

“THE FIRST AMONG US SHOULD NOT BE LAST”***-Luther Standing Bear, Lakota*****A TEACHER’S RESOURCE AND JUSTIFICATION FOR
CULTURALLY RELEVANT NATIVE LITERATURE FOR
GRADE 9 THROUGH GRADE 12****Tim Swagerty, M.A., M. Ed¹**

¹Instructor of Social Sciences, Undergraduate Curriculum and Education, West College of Education and Professional Studies, Midwestern State University

Abstract

This research examines the educational landscape for Native students in the United States, emphasizing the critical effects of inadequate culturally sensitive curricular representations. The study argues that integrating culturally relevant content and culturally sustaining pedagogy can significantly improve high-school retention and graduation rates. Three central questions guide the research, focusing on the impact of representation in education and the influence of culturally relevant curricula, especially in social studies. Additionally, insights from the National Indian Education Survey (NIES, 2019) will shed light on Native students’ understanding of their tribes and cultures. Ultimately, this research underscores the vital role of culturally responsive education in significantly enhancing the academic success of Native students in the American education system.

Keywords

Culturally Relevant Curricular Materials, Native Graduation Rates, Native Education, Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy

Introduction

This research examines the current state of education for Native students in the United States and the effects of the lack of culturally sensitive representation in curricular materials across grade levels. With the lowest graduation rate and highest dropout rate of any demographic currently represented in American education as referenced by Rizal (2021) and Sánchez-Rivera, (2023), the consideration of the positive impact of culturally relevant content in a culturally sustaining pedagogy on the retention-to-graduation rates of Native students is the motivation for the research. Recent statistics, represented by Camera (2015) and Oliff (2017) and substantiated by the Bureau of Indian Education (BIE, 2025a), place the current Native graduation rate at 69 percent against a national average of 81 percent. According to their admission, the BIE (2025b) schools have a lower graduation rate, with only 53 percent of graduates from BIE-funded, Native-supporting institutions.

Research Questions

The principal questions motivating this research address the deficit in teaching and learning for Native students, highlighting the effect of the mis- or non-representation of Native culture in school curricula and school environments. The principal research questions are:

- RQ1. How impactful and affirming is it for elementary school children to see someone from their culture represented in a lesson, and that representation be respectful and culturally relevant?

- RQ2. How will the inclusion of culturally relevant curriculum in social studies coursework based on the life and culture of Native students and their communities influence the retention and graduation rates of Native students?
- RQ3. What could these inclusions as early interventions mean to the success of an underserved/underrepresented Native demographic in the American education system?

The last principal research question is addressed by a subset of research questions delivered to Native students through the National Indian Education Survey (NIES, 2019).

- RQ3a. How much do you know about your American Indian tribe or Alaska Native group? (4th and 8th grade)
- RQ3b. Who taught you most of what you know about AI/AN history? (4th and 8th grade)
- RQ3c. Who taught you most of what you know about AI/AN traditions, ways of life, and customs? (4th and 8th grade)
- RQ3d. Who taught you most of what you know about AI/AN arts and crafts? (4th grade)
- RQ3e. Who taught you most of what you know about issues today that are important to AI/AN people? (8th grade).

NIES is conducted under the direction of the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) through the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) on behalf of the U.S. Department of Education's (ED) Office of Indian Education (OIE). NIES gathers information through survey questions given to fourth- and eighth-grade students about how Native traditions, languages, and cultures are integrated into everyday life.

The variables beyond the survey responses are addressed and included for qualitative analysis (NIES, 2022)

- DENSBI: AI/AN Density of School defined as (1) Public school less than 25 percent AI/AN, (2) Public school greater than or equal to 25 percent AI/AN, (3) BIE school, and (-) Department of Defense Education Activity (DoDEA) or Private school.
- NA25PCT: Density of school regardless of school type defined as (1) less than 25 percent AI/AN, (2) greater than or equal to 25 percent AI/AN, and (-) Missing.
- SCHTYPE: Type of school defined as (1) Public, (2) Private non-Catholic, (3) Private Catholic, (4) BIE, and (5) DoDEA.
- Mode: Indication of mode of survey response for teachers defined as (1) online and (2) paper.

Summary of Findings

The data collected by the NIES (2019) represent the results of survey questionnaires administered contemporaneously with mathematics and reading assessments in fourth and eighth grades (Table 1). Thirteen thousand three hundred (13,300) students from 2,700 schools in 15 states were surveyed using research questions listed in the previous section as RQ3a through RQ3e. Sixty percent of the fourth and eighth-grade Native students surveyed attend low-density (<25 percent Native population) public schools. 31.5 percent attend high-density (>25 percent Native population) public schools, and 8.5 percent attend Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) schools. (NIES, 2019, pp.5).

It should be noted that BIE schools are primarily on federal reservations across 23 states, with the majority in Arizona and New Mexico. According to the BIE (2025b), there are currently 183 BIE-funded schools (55 BIE-operated and 128 operated by respective tribes) on 64 federal reservations serving 42,000 Native students.

Table 2 presents self-reported socio-economic and demographic data of Native students, indicating that the majority of students in BIE and high-density (>25 percent Native population) public schools are located in rural or reservation-based areas and eligible for the National School Lunch Program (NSLP). A surprisingly large percentage of Native students in low-density public schools qualify for NSLP, as well. NSLP is an income-based, free or reduced-priced food initiative administered by the USDA Food and Nutrition Service (FNS). The data also shows that these same students have the lowest percentage of resources available at home, such as books or computers (NIES, 2019, pp. 45).

Table 3 presents the percentage distribution of fourth- and eighth-grade Native students who reported the extent of their cultural knowledge, by school type/density. This finding from the data is not surprising: the lowest-population, highest-density BIE school students reported having greater and deeper knowledge of Native culture than students from other surveyed school types. Specifically, 81 percent of fourth-graders and 91.5 percent of eighth-graders indicated varying degrees of Native cultural knowledge (NIES, 2019, pp.11).

Similarly, Table 4 highlights another unsurprising finding, showing that students identified family members as the primary source of cultural knowledge for both grade levels across all school types. It is noted that teachers were rated second by surveyed students as the source of Native cultural knowledge for both grade levels across all school types.

A secondary survey of the NIES 2019 was given to teachers of the selected student groups in the targeted schools, indicating the frequency with which they integrate curricular materials about Native culture or Native history (Table 5). BIE school teachers in both grades self-reported a weekly to daily presentation of Native culture or Native history in class curricula with 40.5 percent frequency, with high-density public schools (>25 percent) indicating 16.5 percent. Low-density public schools (<25 percent) were less than 5 percent weekly to daily in both grade levels, but did report 16 percent once a month and 56 percent once a year (NIES, 2019, pp.18).

This teacher-focused survey also queried about the frequency with which students were presented Native-themed and/or Native-authored literature presenting Native culture or current issues of concern to Native communities. Based on the teacher self-reporting as indicated in Table 6, an average of 10 percent of Native students in grades 4 and 8 engage with Native-themed literature at least once a week or more, while 85 percent of Native students read Native-themed literature at least once a year. In terms of Native-authored literature, 6.5 percent of Native students in both grades read works by Native authors at least once a week, and 76.5 percent read Native-authored literature at least once a year. Additionally, 12.5 percent of Native students reported having teachers who encouraged them to read about or engage in discussions on current issues relevant to Native communities, dedicating class time to these topics at least weekly, while 66.5 percent did so at least once a year.

The responses displayed a pattern similar to that of other studies, with students from BIE schools generally more likely to have teachers who incorporated Native authors, themes, and contemporary issues important to Native communities into their lessons compared to Native students from both low and high-density public schools (NIES, 2019, pp. 21).

Discussion

NIES 2019 provides valuable information reported by students and teachers regarding the frequency of exposure to and representation of Native culture and Native history in the classroom curricula for fourth- and eighth-grade students across the United States. Survey responses indicate that the highest concentration of cultural knowledge communicated to Native students, aside from family influence, comes from the teachers in the respective BIE and high-density public school classrooms (Table 4). Additionally, the greatest frequency of exposure to culturally-relevant, Native-themed content occurs in rural and reservation-based BIE and high-density public schools (Table 2). An additional demographic factor of consideration and concern is that the socioeconomic status of the Native students in BIE and high-density public schools (rural and reservation-based) is lower than that of Native students surveyed in low-density, urban, suburban, and rural schools, despite Native students in low-density schools still qualifying for National School Lunch Program (NSLP) (Table 2).

Importance of Culturally Relevant Curriculum

A paramount issue of concern for the education of Native students is the source is the curricular materials used in classrooms, surveyed or otherwise. While it is important to highlight that the teachers in BIE and high-density public schools are relying more on Native-themed content than low-density public schools, it is more important to note that teachers in BIE and high-density schools are also showing a preference for Native-authored content, mostly to demonstrate and ensure cultural relevance to constituent Nations served and represented in these BIE and high-density classrooms (Table 6). This has not always been permitted in federally funded, Native-serving institutions.

Before 1934, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) dictated the curriculum taught in its schools, employing non-Native, BIA subsidized curriculum writers to provide mostly non-Native, BIA supported teachers the acculturative and assimilative content delivered in reservation and boarding schools deemed appropriate by the federal government (Bureau of Indian Education, 2023a). The intent was to eradicate Native culture by forced indoctrination through immersive education and harsh vocational training.

Native Education in the 1930s

Not until the passage of the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 (April 16, 1934), which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to contract with Native tribal authorities to assume duties of educating their Native children, and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (June 18, 1934), which allowed and promoted the teaching of Native history and Native culture in BIA-funded schools, were Native tribal leaders and Native cultural authorities re-empowered to instill critical cultural knowledge to Native children not allowed since the end Indian Wars Period, just deemed so ten years prior (Meuers, 2021).

The condition of Native education in the United States after the passage of the Johnson- O'Malley Act of 1934 (April 16, 1934) and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (June 18, 1934) was bolstered and improved by

the federal government's commitment to enter into any contractual agreement with qualified state and local entities necessary to provide for "... *the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance, and social welfare, including relief of distress, of Indians in such state or territory.*" Later amendments extended authorization to include "...*any state university, college...school...or institution.*" At an end were the federal assimilation policies and allotment for Natives in the United States (Hauptman, 1983; NARA, 2023a; Taylor, 1980).

Many state and local agencies pounced on the offer of federal subsidies to provide services to Native students in public education settings, due to obvious shortages in school funding caused by Depression-era unemployment and reduced wages. The Johnson-O'Malley Act (1934) saw the closing of many ineffectively managed reservation schools and the transfer of thousands of Native students to off-reservation public schools (Cross, 1999; Juneau, 2001).

Public school districts were much more reticent to dedicate even a portion of the remunerated funds to the actual purpose for which they were intended (Juneau, 2001). Of concurrent consideration was the fact that Native student attendance at a specific educational institution increased the school's overall student population, thus increasing per capita funding from state legislatures to those entities when and where available, which had decreased markedly per student from \$90.22 in 1929-1930 to \$66.53 by 1933-1934 (Digest of Education Statistics, 2009).

While a tremendous benefit to Native nations in many areas of immediate need, the Indian Reorganization Act (1934) did not fulfill its purpose fully due to the lack of tribal subscription and support. Treating Native Nations again with a blanket homogeneity, the IRA did not address the different needs of 347 individual Native Nations in the contiguous 48 United Statesⁱ. Of this number, Nash et al. (1938) reported that only 266 Native Nations voted for the Act, and 77 voted in opposition to the Act, with four abstaining altogether. Of the over 97,000 Native tribal members eligible to vote in 1934, only 38,000 participated (Colorado Encyclopedia, 2022). Many Native Nations were then included by default and subject to the stipulations of the Act without support from a majority of tribal members.

In the last years of the Depression leading up to U.S. involvement in World War II, funding to reservation schools was drastically cut, and many reservation Natives sought relief from economic suffering by applying the vocational education and training afforded them in the reservation and boarding schools working with the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division (CCC-ID) (WPAToday, 2015a).

Originally founded in 1933 under the name Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW), it was renamed the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division in 1937 (Figure 1) (Comanche National Museum and Cultural Center, 2023). While the CCC was only open to single, young men 18 years old to 25 years old, the average age of the CCC-ID corpsmen was 34 years old, with some as old as 75 years old. CCC-ID allowed married men to serve as well.

Records show that 80,000 to 85,000 Natives worked on reservation and off-reservation projects from 1933 until the CCC and CCC-ID were disbanded in 1942 (McNeil, 2023; Parman, 1971).

Unlike the traditional CCC, women were allowed to participate in the CCC-ID and live in home camps for those working on the reservations or off-reservation family camps with spouses and families. Those women who remained at or near reservation schools were encouraged to participate in producing items for sale with the support of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1935 (Meyn, 2001) through the Works Progress Administration (WPA). It was noted that "...there is a marked degree of proficiency among various tribes in the several handicrafts..." (WPAToday, 2015b, 40-45/1:47).

In the same fashion as *the Indian Life Reader Series*, written in the 1930s by non-Native educators in the reservation boarding school period, the Bureau of Indian Affairs created another set of instructional pamphlets to "re-educate" Native students about their traditional utilitarian art forms (Lomawaima & McCarthy, 2006). Not satisfied with teaching and practicing Native handicrafts germane to their respective tribal affiliations, the Bureau of Indian Affairs' non-Native educators saw fit to teach a multiplicity of Native handicraft skills to these female students to broaden their cultural awareness and, by extension, their economic viability.

Authored almost entirely by Carrie Albert Lyford, Bureau of Indian Affairs Associate Supervisor of Indian Education, the *Indian Handicraft Series* highlighted the arts of a very limited selection of Native Nations, as supported by McLerran (2022). In the first installment of this Series, Lyford (1931) stated that the publications were intended to teach Native students "...to appreciate and practice the arts of their people...to whom they historically belong..." Lyford (1940) authored Quillwork and Beadwork of the Western Sioux, plus wrote, edited, and/or supervised the publication of other instructional guides on Navajo dyes, Seneca and Tlingit basketry, as well as other Ojibwa, Iroquois, Pueblo, and Blackfeet crafts.

The information researched for the instructional guides was done so in museum collections by non-Native, BIA-employed anthropologists and museum "experts." Then, manuscripts were reviewed by the same people with no external scrutiny or Native input before publication. Illustrations for the works were likewise fielded in-house to non-Native, BIA-employed artists with often incorrect tribal attribution and given no historical meaning or cultural context (Lomawaima & McCarthy, 2006).

Native Education in the 1940s

With the encroachment of World War II in Europe in 1939, the CCC-ID training focus shifted from the original infrastructure support and public works projects to defense-based skills training (Ermentrout, 1982). The IECW and later CCC-ID workers were afforded training different than the regular CCC workers. CCC-ID workers were trained as truck drivers, mechanics, radio operators, and carpenters, to name a few skilled trades that directly benefited the war effort (Hanneman, 1999; White, 2016). Congress passed the National Defense Vocational Training Act in 1941, and 85,000 Natives enrolled in this training program. The Act also employed 24,000 CCC-ID alumni who utilized CCC-ID vocational and skills training and returned to serve in various capacities in the military and military support jobs, as well as 40,000 Natives who left reservations for urban-based factory employment that benefited the war effort (Native American Military Service and Sacrifice, 2016). All CCC and CCC-ID operations were halted in 1942 after the United States declared war on Japan in the aftermath of the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 (Gower, 1972; Wirth, 1944).

Despite overwhelming support by Native men and women in World War II at home and abroad and countless stories of meritorious service in foreign theaters of combat, including the Comanche and Navajo Code Talkers, the federal government reversed its previous policies giving sovereignty and autonomy to Native Nations to a renewed commitment to expedited assimilation (Walch, 1983).

In 1944, in the 78th United States Congress, a House Select Committee on Native Affairs made proposals for realizing the “...*final solution of the Indian problem*...” (Bill, 1987). The committee’s report stated that the objective of Native education was “...*to make the Indian child a better American*...” not to “...*equip him simply to be a better Indian*...” (Juneau, 2001). Very reminiscent of Pratt’s (1892) statement, progenating this policy, the Commission of Indian Affairs established criteria in 1948 by which a tribe would be judged to determine their suitability for terminating all federal aid and service (Bill, 1987). Any service(s) held over into perpetuity would be the function of the respective state governments, wherein the largest populations of Natives resided, and no longer the federal government’s responsibility (Watras, 2004).

Resistance to the termination policy began to mount among politically motivated Natives in the U.S. The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) originated on November 17, 1944, as a countermeasure to the House Select Committee’s findings and report issued earlier that year. It was founded primarily by Natives who worked in the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and sought to combat the policies of termination and assimilation pursued by the BIA at that time. Eighty delegates of fifty tribes from twenty-seven states met in Denver, Colorado, and drafted eighteen resolutions focused on three main topics: sovereignty, civil rights, and political recognition for all Indians (Cowger, 1999; Taylor, 2021).

The preamble to the NCAI (2023) constitution that was drafted at that 1944 meeting states the mission to be “...*to secure the rights and benefits to which we are entitled under the laws of the United States, the several states thereof, and the territory of Alaska; to enlighten the public toward a better understanding of the Indian race; to preserve cultural values; to seek an equitable adjustment to tribal affairs; to secure and to preserve rights under Indian treaties with the United States; and to otherwise promote the common welfare of the American Indians*...” By late 1945, NCAI membership had grown to 300.

Native Education in the 1950s

In 1949, the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government recommended that the United States Office of Indian Affairs reestablish and reaffirm its mission to assimilate Natives into mainstream American society (Juneau, 2001).

Six state laws, the actions of the 78th Congress, and the Commission’s recommendation collectively laid the groundwork for House Concurrent Resolution 108 (H.R. Res. 108, 67 Stat. B132, 1953), passed on August 1, 1953, which renewed the federal government’s enthusiasm for the termination of tribal status for Natives in the United States “...at the earliest possible time...”

House Current Resolution 108, referred to as the Termination Act of 1953, was accompanied within the same month by Public Law 208 (Pub. L. No. 83-280, 67 Stat. 588), which removed and transferred judicial power from five tribal courts to their respective state benches. The states immediately affected were California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin (NARA, 2023c).

Beginning in 1954, in clear violation of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 (43 Stat 253) and a diametric reversal of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (48 Stat 984), Congress pushed through sixty separate termination acts that disenfranchised one hundred and ten Native Nations, tribes, and bands of tribes in California, Nebraska, Oregon, Wisconsin, Texas, Utah, Oklahoma, and South Carolina (Figure 2). The acts were facilitated with unwarranted enthusiasm by a minority of Congressional members ardently in support of the measures (Walch, 1983).

Despite pressure from the NCAI and other supporting Native and non-Native activist groups, Congress enacted the Relocation Act of 1956 (70 Stat 986), effective August 3, 1956, which offered vocational training, moving assistance, and subsidies to Natives willing to leave reservations and relocate to government-designated urban centers for employment (Glenn, 2015). The locations of these centers included Chicago, Denver, Los

By 1960, over 35,000 Natives moved off reservations to urban areas for the promise of employment, better education, and improved living conditions. Many found the pay to be so low in relation to the urban cost of living that they fell into urban poverty, suffered physical illness due to working conditions, compounding substance abuse, and emotional suffering of estrangement from cultural and familial connections (NARA, 2023d; Walls & Whitbeck, 2012.) An estimated thirty percent of the relocated Natives returned to their reservations (Oakland Museum of California, 2023).

Native Education in the 1960s

Beginning with the Kennedy administration in 1961, the federal government “de- emphasized” the policy of termination as Natives began to consolidate and coalesce into a powerful political movement (Walsh, 1983). The National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) was formed in the same year by Native college students and graduates to educate Native youths about the state of affairs of Natives in the United States and began the “Red Power Movement,”ⁱⁱⁱ as it would be called later in the decade (Joseph et al., 1999; Johnson, 2007; Wilkins & Stark, 2011). Building on the groundwork laid by the NCAI in 1944, the NIYC advocated a platform of self- determination, self-reliance, and sovereignty for Natives expressed through direct protest and open demonstration (Oklahoma Historical Society, 2023). They promoted a reversal of termination of Native Nations with the return of federal recognition to those abrogated and an extension to Nations not federally recognized before termination (Champagne, 2001). The elder traditional leadership of these Native Nations did not welcome this, as these new dissenting voices were from a position of youth and inexperience, in their opinion (Cobb, 2008).

Throughout the 1960s, Native activism swelled as generations of mistreatment and unrest came to the forefront in the tidal wave of the American Civil Rights Movement. Relocated Natives in urban and metropolitan areas sought out others of their own and diverse Nations to form intertribal organizations, establish community centers, and hold ceremonies and powwows (Oakland Museum, 2023). These enculturational affiliations created a cross-cultural, pan-Indian consciousness where intertribal marriages and “transnationals” (Ramirez, 2007)--Natives of dual and later multiple Native identities--were celebrated as a symbol of self-determination and cultural resilience (Glenn, 2015).

In March of 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson delivered an address to Congress that called for the end of termination and pledged support for “...federal assistance to Indians--with new emphasis on Indian self-help and with respect for Indian culture.” (The American Presidency Project, 2023). On April 11, 1968, Johnson signed into law the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 (ICRA)(25 U.S.C. §§ 1301-1304).

In July of the same year, the American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in Minneapolis and rose to the forefront of the Red Power Movement as a culmination of the grass- roots, urban, and metropolitan Native communities’ efforts to consolidate for mutual support and systemic change. Its primary founders had met while serving in prison and identified with the plight of the displaced and disenfranchised Natives in urban relocation, themselves removed from cultural connection through incarceration (Matthiessen, 1980).

Official negation of termination came from the Nixon administration in an address to Congress on June 8, 1970 (American Presidency Project, 2025) where the president stated that forced termination was wrong and the objective of a federal Indian policy had to be to “...strengthen the Indian’s sense of autonomy without threatening his sense of community...” and proposed “...to break sharply with past approaches to Indian problems...” (Juneau, 2001; Walch, 1983). Despite the president’s promise, the American Indian Movement took bold action during the Nixon administration to bring attention to the plight of the Native in America (Juarez, 2017).

Native Education in the 1970s

On November 20, 1969, after two previous attempts on March 9, 1964, and November 9, 1969, seventy-eight AIM members staged a nineteen-month-long occupation of California’s Alcatraz Island, taking refuge in its abandoned federal penitentiary that lasted from November 20, 1969, until June 11, 1971 (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2023). The site was selected as a focal point to highlight the unfulfilled provisions of the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868, one of which was to return to Native control all retired, abandoned, or out-of-use federal lands. Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary was closed on March 21, 1963, and according to the Alcatraz Proclamation, it was now Indian land (Figure 3). The occupation ended when armed federal marshals, FBI agents, and S.W.A.T. teams stormed the island and removed the remaining fifteen of the original seventy-eight occupants (Nov. 20, 1969: Alcatraz Occupation).

Over the remainder of the Nixon administration (1969-1974), numerous other significant Red Power demonstrations and occupations occurred. The Trail of Broken Treaties (Blair, 1972a), organized primarily by AIM, was a 1972 intracontinental caravan originating from several U.S. and Canadian locations, ending at the Bureau of Indian Affairs Office in the Department of the Interior building in Washington, D.C. (Blakemore, 2020). The seven-day occupation (November 2 to November 9, 1972) involved an estimated 500 AIM members and AIM sympathizers from other Native Rights organizations. Intended to be a peaceful demonstration to lobby for improvements in housing conditions and living standards on reservations, the petitioners grew impatient when officials of the BIA, Department of the Interior, and the President’s office refused to meet with the amassed

activists. The building was breached, and the mob barricaded themselves in the offices using desks and tables to fortify their position. The occupation dissolved after a week but left an estimated \$700,000 in physical damage, plus the removal of many highly valued documents (Blair, 1972b; Osnos & Ramirez, 1972). It is noted that Richard Nixon was reelected in a landslide victory on November 7, 1972, during the AIM occupation of the Department of the Interior building.

Davis (2013) writes about the efforts by AIM in 1973 to isolate themselves and their children in the Minneapolis area by creating “survival schools”, community schools focused on basic learning and living skills in a Native context. This was done in an attempt to supplant the public and BIA schools’ instruction to keep students in school by “rebuilding Native family and community structures; and revitalizing Indigenous languages, cultural knowledge, and spiritual systems.” Clyde Bellecourt, one of AIM’s founders in 1968, reported that, “We were losing our children during this time; juvenile courts were sweeping our children up, and they were fostering them out, and sometimes whole families were being broken up.”

The zenith of the Red Power Movement came on February 27, 1973, when some 250 highly organized Oglala Lakota, some members of AIM, took over the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Reservation and held it for 71 days (Voight, 1973). The location near Wounded Knee Creek was the site of the December 29, 1890, massacre of an initially estimated 150 men, women, and children, with as many as 350 deaths later reported from wounds received and exposure to freezing temperatures (Golpen et al., 2012; National Institutes of Health, 2025). Johansen (2022) reports that the 1973 standoff ended May 8, with three dead and 14 wounded Natives, two wounded FBI agents, and a U.S. Marshall.

Volzke (2014) and Roos et al. (1980) highlight that one of the main successes of the incident was the revival of Native culture, history, and tradition, and efforts made to return control of education to Native school boards. Loneman Day School was founded on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota and became one of the first schools to operate under a contract authorized by the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (ISDEAA) in 1975. Little Wound School was the second former BIA school chartered by the Lakota to operate and manage its school with board members chosen from the communities it serves. (Can’ali Winyan, 2021; Public Law 93-638, 1975). The Education Amendments Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-561) and further technical amendments (Public Law 98-511, 99-99, and 100- 297) provided funds directly to tribally operated schools, empowered Indian school boards, permitted local hiring of teachers and staff, and established a direct line of authority between the Education Director and the Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs (BIE 2025c).

In the last demonstration of the 1970s, the “Longest Walk” began as a peaceful transcontinental trek for Native American justice, which started with a few hundred leaving from Alcatraz Island, California, and ending on July 15, 1978, when they arrived in Washington, D.C., accompanied by 30,000 marchers. The intent was to bring to President Jimmy Carter’s attention the ongoing concerns of the Native communities. The effort netted the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978). The odyssey successfully drew attention to, and ultimately defeated, eleven proposed bills that would have restricted Native American treaty rights and self- governance (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2025).

Limitations of the findings

While the NIES has been conducted in 2005, 2007, 2009 and 2011 on two-year intervals and 2015 and 2019 on four-year intervals (no indication of a 2023 survey), there has been no longitudinal tracking of any surveyed student groups to determine if the utilization of Native- themed curriculum and/or Native-authored literature had any impact on student retention or student graduation in any of the participant schools. With continued monitoring of students surveyed in the eighth-grade classes through to high school, determination could be made as to any measure of success of the inclusion of culturally relevant, Native-themed content and/or Native-authored literature on student performance.

Additionally, no record was made or kept about what curriculum was utilized or what literature sources were presented. Without a basic curricular guideline, it is indeterminate what benefits were gleaned from the inclusion and presentation without a criterion-referenced baseline to determine student achievement. Not advocating for the implementation of a standardized test reducing yet again the uniqueness of the individual Nations to the homogeneity of quantitative assessment, some measure or scale needs to exist against and by which a student’s individual growth can be measured.

Conclusion

The necessity for the integration of culturally relevant Native-themed and Native- authored literature as content in a Native-sensitive, culturally sustaining pedagogy as early intervention in seminal grade levels to bolster retention and graduation rates for Native high school students is an essential focus of American education, as Natives high school students have the highest drop-out and lowest graduation rate of any demographic in the United States at present (BIE, 2025a; Camera, 2015; Oliff, 2017).

The guiding questions posed in this research require an investigation into both the quality and quantity of extant Native cultural knowledge invested in these students from internal and external sources. The beneficial effect of investment by the educational system in the positive representation of Native culture through culturally relevant content in a culturally sustaining pedagogy could have generationally beneficial outcomes for Native students, manifested in greater classroom engagement, improved assessment performance, and higher retention-to-graduation rates.

The statistical analysis in the discussion disaggregates the data collected by the National Indian Education Survey (2019) and examines survey responses of Native students about their Native cultural knowledge, its origin, and their interest in the cultural content. The historical analysis in the discussion describes the efforts made by the federal government and its agents to advance and retard the direction and progress of Native education in the decades of the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, 1960, and 1970s. Aspects of the research in need of improvement are identified and include, but are not limited to, longitudinal tracking of eighth-grade students after intervention through graduation, assessment strategies, and performance standards.

In the attempt to connect cultural relevance to the historical analysis, educational resources are included and recommended to share with new and pre-service teachers to bolster their depth of knowledge about the systemic and systematic education of Native students through United States history and serve as a classroom resource for culturally relevant literature germane to the history presented in the discussion.

Using Native American Literature in the Classroom With Grade 9 through Grade 12

In recommending Native culture-themed resources and considering Native-authored works, literature that highlights and reinforces the issues and history of Native education in and through the respective decades referenced in the Discussion section will be presented here.

Themes of antiquity and modernity combine in these periods in an emergent literature that establishes a corrected narrative from a Native perspective (Balthaser, 2020).

Native Literature of the 1930s

“*American Indian Stories*” (1921) by Zitkala-Ša, also known as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, is a collection of autobiographical accounts, short stories, and poetry that offer a unique Native American perspective on history and culture. The book explores themes of assimilation, cultural identity, and the struggle for recognition, often viewed through the lens of Zitkala-Ša’s personal experiences. As reviewed by Shukla (2021), “*American Indian Stories*” contains some of Zitkala-Ša’s finest work. “Through three genres—nonfiction, fiction, and poetry—she details her culture, heritage, and the exploitation of Native and Indigenous peoples. Zitkala-Ša’s clear, honest stories read as an antithesis to the typical portrayal of Native Americans in popular Western literature.”

John Josephs Matthews’ *Wah’Kon-Tah: The Osage and the White Man’s Road* (1932) deals with issues of acculturation as the Osage nation transitions into the twentieth century.

Drawing from his own Osage heritage, the work stresses the spirituality, dignity, and humor of the Osages as they adapt to the encroachment of the non-Indian world. His second work, *Sundown* (1934), as reviewed by Hunter (1982), deals with issues of transnationalism (Ramirez, 2007) in the age and aftermath of the Osage Oil Boom (Franks, 1989).

Luther Standing Bear’s works, *My People, The Sioux* (1928), *Indian Boyhood* (1931), *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933), and *Stories of the Sioux* (1934) are all highly regarded as poignant accounts about protecting Lakota culture in opposition to federal government regulation of Native culture and include commentaries on education, assimilation, freedom of religion, tribal sovereignty, return of lands, and efforts to convert the nomadic Lakota into sedentary farmers.

Native Literature of the 1940s

Waterlily was written by Yankton Lakota ethnologist Ella Cara Deloria in the early 1940s. It wasn’t published until 1988, eighteen years after the author’s death. It details daily Lakota life from the third-person perspective of a mother-daughter relationship before Americanization. Reviewed by Talamantez (1988), it “...allows us to understand the contemporary Lakota women...by presenting the contributions of these women as keepers of the traditions.”

The Federal Writers Project (FWP), operating under the Works Progress Administration (WPA) from 1935 to 1942, compiled a vast collection of material, including oral histories and folklore collections. Morgan (2005) states that many Native authors were supported in this effort. *American Life Histories* is a collection that includes these and many other historically significant works of literature. Works of note for inclusion in classroom readings include (Balthaser, 2020):

- *Land of Nakoda: The Story of the Assiniboine Indians* (ISBN 978 1931832359), written by James Larpenteur Long and illustrated by William Standing, both Assiniboine.
- *I Will Be Meat for My Salish: The Montana Writers Project and the Buffalo of the Flathead Indian*

Reservation (ISBN 978-0917298844), written by Bon I. Whealdon (Salish) and illustrated by Dwight Billedeaux (Siksika).

- *The Seven Visions of Bull Lodge: As Told by His Daughter, Garter Snake* (ISBN 978- 0803272569), compiled by Fred. P. Gone (Blackfoot) and edited by George Horse Capture (Gros Ventre).

Native Literature of the 1950s

The 1950s saw a flourishing of genuine Native voices, as authors took back their narratives and delved into themes that profoundly reflected their experiences and cultural heritage, frequently set against a backdrop of difficult social and political conditions. Some examples include:

Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux, by John G. Neihardt (non-Native), as told to him by Hahaka Sapa (Black Elk, Oglala Lakota) is a prominent example of the period. Although written in 1932, it gained widespread popularity after Black Elk died in August, 1950. As a witness to the Battle of the Little Bighorn, participant in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, and combatant at Wounded Knee, his reminiscences gained considerable notoriety in the age of the Western film.

Geronimo- Last Apache War Chief (1952), written by Edgar Wyatt (non-Native) and illustrated by Allan Houser (Chiricahua Apache), is a fictional biography that is engaging and exciting to read. Again, indicative of the popular fascination with Native content of the decade, it is worthy of consideration.

Native Literature of the 1960s

Referred to as the "Native American Renaissance" by Lincoln (1985) and Velie and Lee (2014), Lundquist (2004) advocates that the movement had three features:

- Reestablishment of cultural heritage through literary expression.
- Exploration and reassessment of earlier works by Native authors.
- Revitalized interest in traditional Native artistic forms.

Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto (ISBN 978 0806121291), by Vine Deloria, Jr. (Lakota) (1969), as reviewed by Bennett (1970), states that the work puts the American Indian/Native situation in perspective from the modern Native viewpoint, with its eleven essays focusing on concurrent topics of religion, government "help" for Natives, the Termination policy of the 1950s, and the similar treatment of Red and Black in this country.

House Made of Dawn (ISBN 978 0061859977) (1968) and *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (978 0826304360) (1969), both by N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa), are poignant but different visions from the same creator. *House Made of Dawn* won the 1969 Pulitzer Prize for Fiction and is considered one of the cornerstone works of the Native Renaissance. He is also the first Native American to win such an award.

The Way to Rainy Mountain (1969) is a triptych of voices in a single work about the journey of Momaday's Kiowa ancestors from their ancient beginnings in the Montana area to their final war and surrender to the United States Cavalry at Fort Sill, and subsequent resettlement near Rainy Mountain, Oklahoma.

Native Literature of the 1970s

As a continuation of the Native Renaissance, Native literature in the decade of the 1970s embraced themes of mixed-blood identity, loss and resilience, and the return to cultural values.

Notable works worthy of inclusion in Grade 9 through Grade 12 classroom readings include:

Winter in the Blood (ISBN 978 0143105220)(1974) by James Welch (Blackfeet/Gros Ventre) intertwines the narrator's tale of passage from a boy to a man with the mysterious story of his grandmother's role in the Blackfeet tribe's tragic past. The book consists of four sections of varied lengths and a brief epilogue (Smart, 2022).

Ceremony (ISBN 978 0143104919)(1977) by Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna Pueblo) relates the story of a mixed-blood World War II veteran returning home after being a prisoner of war in a warrior society. The work chronicles his descent and his reintegration into his native culture through ceremony and ritual.

Darkness in Saint Louis Bearheart (ISBN 978-08166-18514)(1978) by Gerald Vizenor (Chippewa), as reviewed by Rigel-Cellard (1997), is set in an America that has exhausted its oil supply and descended into chaos. The plot is bizarre, but compelling, and of a resonant and peculiar enough nature to appeal to the intended audience.

The Last Song (1975) by Joy Harjo (Monahwee/Muskogee) is a nine-poem observation of Native lives and struggles in the disconnected world they now live in. Focused on New Mexico and Oklahoma, it establishes her as a significant voice in Native poetry and literature (Poetry Foundation, n.d.). She is still a moving force in the second wave of the Native Renaissance, having served as the 23rd United States Poet Laureate from 2019 to 2022, the first Native American to hold that honor, and the only second three-time serving Poet Laureate.

References

- Act April 16, 1934, ch. 147, 48 Stat. 596, which enacted sections 452 to 457 of this title, is popularly known as the “Johnson-O’Malley Act.” Retrieved from <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/USCODE-2010-title25/html/USCODE-2010-title25-chap14-subchapII-partB.htm>.
- Act of August 11, 1978, 95-341, 92 Stat. 469 American. Indian Religious Freedom. (1978). Retrieved from <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-5293/pdf/COMPS-5293.pdf>.
- Act June 18, 1934, which enacted this section and sections 462, 463, 464, 465, 466 to 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476 to 478, and 479 of this title, is popularly known as the “Indian Reorganization Act.” Retrieved from <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/USCODE-2011-title25/html/USCODE-2011-title25-chap14-subchapV.htm>.
- Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior XLI (1886), Commissioner of Indian Affairs (ARCIA).
- Balthaser B. (2020). Native American Literature in the 1930s. In Taylor, M.B. (Ed.). *The Cambridge History of Native American Literature* (149-163). Cambridge University Press.
- Bennett, R.L. (1970). Review of “Custer Died for Your Sins” by Vine Deloria, Jr., WASH. U. L. Q. 218. https://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law_lawreview/vol1970/iss2/7
- Bill, W. (1987). Boarding School to Self-Determination. State of Washington, Office of Public Instruction, 21–22.
- Blair, W. (1972a). Indians to Begin Capital Protests. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/11/03/archives/new-jersey-pages-500-indians-seize-us-building-after-scuffle-with.html>
- Blair, W. (1972b). Indians in Capital Defy a Court Order. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/1972/11/04/archives/indians-in-capital-defy-a-court-order.html>.
- Blakemore, E. (2020). The radical history of the Red Power movement's fight for Native American sovereignty. *National Geographic*. Retrieved from <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/red-power-movement-radical-fight-native-american-sovereignty>
- Bureau of Indian Affairs (2023). *U.S. Department of the Interior|Indian Affairs*. Retrieved from <https://www.bia.gov/bia>
- Bureau of Indian Education. (2023a). Blueprint for reform implementation. <https://www.bie.edu/topic-page/blueprint-reform-implementation>
- Bureau of Indian Education (2025b). About BIE. <https://www.bia.gov/bie>
- Bureau of Indian Education (2025c). Tribal Controlled Schools. <https://www.bie.edu/topic-page/tribally-controlled-schools>
- Can’ali Winyah, M. (2021, September 16). Ta’opi Cik’Ala Owayawa (Little Wound School) *Lakota Times* -. <https://www.lakotatimes.com/articles/taopi-cikala-owayawa-little-wound-school/> Camera, L. (2015). Native American students are left behind. Retrieved March 31, 2021, from <https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2015/11/06/native-american-students-left-behind>
- Champagne, D. (2001). *The Native North American Almanac*. Gale Group.
- Cobb, D. (2008). *Native Activism In Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty*, University Press of Kansas. Comanche National Museum and Cultural Center (n.d.). *Home* [Facebook page] Facebook. Retrieved August 15, 2023, from <https://www.facebook.com/comanchemuseum>
- Cowger, T. (1999). *The National Congress of American Indians: The Founding Years*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Cross, R. (1999). American Indian Education: The Terror of History and the Nation’s Debt to the Indian Peoples. *University of Arkansas at Little Rock Law Review* 21, No. 4 (1999), 960– 961.
- Davis, J. L. (2013). *Survival schools: The American Indian Movement and Community Education in the Twin Cities*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Deloria, E.C. (1988). *Waterlily*. University of Nebraska Press.
- DeMocker, C. (2022). *The Use of Native American Literature for Teaching Native American History*. [Senior Honors Theses]. University of New Orleans. https://scholarworks.uno.edu/honors_theses/139
- Digest of Education Statistics (2009). National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d09/tables/dt09_182.asp
- Encyclopedia Staff (2020, March 13). Indian Reorganization Act (Indian New Deal). *Colorado Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from <https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/indian-reorganization-act-indian-new-deal>.

- Ermentrout, R. (1982). Forgotten Men: The Civilian Conservation Corps. *Journal of Forest History*, 29(4), ix-102.
- Franks, K. A., & Oklahoma Heritage Association. (1989). The Osage oil boom. Published for the Oklahoma Heritage Association by Western Heritage Books, Inc.
- Glenn, E. (2015). Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1 (1): 52–72. doi:10.1177/2332649214560440.
- Goplen, K., Graves, J., Nelson, A., & Thompson, H.F. (2012, April 27-28). Wounded Knee: Forty Years Later. Papers of the Forty-Fourth Annual Dakota Conference. A National Conference of the Northern Plains. *The Center for Western Studies, Augustina College*: Sioux Falls.
- Gower, C. W. (1972). The CCC Indian Division: Aid for Depressed Americans, 1933-1942. *Minnesota History*, 43(1), 3–13.
- Guistwite, S. E., "Diversity in Native American Literature" (2021). Student Publications. 946. https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/student_scholarship/946
- Hanneman, Carolyn G. (1999). "Baffles, Bridges, and Bermuda: Oklahoma Indians and the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division". *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 77 (4): 428–449.
- Hauptman, L. M. (1983). The American Indian Federation and the Indian new deal: A reinterpretation. *The Pacific Historical Review*, 378-402.
- Hunter, C. (1982). The Historical Context in John Joseph Mathews' Sundown. *MELUS*, 9(1), 61–72. <https://doi.org/10.2307/467596>
- Indian Reorganization Act (1934). *The Indian Reorganization Act, The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and a Proposed Carcieri "Fix": Updating the Trust Land I Process* [576, 48 Stat. 984] Retrieved from 45 Idaho L. Rev. 575 (2009).
- Johansen, B. (2022). Wounded Knee Occupation: EBSCO. EBSCO Information Services, Inc. | www.ebsco.com. <https://www.ebsco.com/research-starters/politics-and-occupation#:~:text=The%20Wounded%20Knee%20occupation%20was,Native%20activists%20and%20federal%20authorities>.
- Johnson, T. R. (2007). Red Power: The Native American Civil Rights Movement. <https://www.amazon.com/Red-Power-American-Movement-Landmark/dp/0791093417>
- Joseph, A., Hagel, J., & Johnson, T. (1999). Red Power: The American Indians Fight for Freedom. University of Nebraska Press.
- Juarez, V. (2017) AIM & the Occupation of Alcatraz Island. *Historical Perspectives: Santa Clara University Undergraduate Journal of History*, II, 22 (7), 1-29.
- Juneau, S. (2001). History and Foundation of American Indian Education. *Indian Education for All Unit*. Montana Office of Public Instruction. (revised 2013-2013)
- Lincoln, K. (1985). Native American Renaissance. University of California Press.
- Lomawaima, K. & McCarty, T. (2006). To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education. Teachers College Press.
- Long, J.L. (2004). Land of Nakoda: The Story of the Assiniboiné Indians. Riverbend. Lundquist, S.E. (2004). Native American Literatures: An Introduction. Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Lyford, C. (1931). The Use of Indian Designs in the Government Schools. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.
- Lyford, C. (1940). Quill and Beadwork of the Western Sioux. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.
- Matthiessen, P. (1980). In the Spirit of Crazy Horse. The Viking Press.
- McLerran, J. (2012). "A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy 1933-1943." The University of Arizona Press.
- McNeil, A. (2023). The CCC Indian Division: Native Americans in the Civilian Conservation Corps [web log]. Retrieved from <https://corpsnetwork.org/the-ccc-indian-division-native-americans-in-the-civilian-conservation-corps/>.
- Meuers, M. (2021). The Circle News | News from a Native American Perspective. America's real longest war was against Indigenous Americans. <https://thecirclenews.org/opinion/americas-real-longest-war-was-against-indigenous-americans>
- Meyn, S. (2001). More Than Curiosities: A Grassroots History of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and Its Precursors, 1920-1942. Lexington Books.
- Morgan, M. J. (2005). Constructions and Contestations of the Authoritative Voice: Native American Communities and the Federal Writers' Project, 1935-41. *American Indian Quarterly*, 29(1/2), 56–83. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4138801>
- Nash, J., La Farge, O., & Ryan, W. (1938). The New Day for the Indians: A Survey of the Working of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Academy Press.
- National Archives and Records Administration. (2023a). *Indian New Deal*. Retrieved from

- <https://prologue.blogs.archives.gov/2015/11/30/indian-new-deal/#:~:text=The%20Indian%20New%20Deal's%20premiere,purchase%20of%20lost%20tribal%20lands.>
- National Archives and Records Administration. (2023c.). *Bureau of Indian Affairs Records: Termination*. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/research/native-americans/bia/termination>.
- National Archives and Records Administration. (2023d). *American Indian Urban Relocation*. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/indian-relocation.html>
- National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). (2023). Mission and History. Retrieved from <https://www.ncai.org/about-ncai/mission-history>
- National Institutes of Health. (2025). Tribes - Native Voices. U.S. National Library of Medicine. <https://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/timeline/377.html>
- Native American Military Service and Sacrifice. (2016). Administration for Children & Families. Retrieved from <https://www.acf.hhs.gov/archive/blog/2016/05/native-american-military-service-and-sacrifice>.
- National Indian Education Study (NIES). (2022). 2019 National Indian Education Study (NIES) Qualitative Data Companion. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2022046>
- Oakland Museum of California. (2023). Homogenization, protests, and outright rebellion: 1950s: Native Americans move to the city: The Urban Relocation Program Picture This: California Perspectives on American History. Retrieved from <https://picturethis.museumca.org/timeline/homogenization-protests-outright-rebellion>
- Oklahoma Historical Society. (2023). Pan-Indian movements. Retrieved from <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=PA010#:~:text=Dissension%20within%20the%20AIF's%20rank,end%20in%20the%20mid%2D1940s>
- Oloff, H. (2017, May 16). Graduation rates and American Indian Education [Web blog post]. <http://nativepartnership.org/graduation-rates-american-indian-education/>
- Osnos, P., & Ramirez, R. (1972). 500 Indians Here Seize U.S. Building, *Washington Post*. p. A1. Retrieved from <http://www.framingredpower.org/archive/newspapers/frp.wapo.19721103.xml>;
- Parman, D. L. (1971). The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps. *Pacific Historical Review*, 40(1), 39–56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3637828>
- Poetry Foundation. (n.d.). Joy Harjo. Poetry Foundation. <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/joy-harjo> Pratt, R. (1892). Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction. (1892), 46–59. Retrieved from https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/default/files/docs-resources/CIS-Resources_PrattSpeechExcerptShort_0.pdf
- Public Law 93 638, Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. (1975). https://www.bia.gov/sites/default/files/dup/assets/bia/ots/ots/pdf/Public_Law93-638.pdf
- Ramirez, R. (2007). Native Hubs. Duke University Press. p. 177
- Reyner, J. (2020, November 23). 1819-2013: A history of American Indian Education. Education Week. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/1819-2013-a-history-of-american-indian->
- Rigel-Cellard, B. (1997). Doubling in Gerald Vizenor's Bearheart: The Pilgrimage Strategy or Bunyan Revisited. *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, 9(1), 93–114. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20739387>
- Roos, Philip D., Dowell H. Smith, Stephen Langley, & James McDonald. "The Impact of the American Indian Movement on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation." *Phylon* (1960-) 41, no. 1 (1980): 89–99. <https://doi.org/10.2307/274670>.education/2013/12
- Rizal, A. (2021, November 26). The states where the most Native Americans live. U.S. News and World Report
- Sánchez-Rivera, A. I. (2023, November 1). A look at the largest American Indian and Alaska Native tribes and villages in the nation, Tribal areas, and states. Census.gov.
- Shukla, A. (2021). BIPOC Book #10: American Indian Stories. The Colorization Collective Smart, N.D. (2022). Winter in the Blood by James Welch. EBSCO.
- Talamantez, I. (1988a, June 5). A Sioux anthropologist remembers Teton women: Waterlily by Ella Cara Deloria (University of Nebraska Press: \$19.95; 244 pp.). Los Angeles Times. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1988-06-05-bk-6695-story.html>
- Taylor, G. (1980). The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-45. University of Nebraska Press, 1980.
- Taylor, M. P. (2021). "Indians MUST Organize": Reimagining Indigenous Modernity through the Writings of the National Congress of American Indians. Modernism/Modernity Print.
- The American Presidency Project. (2023). Special message to the Congress on the problems of the American Indian: The forgotten American. (1968, March 6). Retrieved from <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/special-message-the-congress-the-problems-the-american-indian-the-forgotten-american>
- The American Presidency Project. (2025). Special message to the Congress on Indian Affairs. Special Message to the Congress on Indian Affairs. | The American Presidency Project. (1970, July 8).

- <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/special-message-the-congress-indian-affairs>
- U.S. Department of the Interior. (2023). *We Hold The Rock*. National Park Service.
<https://www.nps.gov/alca/learn/historyculture/we-hold-the-rock.htm>.
- U.S. Department of the Interior. (2025). *The Longest Walk, 1978*. National Park Service.
<https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/longest-walk.htm>.
- Velie, A. and Lee, A. (Eds). (2013). *The Native American Renaissance: Literary Imagination and Achievement*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Volzke, Owen (2014) "Dancing Again: History, Memory, and Activism at Wounded Knee," *Ursidae: The Undergraduate Research Journal at the University of Northern Colorado*: Vol. 3: No. 3, Article 2. Journal at the University of Northern Colorado: Vol. 3: No. 3, Article 2
- Voigt, M. A. (1973). Warriors for a Nation: the American Indian Movement, Indigenous Men, and Nation Building at the Takeover of Wounded Knee in 1973. <https://doi.org/10.17953/aicrj.45.2.voigt>
- Walch, M. C. (1983). Terminating the Indian Termination Policy. *Stanford Law Review*, 35(6), 1181–1215.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1228583>
- Walls, M. L., & Whitbeck, L. B. (2012). The Intergenerational Effects of Relocation Policies on Indigenous Families. *Journal of Family Issues*. 33 (9): 1272–1293. doi:10.1177/0192513x12447178.
- Watras, J. (2004). Progressive Education and Native American Schools, 1929-1950. *Educational Foundations*. Summer-Fall, 2004, 81-104.
- White, C. (2023). The CCC Indian Division. *Prologue Magazine*. Summer 2016, 48(2).
- National Archives and Records Administration. Retrieved from
<https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2016/summer/ccc-id.html>
- Wilkins, D., & Stark, H. (2011). *American Indian politics and the American political system*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Wirth, C. (1944). *Civilian Conservation Corps Program of the US Dept. of the Interior, March 1933 to June 30, 1942, A Report to Harold L. Ickes, January 1944*. National Park Service.
- WPA Today, (2015a, June 27) The CCC on Indian Reservations [Video]. YouTube. Retrieved from
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JbKIPsdjlh0>.
- WPA Today, (2015b, June 27) The WPA on Indian Reservations [Video]. YouTube. Retrieved from
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6cD9Di5MlqA>.
- Zinn Education Project. (2023, January 18). Nov. 20, 1969: Alcatraz Occupation. . Retrieved from <https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/alcatraz-occupation/>
- Zitkala-Ša (1985). *American Indian Stories*. University of Nebraska Press.

Figures and/or Tables

Table 1

Number of participating schools with Native students and the number of Native students participating, by grade and type of school: 2019

Type of school	Grade 4				Grade 8			
	Schools in NIES survey	Students			Schools in NIES survey	Students		
		NIES survey ¹	Mathematics assessment	Reading assessment		NIES survey ¹	Mathematics assessment	Reading assessment
Overall	1,400	7,000	4,000	4,100	1,300	6,300	3,800	3,700
Public	1,200	4,900	3,000	3,100	1,200	4,700	3,000	2,900
BIE	100	1,900	900	900	100	1,600	800	800
Private	20	‡	‡	‡	10	‡	‡	‡
DoDEA	20	‡	‡	‡	10	‡	‡	‡

‡ Reporting standards not met.

¹ Some fourth- and eighth-grade AI/AN students assessed in the mathematics multistage testing (MST) special study in 2019 completed the NIES student survey questionnaires.

NOTE: AI/AN = American Indian/Alaska Native. BIE = Bureau of Indian Education. DoDEA = Department of Defense Education Activity (overseas and domestic schools). NIES = National Indian Education Study. For overall, public, and BIE schools, the number of schools and the number of students are rounded to the nearest hundred. The number of private and Department of Defense schools are rounded to the nearest 10. Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2019 National Indian Education Study.

Table 2

Percentage of fourth- and eighth-grade Native students, by school type/density and student characteristic: 2019

Grade and student characteristic	All AI/AN students	School type/density		
		Low density public schools	High density public schools	BIE schools
Grade 4				
Attend city schools	16	29	2 ^a	#
Attend suburban schools	16	28	#	3 ^a
Attend town schools	21	19	32 ^a	7 ^{a, b}
Attend rural schools	46	24	66 ^a	90 ^{a, b}
Identified as English learners	12	9	9	30 ^{a, b}
Identified as students with disabilities	17	18	17	14 ^{a, b}
Eligible for National School Lunch Program	74	67	88 ^a	96 ^{a, b}
More than 100 books in home	22	23	17 ^a	16 ^a
Computer in home	52	54	47 ^a	44 ^{a, b}
No days absent from school	34	36	31	33
Grade 8				
Attend city schools	17	26	3 ^a	6 ^a
Attend suburban schools	15	26	#	#
Attend town schools	26	23	33	12 ^{a, b}
Attend rural schools	43	25	64 ^a	82 ^{a, b}
Identified as English learners	10	3	9 ^a	26 ^{a, b}
Identified as students with disabilities	17	17	16	16
Eligible for National School Lunch Program	72	61	84 ^a	96 ^{a, b}
Parent(s) graduated from college	42	44	37 ^a	29 ^{a, b}
More than 100 books in home	14	19	11 ^a	7 ^{a, b}
Computer in home	68	76	60 ^a	45 ^{a, b}
No days absent from school	30	33	30	29

Rounds to zero.

^a Significantly different ($p < .05$) from low density public schools. Comparisons are among the school type/density categories.

^b Significantly different ($p < .05$) from high density public schools. Comparisons are among the school type/density categories.

NOTE: AI/AN = American Indian/Alaska Native. BIE = Bureau of Indian Education. School density indicates the proportion of AI/AN students enrolled. Low density schools have less than 25 percent AI/AN students. High density schools have 25 percent or more. Information on parental education was not collected at grade 4.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2019 National Indian Education Study.

Table 3

Percentage distribution of fourth- and eighth-grade Native students reporting their cultural knowledge level, categorized by school type/density: 2019.

Grade and student survey question/composite	All AI/AN students	School type/density		
		Low density public schools	High density public schools	BIE schools
Grade 4: How much do you know about your American Indian tribe or Alaska Native group? For example, you may know about the history, traditions, or arts and crafts of your tribe or group.				
Nothing	17	18	21	18 ^b
A little	31	30	33	30
Some	32	32	28	29
A lot	20	19	19	23 ^b
Grade 8: Amount of student cultural knowledge composite				
Nothing	18	23	12 ^a	5 ^{a,b}
A little	27	29	26	16 ^{a,b}
Some	33	30	37 ^a	45 ^{a,b}
A lot	22	18	25 ^a	34 ^{a,b}

^a Significantly different ($p < .05$) from low density public schools. Comparisons are among the school type/density categories.

^b Significantly different ($p < .05$) from high density public schools. Comparisons are among the school type/density categories.

NOTE: AI/AN = American Indian/Alaska Native. BIE = Bureau of Indian Education. School density indicates the proportion of AI/AN students enrolled. Low density public schools have less than 25 percent AI/AN students; high density public schools have 25 percent or more. All AI/AN students includes all AI/AN students sampled throughout the nation in public, private, BIE, and Department of Defense schools. Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2019 National Indian Education Study.

Table 4

Percentage distribution of fourth- and eighth-grade Native students who reported on learning about Native history and traditions, by school type/density: 2019

Grade and student survey question	All AI/AN students	School type/density		
		Low density public schools	High density public schools	BIE schools
Grade 4: Who taught you most of what you know about AI/AN history?				
No one has taught me about AI/AN history	12	12	14	16 ^a
Family members	45	47	47	43 ^b
Friends	5	5	6	7
Teachers	23	23	19	19
Tribal representatives or elders	6	6	6	7
Someone else	9	8	7	8
Grade 8: Who taught you most of what you know about AI/AN history?				
No one has taught me about AI/AN history	8	11	5 ^a	2 ^{ab}
Family members	60	59	61	59
Friends	1	1	1	2
Teachers	17	17	16	18
Tribal representatives or elders	8	7	11 ^a	12 ^a
Someone else	5	5	5	7 ^b
Grade 4: Who taught you most of what you know about AI/AN traditions (ways of life, customs)?				
No one has taught me about AI/AN traditions	15	14	18 ^a	17
Family members	45	48	45	41 ^{ab}
Friends	4	3	5 ^a	7 ^{ab}
Teachers	23	22	19	18 ^a
Tribal representatives or elders	7	6	7	10 ^{ab}
Someone else	7	7	6	7 ^b
Grade 8: Who taught you most of what you know about AI/AN traditions (ways of life, customs)?				
No one has taught me about AI/AN traditions	12	15	8 ^a	3 ^{ab}
Family members	57	56	59	58
Friends	2	2	2	2 ^a
Teachers	17	16	17	18
Tribal representatives or elders	9	8	11 ^a	14 ^{ab}
Someone else	3	3	3	4 ^b

^a Significantly different ($p < .05$) from low density public schools. Comparisons are among the school type/density categories.

^b Significantly different ($p < .05$) from high density public schools. Comparisons are among the school type/density categories.

NOTE: AI/AN = American Indian/Alaska Native. BIE = Bureau of Indian Education. School density indicates the proportion of AI/AN students enrolled. Low density public schools have less than 25 percent AI/AN students; high density public schools have 25 percent or more. All AI/AN students includes all AI/AN students sampled throughout the nation in public, private, BIE, and Department of Defense schools. Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2019 National Indian Education Study.

Table 5

Percentage distribution of fourth- and eighth-grade Native students, whose teachers reported how often they integrate materials about Native culture or Native history into their reading/language arts lessons, by school type/density: 2019

How often do you integrate materials about AI/AN culture or history into your reading/ language arts lessons?	All AI/AN students	School type/density		
		Low density public schools	High density public schools	BIE schools
Grade 4				
Never	11	18	6 ^a	2 ^{a,b}
At least once a year	41	55	41 ^a	18 ^{a,b}
At least once a month	30	22	34 ^a	45 ^{a,b}
At least once a week	12	4	13	25 ^{a,b}
Every day or almost every day	6	1	6 ^a	11 ^{a,b}
Grade 8				
Never	24	33	15 ^a	# ^{a,b}
At least once a year	49	57	43 ^a	21 ^{a,b}
At least once a month	16	10	27 ^a	35 ^{a,b}
At least once a week	6	#	12 ^a	29 ^{a,b}
Every day or almost every day	5	#	3	15 ^b

Rounds to zero.

^a Significantly different ($p < .05$) from low density public schools. Comparisons are among the school type/density categories.

^b Significantly different ($p < .05$) from high density public schools. Comparisons are among the school type/density categories.

NOTE: AI/AN = American Indian/Alaska Native. BIE = Bureau of Indian Education. School density indicates the proportion of AI/AN students enrolled. Low density public schools have less than 25 percent AI/AN students; high density public schools have 25 percent or more. All AI/AN students includes all AI/AN students sampled throughout the nation in public, private, BIE, and Department of Defense schools. Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding. Teachers were prompted to select **one** of the response options shown in the questionnaire. Analysis is based on mutually exclusive, single responses.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2019 National Indian Education Study.

Table 6

Percentage distribution of fourth- and eighth-grade Native students, whose teachers reported how often they have their students read literature with Native themes, by school type/density: 2019

Grade and student survey question	All AI/AN students	School type/density		
		Low density public schools	High density public schools	BIE schools
Grade 4: How often do you have your students read literature with AI/AN themes?				
Never	10	15	10	1 ^a
At least once a year	53	65	52 ^a	33 ^{a,b}
At least once a month	25	16	31 ^a	50 ^{a,b}
At least once a week	11	3	4	13 ^{a,b}
Every day or almost every day	1	#	2	2 ^a
Grade 8: How often do you have your students read literature with AI/AN themes?				
Never	20	26	13 ^a	# ^{a,b}
At least once a year	57	65	53 ^a	30 ^{a,b}
At least once a month	15	8	25 ^a	43 ^{a,b}
At least once a week	4	#	8 ^a	19 ^{a,b}
Every day or almost every day	4	#	2	8 ^b
Grade 4: How often do you have your students read literature by AI/AN authors?				
Never	21	28	15 ^a	8 ^a
At least once a year	51	61	58	37 ^{a,b}
At least once a month	22	9	22 ^a	45 ^{a,b}
At least once a week	6	2	3	8 ^{a,b}
Every day or almost every day	1	#	1	2 ^a
Grade 8: How often do you have your students read literature by AI/AN authors?				
Never	26	34	19 ^a	7 ^{a,b}
At least once a year	53	59	47 ^a	41 ^a
At least once a month	14	7	27 ^a	29 ^a
At least once a week	3	#	7 ^a	15 ^{a,b}
Every day or almost every day	4	#	1	7 ^b
Grade 4: How often do you have your students read about, or discuss, current issues of concern to the AI/AN community?				
Never	34	46	30 ^a	5 ^{a,b}
At least once a year	36	43	37	34 ^a
At least once a month	14	10	26 ^a	35 ^{a,b}
At least once a week	15	1	6 ^a	22 ^{a,b}
Every day or almost every day	1	1	1	4 ^{a,b}
Grade 8: How often do you have your students read about, or discuss, current issues of concern to the AI/AN community?				
Never	36	47	24 ^a	11 ^{a,b}
At least once a year	42	48	39	13 ^{a,b}
At least once a month	13	5	24 ^a	43 ^{a,b}
At least once a week	5	#	13 ^a	23 ^{a,b}
Every day or almost every day	4	#	1	10 ^b

Rounds to zero.

^a Significantly different ($p < .05$) from low density public schools. Comparisons are among the school type/density categories.

^b Significantly different ($p < .05$) from high density public schools. Comparisons are among the school type/density categories.

NOTE: AI/AN = American Indian/Alaska Native. BIE = Bureau of Indian Education. School density indicates the proportion of AI/AN students enrolled. Low density public schools have less than 25 percent AI/AN students; high density public schools have 25 percent or more. All AI/AN students includes all AI/AN students sampled throughout the nation in public, private, BIE, and Department of Defense schools. Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding. Teachers were prompted to select **one** of the response options shown in the questionnaire. Analysis is based on mutually exclusive, single responses.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 2019 National Indian Education Study.

Figure 1
Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division Emblem



An artist's rendition of a patch offered for sale to CCC-ID personnel at the Uintah and Ouray Agency, circa February 1939.(Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75

Figure 2

List of 14 78th Congress termination acts in the order they were passed from 1954 to 1966

Group	Number	Acres	State	Statute (date)	Effective Date	Repealing Statute (if any)
Menominee	3270	233,881	Wisc.	68 Stat. 250 (1954)	1961	Pub. L. No. 93-197, 87 Stat. 770 (1973) (codified at 25 USC §§ 903-903(f) (1976))
Klamath	2133	862,662	Ore.	68 Stat. 718 (1954)	1961	
Western Oregon*	2081	2,158	Ore.	68 Stat. 724 (1954)	1956	Pub. L. No. 95-195, 91 Stat. 1415 (1977) (codified at 25 USC §§ 711-711f (Supp. V 1981))
Alabama-Coushatta	450	3,200	Tex.	68 Stat. 768 (1954)	1955	
Mixed-Blood Utes	490	211,430	Utah	68 Stat. 868 (1954)	1961	
Southern Paiute	232	42,839	Utah	68 Stat. 1099 (1954)	1957	Pub. L. No. 96-227, 94 Stat. 317 (1980) (codified at 25 USC §§ 761-768 (Supp. V 1981))
Lower Lake Rancheria	unk.	unk.	Cal.	70 Stat. 58 (1956)	1956	
Wyandotte	984	94	Okl.	70 Stat. 893 (1956)	1959	Pub. L. No. 95-281, 92 Stat. 246 (1978) (codified at 25 USC §§ 861-861c (Supp. V 1981))
Peoria	unk.	unk.	Okl.	70 Stat. 937 (1956)	1959	Pub. L. No. 95-281, 92 Stat. 246 (1978) (codified at 25 USC §§ 861-861c (Supp. V 1981))
Ottawa	630	0	Okl.	70 Stat. 963 (1956)	1959	Pub. L. No. 95-281, 92 Stat. 246 (1978) (codified at 25 USC §§ 861-861c (Supp. V 1981))
Coyote Valley Ranch	unk.	unk.	Cal.	71 Stat. 283 (1957)	1957	
California Rancheria Act**	1107	4317	Cal.	72 Stat. 619 (1958)	1961-70	
Catawba	631	834	S.C.	73 Stat. 502 (1959)	1962	
Ponca	442	834	Neb.	76 Stat. 429 (1962)	1966	

* 61 tribes and bands included; figures are totals.

** 37 or 38 rancherias; figures are totals.

Walch, M. C. (1983). Terminating the Indian Termination Policy. *Stanford Law Review*, 35(6), 1181-1215.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/1228583>.

