirdly, I wanted to have an idea of how each classroom and each teacher functioned in a "normal" situation, as contrasted with the "abnormal" situation of the Academic Enrichment Program. Finally, I wanted to "learn the ropes" at each school so the logistic aspects of my study could be planned in advance. These early observations were very helpful in giving me an overall picture of the two schools in which I worked.

Bowman School is a one story building which was opened for the first time in 1970. The building has two wings, one of which contains offices, the auditorium/gymnasium, and the cafeteria. The larger wing is the classroom area. In the classroom wing, a central core contains the library workroom, lavatories, storerooms, and two small rooms used by the remedial reading teacher and the speech therapist. On two sides of the central core are library areas -- one, with primary-level books, close to the primary grade area, and the larger "real library" containing reference and general books, audiovisual equipment, and lounge area, near the upper grade area. The floor plan is "open" -- there are few physical barriers between classes. While folding walls exist, which

may be pulled over to enclose "classrooms," in practice they are very rarely used. Children have some degree of freedom to move around -- often they sit on the carpeted floors instead of at their desks. Members of a classroom group are rarely all working on the same project at the same time. Team teaching is used for many subject areas. Small groups and individuals are constantly coming and going between work centers. While the "home room" serves as the focus of activities, students in the course of a day may work with several teachers, particularly at the upper grade level. Teachers at Bowman are young -- my guess is that there was no teacher on the staff over 45 years of age in 1974-75. Class sizes in the classes I observed were:

1st grade.....19
1st grade.....18
2nd/3rd grade split.....24
6th grade.....20

Average = 20.25

Rimmer School is an older, several story, traditional building, which has been added on to numerous times in the past 50 years. Classrooms are enclosed, with a tendency toward formality. Students spend most of their day in the home room, with breaks for lunch, two recesses, and music or physical education on alternate days. At some grade levels, particularly at the primary level, students may meet with a reading teacher other than their home room teacher. Movement of children through the school tends to be in large groups, in lines. An attempt has been made by some teachers, particularly at the primary level, to provide a more "open" classroom. In one first grade room, approximately half the room is devoted to work tables, at which the students sit.

There are no individual desks. The other half of the room has a rug on the floor. Several small areas are partitioned off with bookcases to provide "activity areas." In most other classrooms, students worked at individual desks, placed in rows facing the teacher. These rooms also had "activity areas" which could be used by students who had completed their tasks. Teacher aides seem to be used fairly extensively at the primary level -- some teachers use them more than others.

Teachers at Rimmer School are, on the average older than those at Bowman. Perhaps this is because the school has been established for a long period of time. Class sizes in the classrooms in which Eskimo children were placed and which were observed for this study were:

1st grade.....23
1st grade.....21
2nd grade.....23
3rd grade.....26
4th grade.....30
4th grade.....30

Average = 25.5

CHAPTER VII

FIRST MEETING

The first meeting between the Stebbins students and the Beaverton families who were to be their hosts for six weeks took place on Friday evening, January 17, 1975, in the cafeteria of one of the participating grade schools. The meeting was scheduled for 8:00 P.M. Beaverton families began arriving about 7:30. About 600 people were present. Each participating school was assigned a table in the cafeteria. All families from that school sat together at their table. During this time there was much milling around and quiet conversation between host families. Several people commented that they were nervous and/or apprehensive.

At 8:10 P.M., Dr. Jensen, the Superintendent of Schools for District 48, and the Stebbins students and village representatives arrived by bus from the airport. The children marched in single file, wearing identical stocking caps, and stood in the front of the room while Dr. Jensen spoke. He said "The goals of our months of preparation have been reached." He introduced the Stebbins Day School teachers, and the two village representatives from Stebbins. A third representative, he told the group, was still in Stebbins awaiting the birth of her baby, and would join the group as soon as the baby was born. Dr. Jensen also mentioned that the children had not eaten since lunchtime, except for a snack at about 3:30 P.M., so they were likely to be hungry.

During Dr. Jensen's comments, the Stebbins children clustered tightly together. They seemed to be shy, and did not face the crowd.

Here, in one room, was a group three times the size of the population of their whole village.

Dr. Jensen then asked the Stebbins children to sing "America the Beautiful." The wife of the school superintendent led the song.

After the song, Dr. Jensen announced that he would call the name of each school in turn, and that all the Stebbins students who were to attend that school were to go to that school's table, at which their host families were waiting. This method did not work; the Stebbins children would not leave the group. He then decided that he would call the name of each Stebbins child, and his host brother or sister should come to the front of the room and take him to meet his new family. This system worked fairly smoothly -- the only hitch occurred when one family claimed the wrong one of the two "Justinas."

Cartons of milk and plates of cookies were placed on each table, for families to enjoy while they took time to get acquainted. I noticed the principal of at least one grade school was present and introduced himself to each of the newcomers who would be attending his school.

My first impressions were that the Stebbins boys seemed to take events in stride better, to relax and warm up to their host families faster than did the girls, who seemed more shy. The boys were soon involved in physical contact and mild tussling with their host brothers, while the girls tended to be more aloof, polite, and "closed." Younger children seemed to have an easier time than did the older ones. Host parents appeared more unsure of themselves than did their children. The Stebbins children seemed determined not to verbalize their apprehension. One bit of dialog I heard between a host mother and sixth grade girl is perhaps illustrative of their underlying feelings.

Mother: It's been a long day, hasn't it?

Girl: Yes, but I'm not scared.

While all the children and parents were trying to get acquainted, reporters were everywhere, and flashbulbs were going off constantly, for every family was taking pictures, as were a number of press photographers.

At about 8:50 P.M., luggage was collected, and parents and children started home.

As a postscript -- my sons had been invited to go with close friends to meet the Stebbins child who would be their guest. When they returned, having stopped for ice cream on the way home, one son took me aside, and said "I doubt your thesis is going to be too ridiculously long. They're not too different from us."

CHAPTER VIII

SCHOOLROOM INTERACTIONS

Monday, January 20 was the first day Stebbins students attended school in Beaverton. On that day, my observations were confined to two classes at Rimmer School.

I arrived at the school at 9:00 A.M., one half hour after classes had started, at the principal's request. He felt the addition of an observer to the classroom at the time the Eskimo children arrived at school might prove a problem.

The first class I visited was a first grade room. The Stebbins student in the class was Mike, seven years old. Mike was seated at a table, drawing pictures, while the teacher worked with a reading group. Cards made by other students, welcoming him to their class, were at Mike's place at the table. He appeared to be much bigger, physically, than most of the other students -- which was reasonable, since he was nearly a year older than many of them. The reading group broke up at about 9:15 A.M., and the teacher talked a moment with Mike, commenting that she liked the picture he had drawn. She then asked another boy to "Take Mike and show him a game to play."

At this point, the Director, the Stebbins teachers, the representative from the Nome BIA office arrived in the classroom. They talked with Mike a moment, and then talked with the teacher, mentioning that Mike had not had much reading.

Mike's mother is the teacher's aide in the Stebbins school who

was to have accompanied the students on their trip. She remained in Stebbins to await the birth of her child, who had been born the previous day (January 19). The Director commented that she would join the group in Beaverton during the next week.

During the visit, Mike played a board game with several other children. He played silently, though the others tried very hard to get him to talk.

The Director and the other visitors left after spending about five minutes in the classroom. When the class was dismissed for recess at 9:45, I talked for a few minutes with the teacher, Mrs. Crawford. Because she had been ill the previous week, I had not met her before, and she was unaware of my purpose in being in the classroom. The principal had introduced me, that morning, as someone who was to observe in her classroom, but had offered no further explanation. When I explained why I was there, she was apologetic, because she felt the morning had not gone well, and that she had not "done enough" with Mike. There had been a rather upsetting occurrence earlier in the morning, before I arrived. She had been scheduled to have two Eskimo first graders in her class, Mike and Elizabeth. Because Dr. Jensen had directed that no more than one Stebbins child could be assigned to a classroom, Elizabeth and her Beaverton hostess Gretchen had been moved to another classroom this morning. Gretchen was very fond of her teacher, and cried when she was told she and Elizabeth must move to another classroom. This upset Mike, Elizabeth, and the rest of the class.

I then talked with the principal, Mr. Wayne, for a few minutes. He mentioned that a child had come up to him on the playground that morning, and asked him about the new "black boy." Mr. Wayne said

"No, not black, Eskimo." The child replied "Yeah, that's what I mean."

Mrs. Crawford came into the principal's office during this discussion. She said that someone had asked her this morning why all Eskimos had black hair and brown eyes. Mr. Wayne said "All Eskimos and Indians have black hair." Mrs. Crawford, who has worked on a Papago Indian reservation in Arizona, disputed this, pointing out the incidence of albinism in several Indian groups. She mentioned that her academic training was in Anthropology and American Indian Education.

Mr. Wayne spoke of a conversation he had had that morning with the representative of the Nome BIA, who had not been aware of the problems which occurred here in Oregon when the Klamath Indian tribe was disbanded a few years ago. The large cash settlements which the Klamath received in payment for their lands were almost immediately depleted when some merchants in the area launched aggressive marketing campaigns to separate the Klamath from their newly acquired wealth. The principal said that when he told the BIA representative about this, he was told that this was the kind of thing the BIA hoped to avoid when Alaska natives receive settlements under the Alaska Native Land Claims Act. These settlements will be made in the next few years.

Mrs. Crawford left Mr. Wayne's office to return to her class. As she went to the door, she turned and said "I <u>don't like</u> the BIA."

I spent the rest of the morning observing a second grade class. The Eskimo child in this class was a girl, Emma, age 10. She was a pretty girl, with delicate features, and seemed very poised. A notice on the board listed the tasks assigned to students for the week. Emma along with three others, was a "lunchbox monitor." When I entered the

classroom, Emma was taking a phonics test, after which she read aloud to the teacher, Mrs. Crum. When Emma completed the reading, the teacher gave her a book and told her "This is yours. Try it, and if it's too hard, we'll get another." Emma sat down at her desk, and the teacher gave her a workbook. Emma remained at the desk for a few minutes, then went to the rear of the room and played with two other girls.

At eleven o'clock, Mrs. Crum told the class to get ready for lunch. They put away their work, and put their heads down on their desks, waiting to be dismissed. Emma did not seem to understand the procedure, and was prompted by her classmates. When Mrs. Crum said "Wash up for lunch, line up at the sink" everyone rushed for a place at the sink, while Emma held back. Mrs. Crum said "We have someone new. Where are your manners?" and invited Emma to be third in line. After washing, the class lined up at the door, and proceeded in line to the lunchroom. Emma, as a lunchbox monitor, helped carry one of the two large boxes of lunchboxes to the cafeteria.

Mrs. Crum had only a moment to talk with me, and commented that although Emma is shy, she had spelled and read aloud in class.

Observations in the schools settled quickly into a pattern. I spent Monday and Wednesday mornings of each week observing classes at Rimmer School, and Tuesday and Thursday mornings at Bowman. I participated in all the field trips scheduled for the Stebbins students; these generally took place on Fridays. I tried to observe each Eskimo child in the school each day, but found that because of differences in class schedule, this was not always practical. I also tried to spend a bit of time each day (during recess and lunch breaks for the most part) in the faculty lounge, where informal conversation with

teachers was facilitated.

For the first two or three days, the Eskimo children seemed reserved and shy. They sat quietly in the classroom, and rarely spoke except when asked a direct question, to which they generally gave one-word answers. They seemed to be "feeling their way," watching for behavioral cues from other students and then copying their actions.

By the third or fourth day, they began to adjust to their new surroundings. Two teachers who had Eskimo boys in their classes remarked that the boys were beginning to feel more at home, and to "test the limits" and find out what behaviors they could "get away with." On the third day of school I observed one of these two boys, David, for a period of 40 minutes, during which I noted twenty separate incidents of aggressive behavior, including hitting, slapping, intrusion into a checkers game, crowding, punching, taking the belongings of another student, poking another student with a pencil, and so on. The other students involved generally ignored this behavior, and did not fight back as I would have expected some of them to do if the aggressor had not been someone new in the classroom, and presumably, someone of "special" status. The teacher reprimanded David twice, and then either did not see, or chose to ignore, the behavior. Later that morning, in the faculty lounge, another teacher mentioned that her daughter, who is in David's class, had been bothered by another boy on the playground, and that David, who "knows karate" had "wiped him out." Two days later I observed David again. His behavior was still aggressive, but the teacher seemed more aware of his actions, and reprimanded him several times. When I talked with the teacher she commented that David is "no different from anyone else" and presents no

discipline problem. By the third week I began to discern a pattern in David's behavior. He appears to resort to aggression when he does not understand what is expected of him, particularly in a schoolwork situation. The atmosphere in this classroom is cold and formal. The teacher rarely praises children. Most of her interaction with them is in terms of criticism. It appears that the only way to get any response from this teacher is to misbehave. Good behavior is simply ignored. I see David's aggressiveness as an attempt to gain recognition.

Other Eskimo students chose other methods to get attention. Olga, a first grader, was a clinger. She sat at her teacher's feet whenever possible in the classroom. When she was given a task to work on at her desk, she constantly went to the teacher to seek approval. During the time I was observing in Olga's classroom, with the exception of one day during which she spent the morning listening to a record, she initiated contact with the teacher on the average of once every six minutes. This was at least three times as often as the average for others in the class. The teacher of this class is a very warm, open person, and seems to be able to reassure Olga. The teacher commented that Olga will not participate in a reading group, probably because she does not have the skills. On the playground, and in P.E. class, Olga seems to join in the activities quite happily.

One of these two behavioral strategies, either aggressive behavior or marked dependence on adult "authority figures" seemed to be employed at one time or another by almost all of the Eskimo students I observed in classroom situations. In no case did I notice a dependence of the Eskimo child on his Beaverton "host child." This impression is supported by the responses of Beaverton teachers to a question in the survey they

completed at the end of the Academic Enrichment Program. Of 36 teachers, 24 reported the Stebbins student to be independent of his or her Beaverton "brother" or "sister," 9 reported independence after the first couple of weeks, and only 3 reported strong dependence.

My impression is that in situations where classroom atmosphere was warm and open, Eskimo students solved adjustment problems, such as homesickness, or uncertainty of how to act in a new situation, by seeking reassurance from the teacher. Where the atmosphere was strict and formal, the students resorted to more aggressive behavior. This pattern seemed to hold true whether the classroom was physically an "open" classroom, such as those at Bowman, or a "closed" classroom, such as those at Rimmer. Emotional, rather than physical "open space" appeared to dictate which strategy would be employed. Girls, as well as boys, reacted occasionally with physically aggressive behavior, but usually employed this tactic only after that of seeking approval from the teacher had failed. Similar observations have been noted by Michael Cline (1975: 130)

> Because women play a more conservative role in Eskimo society, girls seem better able to adapt to the school. I have the impression that boys, on the other hand, seem to resent this invasion of their individuality and, although they know that going to school is the 'right thing to do,' they show rebellion in several ways such as passivity, playground boisterousness, and bullying other students.

Judith Kleinfeld (1972), in her book Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo High School Students notes the importance of establishing positive student-teacher relationships. She sets up a typology of teachers, which sheds some interesting light on behavioral problems in the classroom. Her typology includes the following four categories.

"Type I" according to Kleinfeld is "Professional Distance/Active Demandingness." She calls these teachers "Traditionalists." These teachers emphasize subject matter, and prefer not to become involved in close relationships with students. Classes are generally formal. Native students in integrated classes tend to withdraw from these teachers.

Kleinfeld's second category is described as "Type II...Professional Distance/Passive Understanding." She calls these teachers "Sophisticates." These teachers, often with strong backgrounds in Anthropology, combined a sophisticated reserve with a concern about the welfare of Native students. Their sophistication, and their tendency to prefer discussion classes, tended to shut the Native students out. These teachers also tended, because of their interest in cultural differences, to make exceptions or allowances for Native students, thus teaching them to become "dependent on white people's largesse."

Kleinfeld described "Type III-Personal Warmth/Passive Understanding...Sentimentalists." Teachers in this group were very warm people, who made few demands of any of their students, and were particularly sympathetic toward Native students. In an integrated classroom, this tended to cause resentment of Natives by non-Native students, and the hostility arising from this made the teachers ineffective.

Finally, Kleinfeld described "Type IV -- Personal Warmth/Active Demandingness...Supportive Gadflies." These teachers concentrated first on building rapport with students; then, after good relationships were established, they demanded a high level of academic work from both Native and non-Native students. They emphasized supportiveness, carefully avoiding direct criticism.

None of the teachers I observed during the progress of the Academic Enrichment Program fit Kleinfeld's stereotypes exactly, nor would one expect ever to find these ideal types in real life. However, the teachers could be said to approximate these types. The nine teachers I observed could be classified as follows:

Mrs. Jones -- Rimmer
Sentimentalist, but more demanding than the pure type.

Mrs. Crawford -- Rimmer
Probably most closely approximates the "sophisticate" with a leaning toward the "supportive gadfly" type. She has extensive training in Anthropology and in American Indian Education. Very interested in cultural differences, but also very sympathetic. She is perhaps so much a cultural relativist that she did not demand all she might have from Mike.

Mrs. Peterson -- Bowman
Sentimentalist. Made few demands of Olga. Very warm and open. Fostered dependence.

Mrs. Williams -- Bowman
"Supportive Gadfly." Very warm toward Steve, but also required him to work.

Mrs. Bogue -- Rimmer
"Supportive Gadfly." Required Emma to produce, but was very warm and open with her as with all the students. She seemed to genuinely enjoy teaching. She made very little use of direct criticism in the classroom. There was much less emphasis on technological apparatus in her classroom than in other classrooms. Students don't spend as much time with tapes, records, and audiovisual aids as in other classes.

Mrs. Johnson -- Rimmer
Very much the traditionalist. She relied more on criticism than on positive reinforcement. Very formal classroom atmosphere.

Mrs. Wright -- Bowman
A combination of "Sophisticate" and "Supportive Gadfly." She was very involved with the use of Behavioral Modification techniques in the classroom. She tended to avoid direct criticism and to emphasize positive aspects of students' behavior, but did not seem to get emotionally close to students. Class discussion was fast-paced and left some less verbal students out in the cold.

Mrs. Bennett -- Rimmer
"Traditionalist." Classroom atmosphere was very formal. Emphasis on "discipline." She tended to intimidate many students.

Mr. Ellis -- Bowman
"Supportive Gadfly/Sophisticate." He has a warm relationship with most students, and is demanding of them all. He tends toward direct criticism and a fast-paced cynical style that could intimidate students. The classroom atmosphere is extremely informal -- verging at times on mayhem.

Before the program began, my hypothesis had been that students would respond more positively, and would have fewer adjustment problems, in an "open classroom" situation than in a more traditional school. There were two reasons for this hypothesis. First, the two room school from which the Stebbins students came appeared to be much closer in many ways to the "open school" concept than to the "traditional" school. Secondly, I felt that the "traditional" classroom situation in itself set the teacher apart from the students and made personal interaction between student and teacher difficult if not impossible.

I was a bit surprised to find that this was not necessarily the case, and that, in fact, the attitude of the teacher seemed to be much more of a determining factor in the success of a student in a given classroom. The teacher classification system set up by Judith Kleinfeld seemed very helpful in predicting which teachers would work well with Eskimo students, and therefore which students were more likely to make a successful adjustment in the program.

"Successful adjustment" of course is difficult to determine in a program which is, first of all, only six weeks in length, and secondly, which has made such drastic changes in students' lives as separating them from friends, family, and familiar surroundings and requiring them

to deal with a new culture and new people.

Here, we have taken successful adjustment in the school situation to mean that the sudent had no discernible major emotional problems during his stay, that his behavior at school was within reasonable limits, (with some allowances made for cultural differences) and that he made some attempt to participate in the activities provided during his stay.

Of the nine students I observed most closely, the three who made the best adjustment were those who were in classrooms taught by the teachers who approached Kleinfeld's "Supportive Gadfly" technique. Those students who had the most severe problems were in classes taught by "traditionalists."

It must be remembered, however, that only a portion of the time the students spent in Beaverton was spent in school. The atmosphere of the foster home, as well, must play an important part in the adjustment made by each student.

Interactions with other students seemed to fall into one of three patterns. Different patterns were often used by the same individual in different situations.

For the large majority of the Eskimo students, there were few obvious problems of adjustment in their relationship with their classmates. The Beaverton students had been preparing for their arrival for weeks. The Stebbins students were celebrities from their first day in Beaverton. Because of their special status (and, perhaps, because Beaverton students were often prompted to "remember your manners") Stebbins students were not ostracized for behaviors that might have caused problems for a Beaverton student.

In cases where the Stebbins students resorted to aggressive behavior in the classroom, the aggression for the most part met with passive avoidance. Beaverton students simply ignored aggressive incidents whenever possible.

Another strategy used by Stebbins students was to withdraw. When they were unsure of how to react in a situation, some Stebbins students simply refused to interact with their classmates. This enabled them to avoid the embarassment of doing "the wrong thing." Usually a few minutes of withdrawal would discourage the Beaverton students from attempting to interact, and the threatening situation would "dissolve."

After the Stebbins students returned to Alaska, teachers who had worked with them were asked to respond to a questionnaire from the District Office.

In general, teachers felt the program was of value to Beaverton students in that it exposed them to children of another culture. They were less certain whether the schools or the Stebbins children had benefited. Comments from the teachers included the following:

> On a one-to-one basis, I thoroughly enjoyed getting to know the three Stebbins girls. However, as an educational experience for my students and for the girls, I seriously question the value of this program. I was not prepared, nor was I at any time given instructions from anyone as to what I was expected to do for or with the Stebbins girls. It would have been helpful to visit with their teachers who came with them or with Dr. Jensen. Everyone, including the host parents, seemed unsure of the program goals and the expectations of everybody involved.

> I feel that the most beneficial thing I learned or began thinking about was the impact, both positive and negative, that this experience has had on (girl). I began to re-evaluate my own values and if it was fair to expose others to our system and culture. Who is to say that our culture is the perfect or ideal culture? I believe that the entire experience was good for our students in Beaverton, but I don't have many positive feelings about the impact on (girl). I can't really justify the experience for her.

> My major was American Indian Education...I thus see this whole program differently. ...I am sorry to say that I am very disappointed that Beaverton School District would allow such a poorly managed program. Pipeline or no pipeline, this is not the way to introduce Eskimos to urban/rural society; white man's way. Let's say we really do care, and really do want to help them adjust, but let's go up there and put out a little. Please don't force more of our white ways onto other people. Let's acculturate, not assimilate.
>
> Change is comming rapidly...However, the Eskimo people are proud of the old customs and are preserving as many as possible. ...This was a good experience for our...children as well as for the Stebbins students.

The majority of the teachers noted adjustment problems, including shyness, withdrawal, crying, homesickness, and aggressive behavior. The Stebbins children, however, generally participated in class activities, both indoors and outdoors.

Opinion was about equally divided on the adequacy of information provided for the teachers about the Stebbins students, and about Stebbins in general.

> It would have been helpful to know about the specific behavior problems he had before I encountered them in the classroom.
>
> Three days before he was to leave I learned that he was considered to be mentally retarded. I would have appreciated having more specific skill information.
>
> The information reached me one week after he arrived. It would be helpful to receive information previous to the student's arrival.
>
> I knew her academic level and knew she was very shy before she arrived.
>
> Recommend a two-three page written narrative on Eskimo life in Stebbins.
>
> I felt quite well-informed about him. Dr. Jensen's talk and slides and the printed materials were all helpful.

About two thirds of the teachers saw an improvement in academic skills. One third did not, and felt that either lack of motivation or social adjustment problems were responsible for the lack of progress.

Most teachers prepared their classes for the arrival of the Alaskan students with class discussions, films, and readings. Eleven of the 42 teachers responding to the question mentioned using the District's slides of Stebbins in conjunction with their readiness activities. One teacher noted that she "arranged classes of more non-academic type to cause less frustration."

Several teachers commented to the effect that "Kids are the same all over the world."

CHAPTER IX

HOST FAMILY INTERACTIONS

My observations of the interactions of the Eskimo children with their Beaverton host families were conducted in several ways. Because three of the Stebbins children were placed in families whose homes were in the same neighborhood as mine, and whose children were friends of my children, I had a close assiociation with these three students. Several friends who were aware of my interest in the project put me in touch with other host families with whom they were acquainted. Friends who were staff members within the District often volunteered information about host families they knew. As the project progressed, I became acquainted with a number of host mothers, who told me of their feelings about the program and the participants.

The first informal contact I had with the three host families on our block after the Eskimo students arrived was on Saturday night, January 18 (the night after their arrival). On this evening, one of the host mothers invited another host family on the block, and a number of other neighbors, to dinner in honor of the two Eskimo girls. A total of 28 people were present (12 adults and 16 children). Throughout the evening, the children played together, with no apparent problems, while the adults conversed. The conversation among the adults was mostly about shopping trips (each girl had been taken to a shopping center to buy clothes that day -- neither seemed to the host mothers to be very interested in buying new clothes). The older girl, a sixth grader, was

reported to be concerned about buying more than she needed. Each of the girls had been enrolled by her host mother in extracurricular classes -- one at the Jewish Community Center, and the other at the Art Museum. Both mothers remarked that the girls are very frank and open, and "tell it like it is." One described her six-year-old guest as a "femme brave"... "very determined"...who "seems to plow right into things."

The first couple of evenings were fairly traumatic for the Eskimo visitors and their host families. Dr. Jensen mentioned that he had had 22 calls from host parents the first evening. Problems included children who were homesick, a boy who refused to undress, and another who would not take a bath.

After the first days, most of the children seemed to settle quietly into the new scene. Several parents remarked on the tremendous appetites of their guests. Two or three asked me whether metabolic differences due to the Artic climate might be responsible for their greater food intake.

After about ten days to two weeks, the parents began to notice changes in behavior, both in the Eskimo children, and in their own children. One mother stated that "the novelty has worn off" and that "things are beginning to be a little less wonderful than they were at first" as far as her daughter was concerned. This was the first time she had to share a room, and her play patterns were not the same as her Eskimo sister. She was ill, stayed home from school for two or three days, and, when she recovered, did not want to go back to school.

Another mother, who had earlier remarked that her guest was "better behaved than my own kid" said that she had been having trouble getting her to do her share of household chores. "She feels she is on a vacation," the mother said.

Several parents mentioned that the telephone became a problem as the program progressed. Students spent more and more time on the phone, talking with their Stebbins friends, and less time with family activities.

Another problem reported by several parents was that of mealtime and bedtime schedules. Stebbins children, used to eating when they were hungry and sleeping when they were tired, seemed to interpret strict mealtimes (with rules against eating between meals) and strict bedtimes as "meanness" on the part of the host parents.

The differences in verbal communication styles between the Stebbins contingent and themselves seemed to bother many Beaverton residents who came into contact with the Stebbins group. Many seemed to feel that the Stebbins students, teachers, and village representatives were being purposely curt or impolite, or were uninterested in talking with them, when they responded to questions with one-word answers, or only with nods or grunts. Often, in these cases, Beaverton residents would respond by withdrawing. Verbal interactions between Stebbins students on field trips, however, was also in short, chopped-up sentences and quick exchanges. My feelings is that these speech patterns were ones which would have been normal in Stebbins, and were not meant to offend the Beaverton residents.

Several parents remarked that, to them, one of the successes of the six-week visit was that the Stebbins children had become much more affectionate and demonstrative during their stay.

Relations with host children varied from family to family. As was noted earlier, most Stebbins children showed little dependence on their Beaverton hosts. In general, the Stebbins children went their own way at school, and, in many cases, at home as well. This did not always meet

with the approval of the Beaverton parents and their children, who had expected that their guest would be close to, and would participate in family activities with the host child. In fact, the relationships between host and guest varied from warm to close relationships, to lukewarm friendship, to (in two cases that I know of) openly declared hatred.

As the program progressed, differences in styles of parental behavior between Beaverton parents and Eskimo parents became obvious. My observations of Eskimo parenting were limited to the actions of the three Stebbins parents who accompanied the group, and to the children's comments about their home life. For Beaverton parents, love is often expressed through discipline -- children are protected from real or envisioned dangers. They are restricted from activities which the parents feel might harm them. Stebbins parents, in contrast, allowed their children much more freedom to explore. Children were seldom scolded or restrained.

Michael Cline (1975:58) in discussing the enculturation of Eskimo children of school age, notes:

> As the child grows older he becomes more independent of his parents... Never again will he be watched as carefully and given the overt love he recieved as an infant. Parents become increasingly less demonstrative toward their children as they grow older, and they are given broad limits for behavior and left pretty much on their own.

It would be interesting to see, if the opportunity to go to Alaska at no cost to their families were made to Beaverton students, how many parents of grade school children would allow them to make the trip, and how many would feel their children were "too young."

At one school, the dissatisfaction of one host family with the

program led to a meeting of the other host families at that school with a Local School Committee member and the school's principal.

At the meeting, a list of negative reactions of the unhappy host family was shared with the group. These reactions included:

1. Lack of adequate preparation -- they felt they, or the child, or both, had wrong expectations;

2. They were disturbed by their guest's materialism -- he wanted them to buy him a bicycle to take back to Alaska with him.

The other families did not feel these areas to be problems. They did make these suggestions for future programs:

1. They would have liked the visit to have included a week-long vacation period.
2. They suggested a space for medical information be provided on the evaluation form.
3. Host parents should be given cards with instructions on where to take children for medical and dental treatment -- and which would guarantee payment of medical and dental expenses by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
4. Swimming should be taught in a pool in which all non-swimmers can stand up in the shallow end of the pool.
5. Assemblies should be consolidated to make more effective use of the time of Dr. Jensen and the Haynes'.
6. Provision should be made at the local school level for an opportunity for host families and their host guests to meet and visit together.

Shortly after the Eskimo students returned to Stebbins, questionnaires were sent to Beaverton host families, asking them to share their feelings about the program.

A review of individual responses of parents to the questions asked in the survey shows some patterns of response which should be considered in a discussion of intercultural adjustment.

Responses to the question "What problems of adjustment did you observe in your child?" were varied. Of 39 parents, 8 reported no problems

at all. Problems with adjusting to time schedules, (particularly definite mealtimes and bedtimes) and "adjusting to routine" were reported by several parents. A second area of difficulty was that of shyness and lack of communication.

The Stebbins students play patterns seemed to many host parents to involve much more physical activity than did those of the Beaverton children. Favorite activities included "wrestling," "all types of physical play," "tickling and teasing," "roughhousing," "any kind of runing, jumping, touching," "unorganized physical activity," "basketball, bike-riding, wrestling, exercising."

"Unusual experiences" listed by host families were varied.

> I guess trying to purchase snuff for a nine-year-old girl would be mine. Learned that they don't have much 'call' for it at the tobacco counter in the 1st National Bank Building downtown...also a tobacco store in Jantzen Beach Shopping Center didn't have it. Finally found some at Payless, and provided the old man in front of me with his most interesting tale of the day.

> She stole $20 the day she left.

> He drank as much water as you would give him because he was afraid to waste it.

> Broken leg, emergency room, cast room, doctor's office.

> I asked her what she ate for lunch in Stebbins -- she said with much enthusiasm and a twinkle in her eye 'I eat anything -- I still Es-ke-mow.' We really shared her pride and joy in that statement.

Discipline problems were in some cases related to the student's disregard for time schedules and spatial boundaries set up by host parents. Eight of 40 respondents made specific mention of this problem. Seven parents said they had no discipline problems whatsoever.

The question "What is the most important thing you learned from your Alaskan child?" brought some interesting responses. Apparently the

contact with children of another culture led some parents to re-evaluate their own priorities. Answers to the question included these statements.

> To appreciate the little things in our life that we too often take for granted: birds, flowers, trees -- a heightened sensitivity to our environment.
>
> That each culture has its own values, sources of entertainment. Ours are not for everyone, nor are theirs for us.
>
> We are perhaps far too soft with our children...I wonder about our methods. Perhaps we worry too much about Johnny's psyche.
>
> Many parents noted negative impressions of life in Stebbins.
>
> How very hard life is for them; not only the weather conditions, but also the lack of money.
>
> I think I didn't realize how our Eskimos lived -- very primitive. I can't understand how in today's world a few of our comforts haven't reached the far North.
>
> I guess we learned how totally different their culture is. It made us sad to send him back without much chance of furthering himself.

In response to the question "What is the most important thing he/she learned from you?" again, social and cultural differences were stressed in some answers.

> Sharing, manners, and a schedule.
>
> One could drink a glass of wine without the end result of drunkenness. In our home we showed respect for each other's belongings, including money, candy, trinkets. He didn't have to hide his things.
>
> I would hope that it would be that she has seen a family that operates without violence, that imbibes without going 'crazy'...that kind of thing. Also seeing such liberated women and helpful hardworking mates was a real eye-opener to her.
>
> Care of self and her things...planning use of time...structure.
>
> My crystal ball is cloudy, but I hope he got some ideas about how to deal with the two worlds he has to live in.

When asked "What was the best part of this experience for you?" most parents responded in terms of learning of cultural differences, and of sharing their family's love and affection with the child.

The "worst part of the experience" for many families was the departure of the child. Two parents commented as follows:

> The worst part of the experience was putting those kids on the plane to go back home knowing that most of them don't have a chance in the world to better their living conditions.
>
> Having to send him home to Stebbins realizing that here was a child with potentials that most likely never would be developed.

Other comments included the following:

> Not realizing that just because two children are in the same grade in school they might not have much in common or want to be buddies.
>
> The constant hassle with schedules and go-go-go. The school district's abysmal lack of good planning for medical services, field trip volunteers, assemblies, etc. The mechanical over-shadowed any tiny ray of cultural exchange there may have been.

In response to the question "How might we improve the program for the parents of the next group of Alaskan students who are coming to Beaverton?" many of the parents felt a need for better orientation prior to the arrival of the students.

> Before parents volunteer, address a group of interested parents and discuss cultural differences such as diet, recreation, home life.
>
> More specific and honest information before the children's arrival. The Haynes' had realistic and extremely helpful guidance for us; we should have had this type of information sooner.
>
> To better inform the host families about life in the village and about each child's individual peculiarities.

More meetings before the children arrive to better explain their culture.

More advance information regarding cultural idiosyncracies such as the Eskimo extended family relationship.

More realistic orientation.

Several families suggested better screening of host parents and an attempt to "match" them with a child well-suited to them.

In response to the question "Was the monetary allowance adequate for the child's needs?" Nineteen families felt it was adequate, while 13 felt it was not. Seven other families were not sure--most of these pointed out the difference between "needs" and "wants."

The success of the swimming program as a learning activity was a moot point. Fourteen parents saw some improvement, 15 saw none.. Most parents, however, agreed that the children really enjoyed the program.

Thirteen parents reported evidence of academic progress while the children were in Beaverton, 18 saw none. Many parents reported increased communication skills.

The question "How do you feel your family has benefited from this experience?" prompted answers describing shared experiences, learning about a new culture, and exchange of love and affection.

We benefited mainly by the joy he brought us, but also we did learn about a completely different way of life from our own.

It has been a wonderful opportunity for learning about another culture, the differences and the many likenesses we all share. In many instances our society suffered in this comparison. We certainly have come to realize and better understand some of the Eskimo's problems and to have sympathy and tolerance as well as respect for theirs.

We have become acutely aware of the sad degeneration taking place in native Alaskan life, learning many horror stories of drunkenness and depravity in Stebbins as the result of alcohol and idleness --

both brought there by 'white man's culture.' We shall never be disinterested in Alaska's people again.

Most families would like to see other cultural exchange programs in the Beaverton School District, and would want to participate in future programs. Several stressed the importance of better orientation. They would also be interested in programs in which their child had the opportunity to live in another culture.

Families were asked if they planned to visit Stebbins some day. Most did not. One noted "We feel it would be an imposition to expect a small community like this to entertain us, particularly for an extended period of time."

Volunteered comments at the end of the questionnaire were varied. Among them were the following:

> One problem -- unhappy host parents trying to find other unhappy host parents. Parents with problems have ended up critical of the entire program...the most important single item would be better orientation.

> Our family misses him. -- can only remember the 'goot' time we all had together. It was a terrific experience. We loved those 'stubborn Eskimos from Stebbins.' Thank you for letting us share in this.

> We would like some 'feedback' from Stebbins. What, if any, changes in their behavior were evident? What were their feelings about their experience? Did they experience any measurable learnings?

> In December, Dr. Jensen painted a glowing, rose-colored picture of life in Stebbins, of children being more impressed with love than with material things, of children having had all necessary medical and dental needs taken care of. He emphasized that these children were coming (and HAD BEEN WELL PREPARED FOR) to live in and with a family setting whatever the lifestyle happened to be. We understood that this was to be an enrichment experience and all we needed to help it along was plenty of love and affection. Several days into the visit, however, it became increasingly apparent that (1) these children came with <u>many</u> health problems and physical impairments -- all of which we were <u>expected</u> to take care of privately. (2) They

> came with great expectations of wondrous things they would buy, of carrying on their usual society here as at home -- partly on the telephone and the rest with requests to go to one anothers' home, etc. So much time was spent 'getting together' there was little time to even notice the host family's life going on around her, let alone participate in it.
>
> All the scheduled activities for the Stebbins kids and their host kids, plus the complete unwillingness to spend any time with our family, soon created a situation where (girl) had her set of comings and goings apart and separate and added to the school activities and other things of our normal family schedule. When we firmly insisted she join our activities, we were met with complete indignation and she went into an hours-long pout. It came out that she had come expecting 'a good time' and to her that was only having candy and being with her Stebbins friends.
>
> Judging from the publicity in the media (the 'cute Eskimo' scene), the continued 'wonderful time' routine Dr. Jensen constantly murmured, we began to suspect that we families were being 'used' by Beaverton schools to further their public relations image as great 'human relators.' It became very apparent that this was to be one big long six-week 'field trip' for these kids, with everything touched too superfically for 'cultural impact.' From our point of view, our culture is not McDonald's, Bonneville Dam, merry-go-rounds, shopping centers, etc. Our family's culture is in our home and we regret that we never had time to introduce (girl) to it. We really wonder what good will come of these kids' visit here. We hope someday we will know.

One question which did not appear on the questionnaire, and which might have elicited some interesting answers, would have been "How do you feel the child in your family who was host/hostess reacted to the program?"

A school district summary of responses to the questionnaire helped to highlight successes and problem areas in the program.

Most parents felt the experience was, on the whole, beneficial both to their families and to the Stebbins children, in terms of gaining knowledge of another culture, as well as sharing their feelings and experiences with the Eskimo children.

Respondents reported the Stebbins children, on the whole, adjusted well to their new surroundings, despite some problems with homesickness and with adjustment to boundaries and routines. Discipline was not a

great problem for most families.

The major problem noted by most host parents was the need for more specific information about Stebbins in general, and about their particular child. They felt unprepared to deal with social and medical problems about which they had not been forewarned.

In the area of academic growth, most host parents stated that they observed little or no progress during the Beaverton stay.

Parents were upset to learn of social and living conditions in Stebbins, and were sorry to see the children return to these conditions.

Among the "spare-time activities" for the children during their stay in Beaverton, television played a major part. Also mentioned were visits to local places of interest, including Alpenrose Dairy, OMSI, Mount Hood, and Oregon beaches. The swimming program sponsored by the School District was a favorite activity.

Suggestions for future programs stressed the importance of improved communication between schools and parents, better screening of host families, and more realistic expectations on the part of students as to financial ability of host families to provide luxury items.

Most families would like to see cultural exchange programs continue and would be willing to participate in future programs.

CHAPTER X

FIELD TRIPS

A third facet of the Academic Enrichment Program was the field trips which were scheduled for the students during their stay in Beaverton. The Stebbins group travelled to Bonneville Dam, the State Capitol, Chemawa Indian School, and the Trojan Nuclear Power Plant. They toured Beaverton and Portland, and spent a day at the Zoo-OMSI-Forestry Center complex. In each case, the trip had potential for introducing the students to new elements of Lower 48 culture, and for explaining the elements in terms of some perceived larger pattern. Unfortunately, in most cases, and for most children, the potential was not realized.

The first field trip, to Bonneville Dam, was on January 24, one week after the children arrived. All the students and their host children assembled at a centrally located grade school, and were loaded onto buses. We drove to Vancouver, Washington, and up the Washington side of the Columbia River to the Bridge of the Gods. We then crossed the river, and continued to Bonneville Dam. During the drive, which took nearly two hours, there was no attempt made to explain to the children what they were seeing, or the purpose of the trip.

We arrived at Bonneville Dam, and ate lunch in the bus in the parking lot, while a guide explained to us that we would see the fish hatcheries, where "We take care of the little fish, just as your mother takes care of a new baby, so they'll grow up big and strong." I wondered what

mental pictures this generated for the Eskimo children--mine were rows of small fish being nursed, diapered, and burped! The walk through the fish hatchery seemed to interest the children. They were fascinated by the rearing ponds full of tiny trout, and by the huge sturgeon in the display pond. Several of the older boys stopped one of the maintenance men to question him about the sturgeon.

The children were led, in small groups, into the powerhouse of the dam, where they could see the turbines. No one told them what they were, or what they did.

They also visited the locks at Bonneville, and watched a tug and barge go upstream. No one made any attempt to explain the purpose of the locks, how they worked, or the importance of river transport. The idea seemed to be, as one of their teachers said, "Look now, and we'll talk about it when we return to Stebbins."

The second trip took place one week later. The objectives of this tour were the Chemawa Indian School and the State Capitol.

As we drove down the freeway, one of the nine-year-old boys expounded on the theory that cars and trucks are slaves, and that they must work for people.

We arrived at Chemawa, a Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding School for Indian and Eskimo students, at about 10:30 in the morning, and were divided into groups for tours of the campus conducted by high school students. The teachers in the classes we entered made quite a fuss over "our little guests from Alaska" which seemed to embarrass both the Stebbins students and the Chemawa students. After lunch in the Chemawa mess hall, we left for Salem. The Stebbins students made no comments about their impressions of the Chemawa School. I know that I found the combination

of antiquated facilities and rather apathetic staff very depressing, and wondered whether the Stebbins children would view them similarly.

When we arrived at the State Capitol building, the students were separated into groups according to their age. The older groups had a complete tour of the Capitol--some even got a chance to sit at the Governor's desk. I was with the youngest group. They stood in the Capitol rotunda for 15 minutes while a guide gave a lecture on the important features of the State Seal, then were loaded back onto buses, where they waited 1½ hours for the rest of the group to reappear. One of the parent volunteer chaperones suggested the children be allowed to get off the bus and play in the park surrounding the Capitol. Dr. Jensen refused, stating that "They're hunters, you know" and that they might harm the squirrels in the park.

The group finally reassembled, and the buses were driven to a supermarket, where Dr. Jensen purchased seven cases of soda pop for the children. When they had drunk their fill (I watched one boy down the contents of five 12-ounce bottles) the buses were started up, and despite repeated pleas for rest stops, drove the 50 miles to Beaverton without a pause.

Again, on this trip, there was little effort made to explain to the children (or, at least, to the younger children) the reasons for the trip. This is in contrast to the usual method employed in the Beaverton Schools, where field trips are generally preceded by a unit of study which discusses the objectives of the trip, and followed by a "de-briefing" in which the children talk about what they have seen, and what they have learned.

The third field trip involved a tour of the Beaverton area. The group met at the Washington Square Shopping Center at 9 A.M. We were loaded onto the shopping center's double-decker buses, and rode around the East Washington County area. There was no explanation either to the adult chaperones or to the children as to where we were going, or what we were to look for. After an hour, we returned to Washington Square, and boarded school buses.

The next stop was the Hoody Corporation, where the students toured the food processing plant, and observed the preparation and bottling of mustard and peanut butter. The guided tour was brief. The guide delivered what appeared to be a "canned" speech--it was not geared to the past experience of this particular group. She noted, for instance, that "Peanuts grow in the ground, just like potatoes. You've all seen potatoes grow." The chances were very high, of course, that none of them had ever seen potatoes grow. Meaningless analogies such as these distracted from the learning possibilities in the situation. The best part of this portion of the trip, as far as the children were concerned, was that they were each given a bag of peanuts as they left.

After a lunch at McDonald's (which was the highlight of the day for most of the students) we continued to the Beaverton City Hall. The tour of the facilities included the Finance Department, where the children ran wild, playing with office machines and telephones, with no explanation of what happens here. This was followed by fifteen minutes in the City Library where the only interaction between the children and the librarian was her statement that the children's books were located in the corner of the room, and a request that they be very quiet. The next stop was the Planning Department, for a half-hour lecture on the importance of bicycle paths

in an urban community. The tour of the Police Department was short. A suspect in a crime was being interrogated, and the children were not allowed to enter the building. Instead, an officer showed them a police car in the parking lot, and talked a little about the difference between a uniformed officer and detective. A uniformed officer, he said, wears the blue uniform with the brass buttons and the badge, that we've all seen, and the detective "wears a suit and tie to work each morning, just like your daddy does." After this explanation, the group moved on to the Fire Department, where they got a chance to climb aboard a fire engine, and to investigate the other equipment. Final stop in the City Hall complex was the Council Chambers, where a young man met with the group, thanked them for visiting, and presented each child with an anemone tuber, which he suggested they plant when they returned home, to remind them of their trip to Oregon. The thought was nice -- the chances of an anemone blooming in Stebbins are pretty slim.

The tour ended with a visit to the Hiteon Fire Station, and another chance to climb on fire engines.

The Stebbins teachers were upset at the end of this trip. They felt the tour was not at the childrens' level, and had been pretty much a waste of time for all concerned. They placed the responsibility for the shortcomings of the trip on Dr. Jensen, and seemed to feel that they were "along for the ride."

There were two more field trips--one to the Zoo-OMSI-Forestry Center complex, and the other to the First National Bank Tower, Jantzen Beach Shopping Center (for a ride on a merry-go-round) and the Trojan Nuclear Power Plant. These trips shared the shortcomings of the first three. The trips were too long. Logistics were poor, in that children were confined

to buses for long periods of time, or had long waits for buses to pick them up. There were few or no scheduled rest stops. With a very few exceptions, there were no explanations of what was being seen, why it was included in the trip, or what bearing it had on life in Beaverton or life in Stebbins.

CHAPTER XI

REACTIONS TO THE PROGRAM

In this chapter we will consider the reactions to the program of those people who were involved. Reactions varied according to the position in the program of the various people involved. Each saw it in terms of a set of values peculiar to, or differentially weighted because of his particular role.

Dr. Jensen, in his final speech to the assembled host families at the potluck dinner during the last week of the program, thanked the parents, remarking that there were some good memories and some bad memories, but that, on the whole, they were mostly good.

One parent remarked privately to me that she had the impression that Dr. Jensen felt this program had not proceeded as smoothly as he would have liked, and that as a result he had become more formal, distant, and inaccessible as the program progressed.

In the two-page memo that served as his final report on the program to the Nome BIA, Jensen drew the following conclusions:

1. Students showed impressive gains in academic achievement as indicated by scores on the Metropolitan Achievement Test. [All records of these tests were destroyed in the September, 1975 fire at the Stebbins School].
2. Social gains were observed by teachers, village representatives, and the Coordinator (Dr. Jensen).
3. Students developed better self-concepts as the result of participation in the program.
4. The orientation program prior to the trip gave the children a better understanding of their heritage.
5. They learned to "accept and appreciate the dominant culture."
6. They gained an appreciation of their own culture.

7. They became more willing to "express themselves in both speaking and in writing."
8. Facility in use and pronunciation of English improved greatly.
9. Improvement in personal grooming and hygiene were noted, particularly among the older girls.
10. Personal responsibility was emphasized in most host homes, and except for three instances, the children's conduct was enviable.
11. The children increased their readiness to answer teachers' questions.
12. The children exhibited increased sensitivity to the feelings of others.
13. Because their school compared favorably with those in Beaverton, their respect for the Stebbins school increased.

In Chapter 7, I discussed the reactions of the host families as stated in responses to the questionnaire distributed by the school district soon after the children returned home. To review the major points:

1. Most families enjoyed the program, and felt both their families and the Stebbins children benefited from it.
2. Most parents felt they needed more information about the village and the children prior to their arrival in Beaverton.
3. Many parents were frustrated by the shyness, withdrawal, and lack of communication of their guests.
4. Most parents felt the children adjusted well to the new surroundings. Problems that occurred were often related to adjustment to boundaries and daily schedules.
5. A majority of the parents noted no academic growth on the part of the students.
6. For future programs, the parents suggested better communication between parents and schools, better screening of host families, and an attempt to forestall the unrealistic expectations some students had about how much in the way of material things the host families would purchase for them.

A similar questionnaire was sent to teachers participating in the program. Their reactions were discussed in Chapter 6, and will be summarized here:

1. Teachers felt the program was worthwhile for Beaverton students.
2. They were not sure the Stebbins students had benefited.
3. Shyness and withdrawal on the part of the Stebbins students presented problems for the teachers.
4. Many teachers felt they needed more information about the students -- and that they needed it sooner.

5. Most of the teachers saw some academic growth on the part of the students, particularly in reading and math. However, almost one-third saw no improvement.

School principals with whom I spoke expressed uneasiness about the lack of screening of prospective host families. They would have preferred that some standards be set which they could use as guidelines in choosing the host families.

One principal told me that the assemblies prepared by Dr. Jensen, the Haynes', and the village representatives were "a disaster." He felt they were too long, and not particularly informative.

The Human Relations Advisory Committee to the Board of Directors of School District 48, prepared a memorandum to the Board dated April 14, 1975. This memorandum stated:

> The goal of exchange programs should be to help people grow with awareness, acceptance, and understanding of the values and behaviors of other cultures and ways of life. These programs in the Beaverton Schools should contribute to the lives of others where they can, without destroying or undermining the value system of members of another culture.
>
> We acknowledge with respect the commitment of District 48 in expanding the awareness of diverse cultures. Our goal is to reinforce the District's efforts in providing the most meaningful and healthy human relations experiences in our schools.

The Committee suggested that in future programs:

1. Exchange programs be reviewed by the Human Relations Advisory Committeee for study and evaluation of the human relations aspects. Recommendations should be made to the School Board regarding the <u>human relations impact</u> of the program prior to its implementation.
2. Such programs be integrated into the educational activities of the "host" schools.
3. Adult educational activities be conducted to provide broad information and education about the culture represented by the School District's guests. These programs should protect the sense of worth and value of their own culture for the youth of

other backgrounds.

4. Realistic information about the Beaverton School District community be provided student participants from other cultures, and their parents, to provide preparation for the experience.
5. Realistic arrangements for medical and basic clothing needs be completed before students arrive, and transportation and supervision of field trips and other group activities be thoroughly pre-planned.
6. Full information about the community from which student participants come be provided host families and school personnel, to give the best level of understanding, thereby increasing the value of the experience.
7. For the benefit of all students and adults involved, there be focus on the values of the other culture and related values in our culture, and effort directed at understanding the positive results of these differences in relation to the two cultures.

A letter dated May 1, 1975, from Marilyn Haynes to the Beaverton host families described some of the changes they had noticed since the children's return to Stebbins. She noted that the children readjusted quickly to village life.

The children's immediate response to the trip was negative. According to Mrs. Haynes:

> During the first two weeks that we were back the children would say things that were not too complimentary about their trip and they were very much on the defensive when it came to "comparing" Stebbins with Beaverton. It seems that during these two weeks many of the negative aspects were brought up (having to mind, time restrictions, petty arguments with host brothers and sisters, etc.) Roger and I had numerous "talks" with the children at this time, explaining to them exactly WHAT had been done for them in reference to the host parents' time, love, and money involved.
>
> After these initial two weeks a new, more mature outlook developed. The kids were saying, "Boy, it would be good to go back to Oregon."
>
> Then all the petty things that had been in the foreground, at first, started fading out of their conversation.
>
> In the last six weeks we have heard nothing but positive references to their experiences.

She feels the program contributed to better understanding in the classroom:

> In school they are continually talking about what they did -- when we are reading or listening to a story they are always comparing their experiences to the vicarious ones. The stories do have much more meaning for them since they "have been to the zoo, ridden in an elevator, ridden on a bus and in cars, etc."

Other benefits noted include more attention to personal hygiene, and more verbalized appreciation of favors extended to them.

She noted that Beaverton host parents and children have become, for the Stebbins people, part of their families. Beaverton families, she said "seem to be in the lime-light almost as much as the Stebbins parents -- and no one seems to mind in the least."

Her final comment was that "Everyone seems very grateful and appreciative for the six weeks spent in Oregon in the Stebbins/Beaverton Academic Enrichment Program."

To summarize, reactions to the program were mixed. Dr. Jensen's letter to the Nome BIA stated the program was a success in all areas discussed. Parents and teachers felt the program worthwhile, but that there were areas, particularly in orientation and logistics, that need improvement.

CHAPTER XII

ACCULTURATIVE LEARNINGS AS A RESULT OF THE PROGRAM

The purpose of the Academic Enrichment Program, as stated by Dr. Jensen, was "to introduce them [the Stebbins children] to the culture of their textbooks." In this chapter we will discuss the program as controlled acculturation, noting areas of culture conflict, and how these conflicts were resolved, if, indeed, they were resolved.

In 1954, members of the Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation published an article entitled "Acculturation: an Exploratory Formulation." Acculturation is defined in this article as "culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems." (SSRC 1954:974). The authors state:

> Our formula envisages four principal facets of the phenomenon of acculturation: (1) the characterization of the properties of two or more autonomous cultural systems which come into contact; (2) the study of the nature of the contact situation; (3) the analysis of the conjunctive relations established between the cultural systems upon contact; and (4) the study of the cultural processes which flow from the conjunction of the systems.

In this study of the Academic Enrichment Program, Chapters II and III have dealt with the characterization of the cultural systems. Chapters IV - X have dealt with the nature of the contact situation and with analysis of the relationships between the two groups. This chapter will reiterate some of the specifics of the contact situation, and deal with some of the possible consequences of the program.

Three interaction situations are identified which contribute to the attempt to acculturate the Stebbins students to "Lower 48" lifestyles. These are:

1. School activities
2. Participation in the host family's daily life
3. Field trips and other planned group activities

Several types of learning activities are involved in each situation.

The school situation involves both similarities to and differences from the students' past experiences in Stebbins. The schools' physical facilities are different in scale, but the Stebbins School appears to be comparable in terms of modernity and comfort to the new schools in the Beaverton system. Beaverton schools have at least four times as many students at the elementary level (grades 1-6) and perhaps 10-15 times as many students at the junior high school level (grades 7-9) as there are in the entire Stebbins School. Teacher-student ratio in the Beaverton schools is higher than in the Stebbins School. The larger staffs of the Beaverton schools expose the students to a wider range of teacher viewpoints, strategies, and fields of interest, than does the Stebbins School.

In observing interaction between teachers and students in the course of the Academic Enrichment Program, I noted that most of the teachers made few strong demands in comparison to those made of Beaverton students, for performance in academic work of the Stebbins students. In most cases, the students participated in those classroom activities for which they were prepared by their previous work in Stebbins. In most areas where they were unprepared, little effort was made to bring them up to grade level by supplying additional tutoring. The Stebbins students were, in these cases, simply observers. The one exception to the "no demands"

rule was in the area of reading skills. In the schools in which I observed, the students worked regularly with specially trained remedial reading teachers.

The contract between the Government and Dr. Jensen called for pre- and post-testing of each of the Stebbins students to provide a measurement of growth in academic skills during the students' stay in Beaverton. Unfortunately, the test results were destroyed in the fire at the Stebbins school in September, 1975, and no record of the students' test scores exists. We have, therefore, no test score evidence for changes in students' academic achievement as a result of the program.

Because the Stebbins school system is an introduced complex of "Lower 48" cultural traits imposed by the U.S. Government and the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the community, it is difficult to find many definite differences from "Lower 48" schools without an opportunity to spend some time in Stebbins. Lacking that opportunity, we must assume a general cultural comparability in the school systems. I question, however, what degree of relevance the school has for daily life in Stebbins, and wonder whether "school learnings" might not for the most part be compartmentalized from the rest of the daily schedule.

The second interaction situation involves the Stebbins students' participation in Beaverton family life. A number of situations arose in the course of the six-week program which pointed up the differences in cultural values.

One of the major discipline problems reported by host families involved differences in perception of time. The parents felt the Eskimo students lacked "a sense of responsibility" because they did not respond to instructions involving time in the same way as did their own

children.

To the Beaverton parents, "clock time" was extremely important. Appointments were to be kept. Dinnertime was at a given hour. Children were expected to be in bed at a certain time. This obsession with the movement of the hands of the clock was new to the Eskimo students. There is, apparently, much less concern in Stebbins with the "appropriate hour" for carrying on any particular activity. In Stebbins, according to Dr. Jensen, people "eat when they are hungry, and sleep when they are tired." While there appears to be a much greater degree of flexibility in Stebbins, certain activities, for the most part those imposed from outside the aboriginal culture, operate within a "Lower 48" type of time concept. The prime example of this is the school, which begins and ends at fixed hours, and provides students with a hot lunch at a specified mid-day time. Thus, the concept of "clock time" was not new to the students, but there is apparently much difference in the attitude of members of the two communities toward it.

This was accented by the fact that the Academic Enrichment Program activities, because of the six-week time span of the program, were condensed into a schedule which is not really representative of Lower 48 lifestyle. While life in Beaverton is, no doubt, much faster paced than life in Stebbins, life in Beaverton, for most families, does not proceed at the hectic pace it did during the Academic Enrichment Program. While the Beaverton families are well aware of the clock in the normal course of events, during this six weeks the clock ruled their lives. I believe the Stebbins students were exposed to a somewhat distorted view of "Lower 48" life because of the really tight scheduling of events.

Several parents reported their satisfaction of having taught the

Stebbins student "a sense of responsibility." Explored further, this usually meant that the student had learned to keep appointments at the appropriate hour, to show up for meals on time, and to return home when he was told.

A second, and in many similar, area of conflict was that of spatial boundaries. Beaverton families imposed definite limits on their own children involving distance they could go from home, and which homes they could visit. Stebbins children, who were used to having essentially free range within their village, found these artificial boundaries difficult to deal with. Again, several parents mentioned their success in getting the students to observe boundaries. The usual punishment in Beaverton for infractions of this kind is "grounding" the child, requiring him to stay in the house, or, in more serious cases, in his room, for a specified period of time.

Another conflict arouse over food. In Stebbins, food is available to all members of the household, and to all visitors, any time they desire it. To withhold food at any time, or to fail to actively offer it, is an extremely undesirable trait. Those who hoard food when others are hungry are viewed as mean, stingy, and generally unpleasant people. The Stebbins children were extremely unhappy with Beaverton parents' rules against eating between meals. They viewed the Beaverton parents as "mean" and felt that their restrictions against snacks meant that the parents really didn't want them in their homes. Beaverton parents, on the other hand, voiced complaints such as "he's eating me out of house and home."

One of the main areas of contention between the Beaverton families and the Stebbins children was that of the use of snuff. Most of the

Stebbins children were confirmed snuff users, and most Beaverton families simply did not know how to react to this. Dr. Jensen had warned the families that the children used snuff, but had told them that he had instructed the children that they were not to use it while they were in Beaverton. He asked the families not to purchase it for their guests. The village representatives who accompanied the children on the trip saw to it, however, that many of the children were supplied with snuff. After the first week, most of the Stebbins children had access to snuff. One parent, as noted earlier, decided to purchase snuff for her guest, and noted the amazed reaction of shopkeepers to her 9-year-old guest's search for "her brand" of snuff at surburban tobacco counters.

It seems to have become apparent to most Beaverton families that the battle against snuff was a losing one. By the end of the six-week period, many of the Stebbins students were using it openly. I saw no evidence, however, of Beaverton students using snuff.

Another point of difference between the Stebbins students and their hosts was in the matter of communication. Both in talking with each other, and in talking with their hosts, the Stebbins children tended toward short, often one-word, exchanges. The Beaverton families were much more verbal. The Beaverton families expected the Stebbins children to hold long conversations with them, and, when they did not, took it as a sign their guests were unhappy, displeased with them, or were sulking over some uncommunicated problem. Some Beaverton teachers felt the adults from Stebbins were brusque and impolite. Some parents saw an increase in the amount of communication as the program progressed.

The Stebbins students, on the other hand, felt that the Beaverton

residents talked much more than necessary, and pried into matters that were none of their business. When they felt they were being hassled by too much conversation, they tried to discourage it by being even more brusque, and by "putting down" the other party. As an example, Willie, a nine-year-old, put up with perhaps a great number too many questions from me on a long bus ride one day. After being pleasant, (albeit rather clipped) as long as he could contain himself, he finally shut me up with "You ask too many questions, girl. Besides, I bet you sleep in pajamas."

To summarize, there were a number of areas of culture conflict--areas in which Stebbins and Beaverton families had different cultural orientations, and which were not taken sufficiently into account in planing and orientation for the Academic Enrichment Program. These include:

1. perception of time
2. spatial boundaries
3. availability of food
4. use of snuff
5. communication styles

Despite these conflicts, however, the stated goal, that of "introducing the children to the culture of their textbooks", was at least partially met. The Stebbins children lived for six weeks in a suburban community. They went on picnics, rode in station wagons, saw office buildings, trucks, trains and freeways. They participated in a number of activities they had previously only read about, and were able to return to Stebbins with at least a superficial acquaintance with Lower 48 lifestyles.

In this chapter, I have reviewed some of the situations in which learning opportunities were presented, and have examined some of the aspects of Lower 48 culture to which the children were exposed. This leads to another question -- what did they learn? If the children choose to

adopt some of the aspects of Lower 48 culture which they observed during their stay, what effect will this have on their life after they return to Stebbins?

In the short run, I feel the trip will not have major effects. The skills they may have learned or enhanced while in Beaverton do not make an immediate contribution to survival. These children are young, and still under parental control. It is not likely they will have much impact on village culture for at least five to ten years.

As these children mature, the program may help them to adjust more easily to Alaska's changing economy. I am told that, as members of the Bering Straits Corporation, these children will receive substantial financial settlements from the U. S. Government, under the Alaska Native Land Claims Act. They will have had at least a minimal exposure to how middle-class families in Beaverton spend their money. It would, however, take an extremely wise and perceptive child to be able to screen and prioritize information in such a way as to make sound judgements based on only six weeks acquaintance with life in the Lower 48.

As Alaska becomes more densely populated, and remote areas become more accessible, these children will be brought more into contact with the outside world. Their small acquaintance with Lower 48 people and culture may help a bit in easing communication problems.

My feeling is that if students have gained any real knowledge of Lower 48 culture, it has been mainly from the host families, probably not from the schools, and most certainly not from the field trips.

The main success of the trip, I would suggest, was that many students were able to meet, live with, and know as individuals, the people

they had known earlier only as "gussiks".[1] The relationships developed with the host families, and the realization that these people were individuals who could be met as equals, may well be the greatest gain realized by the students who participated in the program.

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[1] Gussik is a collective term used in Yupik to refer to white persons.

CHAPTER XIII

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRAMS

This chapter contains a number of recommendations for changes or additions to future programs. These recommendations are based on analysis of the suggestions made by those participating in the Stebbins/ Beaverton program.

The most often voiced request of participants in this program was better orientation. Those involved wanted more complete information, and they wanted it earlier in the course of the program than they got it.

Those who are interested in volunteering to be host parents wish to receive realistic information about the program prior to the time they are required to make even minimal commitments. They would like to be given clear and concise information on a professional anthropological level regarding the community from which the child will come, and the cultural differences between that community and the host community. This might be in the form of a written narrative, as well as a presentation before interested groups by the program director. Such a written narrative would give parents a reference document which could help them to understand problems which arise as the program progresses. They might also be given written statements of what would be expected of them in terms of time schedules, and of financial aid to the visitors.

A complete and well-presented orientation program might well help considerably in the next task, that of selection of the host families. Parents unable or unwilling to meet the commitments required of them

might be weeded out by a good orientation program. Should this not happen, however, the principal of each school, with the help of the Local School Committee, could pre-screen the applicants for the position of host parent. Had pre-screening been employed in the Beaverton/Stebbins program, it is possible that some of the failures in effective matching might have been avoided.

It might be helpful if teachers had access to material on cross-cultural education. In this case some of Judith Kleinfeld's work on Alaskan schools (1972, 1974) particularly that dealing with teaching strategies, could have been of value, as could John Collier's (1962) Alaskan Eskimo Education. James Van Stone's (1962) Point Hope: An Eskimo Village in Transition, while it deals with a village much further north than Stebbins, provides an interesting picture of a modern Eskimo village which might have provided teachers with a clearer understanding of the life of the contemporary Eskimo. Other suggested readings include Harry Wolcott's (1972) A Kwakiutl Village and School, which provides a picture of educational processes in a school in northern Canada, and Michael Cline's (1975) Tannik School, detailing the life of a bush teacher in an interior Eskimo settlement.

Teachers would like to know what is expected of them during the program. If students are to be pushed, academically, the teachers would like to know this.

More open and direct contact between the children's teachers at home, and the teachers in the host schools, prior to and during the course of the program, could be helpful. Teachers in the host community might be aided in perceiving the children who participate in the program as serious students in need of their help in academic work while they are

guests of the school system. This might be accomplished if the village teachers provided a complete dossier on each student to the host teachers well in advance of the trip.

If teachers were given information regarding field trips planned for students well in advance of the beginning of the program, they could incorporate learnings into classroom work which would pertain to the trips.

It would be helpful if the logistical problems of the field trips were carefully considered before the trips. Rest stops could be planned with consideration of the students' ages. Trips could be planned which were of reasonable lengths, and long waits for buses could be avoided.

On field trips, guides at facilities visited might be apprised prior to the trip, of the students' background and experience level, or alternatively, special guides with proper information on the students' cultural background might be provided by the Program Director, so that explanations could be at a level proper for the students. It might be helpful if the Director, the village representatives and teachers, and the parent chaperones could discuss briefly before each trip the objectives of the day's program. Students could then receive explanations of what they are seeing, why they are seeing it, and why the trip is being included in the curriculum. This might help them understand how the things they are seeing relate to life in the host community, and how they might be related to present or future life in their home community. A re-evaluation of the nature of the field trips might help to assure that they do, indeed, enlarge the students' understanding of life in the host community.

If arrangements for emergency medical and dental care for students were made in advance of their arrival, all host parents and host school personnel could be given complete information on how to obtain this care quickly and with minimum "red tape." Personnel from the health care agencies involved might be asked to talk with parents and teachers as part of the orientation program.

If reports filed by participants at the end of the program attempted to assess both the successes and the failures of the program, and attempted to provide hard data to substantiate these assessments, the reports could be of great value in planning future programs of a similar nature. Reports to the BIA might include assessments of the program by the host community, as well as by the Director.

The most important objective of any Academic Enrichment Program, I feel, should be to present the life of the host community to Native students in a way that sheds light on its relevance to their present and future life. It is my hope that these recommendations may help to achieve that goal.

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