

IN BECOMING SA'AH NAAGHAI BIK'EH HOZHON:
THE HISTORICAL CHALLENGES AND TRIUMPHS OF DINÉ COLLEGE

By

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is a tribute to the legacy of the founders of Navajo Community College, now Diné College. As the first tribally-controlled community college established in the United States, the stories that are interwoven as part of this dissertation represent the vision, leadership, wisdom, knowledge and experiences of a few key individuals who witnessed and participated in what would become the oldest and largest tribal college, Diné College. I dedicate this to all, including former, current, and future students, staff, faculty, adjunct faculty, administrators, presidents, and Board of Regents of the Diné College family toward fulfilling the true vision of the founders.

I honor the *Bee k'i dilyéhi, gish, dóó hooneeshgish dóó ts'aa dóó tádidíin dóó dził ná't'oh dóó ná't'osts'e' dóó k'et'áán yálti'i dóó xał dóó béesh yist'ogii dóó hadahooniye' dóó naadá'álgai dóó naadá'áltsoii dóó tó dóó sododizin dóó sin ...* all are powerful forces that continue to guide the future growth of Diné College ... *bee nooséél.*

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study seeks to determine the critical elements and activities that comprise the cultural history of Diné College as the first tribally controlled college in the United States. An oral history methodology utilizing a narrative Diné “story-telling” inquiry approach allowed this study to blend stories, songs, prayers, and ceremonies from the Diné creation stories to challenge a host of social, educational, and cultural issues which the Diné people confronted in establishing the first post-secondary educational institution on tribal land, owned and operated by tribal people. Goals of this institution were to prepare students for further academic studies, employment, and culturally astuteness. Cultural history reflects the traditional stories, songs, prayers, and ceremonies of a people, and is used here to reconstruct the events of the past to gain a fair, accurate, and objective understanding of Diné College’s unique philosophy of *Sa’ah Naaghai Bik’eh Hozhoon* and its related components: *Nitsahakees*-Thinking, *Nahata*-Planning, *Iina*-Living and *Siih Hasin*-Achievement. Through oral history narratives of four key Navajo individuals who were directly and indirectly involved in the College’s founding, five key themes are revealed: land, leadership, mission, philosophy, and curriculum. They converge together to weave the cultural history of Diné College.

CHAPTER ONE

THE BEGINNING – THE EAST

Ni'asdzáán dóó Yáditxít
Dziłasdzáán dóó Tó Asdzáán
Chahalxeel dóó Hahootkáát
Haashche'éélt'í dóó Haashch'ééghan
Naadá'átgai dóó Naadá'átsóí
Tádídíín dóó Anít'ánii
Sa'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón
díí Wódahgo Ólta' Naayéé'jí dóó Hózhóójí bíłnaazláago
dóó Nitsáhákees dóó Nahat'á dóó Iná dóó Siih Hasin bithadit'é. Díí bee Hane'

Introduction Overview

Appropriate to the Navajo worldview, the story of Diné College comes from the earth's interior, the universe, the sacred mountains, and water; from night and day; from white corn and yellow corn; from Corn Pollen Boy and Beetle Girl. Its roots lie in Diné protection and blessing way principles as they involve thinking, planning, living, and reflection. Preparing students to understand their history, their language, their traditions, and their identity so they can contribute to the overall well-being of the Navajo Nation is the mission of Diné College. That mission balances Navajo traditional values and teachings with western disciplines such as English, math, political science, and physics, thereby creating a dual purpose. The Diné philosophy of *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* guides the mission and thus reflects the collective vision of the original founders.

This study provides a historical, political, and cultural backdrop which discloses the extraordinary accomplishment of Diné College since its founding. Enactment of federal and tribal legislation and the exercise of tribal sovereignty by the Navajo Nation led to its establishment. In addition, the use of traditional Navajo philosophy inspired its

unique dedication as well as its dual mission and dual curriculum. The challenges that the founders experienced in applying that commitment were many, but their resilience of spirit contributed to the establishment of Diné College and underscores the importance of this study.

Diné College was founded 100 years after Diné leaders agreed to make their final peace treaty with the United States government in Fort Sumner, New Mexico in 1868 (Iverson, 2002; Denetdale, 2007). A century of Federal Government policies reduced the Diné people to political, social, economic, and educational dependency, yet their spirit and culture endured. Thus, the establishment of the first tribally-controlled community college by a federally-recognized American Indian tribe stands as a milestone in American Indian higher education as well as a historic achievement in United States higher education. In April of 2008, Diné College celebrated 40 years of providing the Navajo Nation with post-secondary educational opportunities so perhaps this study can guide the institution as it envisions the next 40 years. Of particular importance toward planning for the future is the significance of indigenous cultural philosophy that will continue to guide the College as it makes the transition to a four-year college.

A historical achievement occurred for Diné College when the Higher Learning Commission (HLC) approved the first bachelor's degree program in elementary teacher education, upper level courses in Diné Studies, along with awarding an unprecedented ten-year continued accreditation of its two-year programs. This act paves the way for the College to become a four-year institution while it is guided by its unique philosophy of *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* with underlying guiding principles of "*Hozhooji*" or

Beauty Way principles guiding and “*Naaghaiji*” or Protection Way principles shielding it. Author Gary Witherspoon explains *Sa’ah Naaghai Bik’eh Hozhoon* as an important philosophical Navajo worldview which encompasses cultural, practical, and spiritual wisdom (Witherspoon, 1975). Such a view on such traditions is essential to this study of how Diné College seeks to perpetuate the Navajo identity by preserving the Navajo language, culture, and philosophy of the Diné people.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to provide a cultural history of Diné College comprising the stories, songs, prayers, and ceremonies that were utilized and incorporated as part of its establishment. It examines and describes the experiences, core meanings, and the principles that contributed to the founding of Diné College. The intent is to understand, in particular, the historical contributions of four individuals instrumental in its beginnings, corroborated by primary and secondary written documents. An important reason for undertaking this project was the absence of consistent and reliable written records on the cultural history of Diné College. The college has been cited as the founding father of the tribal college movement and is distinguished with strong leadership (Gorman, personal communication, March 2005; House, 1974; Hammond, 1982; Stein, 1988; Boyer, 1988; Moon, 1999).

Culturally relevant activities that led to the unique philosophy, curriculum, mission, leadership, and selection of land for the College have been verbally shared by various individuals throughout the years of its development, but there are no documents

that discuss it in a culturally sensitive way. As Boyer noted in the 1989 *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching Report on Tribal Colleges*, to understand the true nature and power of those institutions, one must first study their histories, missions, key participants, and resulting structures (Boyer, 1988). This study seeks to do precisely that for Diné College and from its root origins to the present and from the perspective of a unique Navajo world view.

With visionary leadership, Diné College's founders insisted it incorporate traditional Navajo philosophy, ceremonial activities, and culturally-appropriate facilities into its daily operations. Only under such conditions would students grasp, understand, and apply the knowledge they acquire meaningfully and appropriately. By following the spoken accounts of four informants who participated in that leadership, future students, staff, faculty, administrators, and Regents can gain a better understanding of the contributions, struggles, and achievements which have become an enduring vision of what a tribal college can be. Diné College has led the way. It is hoped that what these individuals have to say about the history of Diné College adds an important chapter in the literature on American Indian education and the courageous exercise of tribal sovereignty.

As the title denotes, *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* reflects the Diné philosophy to live a harmonious and balanced life so as to reach old age, 102 years of age. Diné College adopted this philosophical statement to become a part of its curriculum, governance, and operations. This philosophy is important to the curriculum of Diné College because it intends to provide teachings and lessons for students to gain an

understanding of themselves, become skilled and competent, and contribute to their family and community in a meaningful manner. This philosophy is discussed at length in Chapter Four.

Significance of the Study

There are three reasons why a study of Diné College merits attention. First, the unflinching exercise of sovereignty by leaders of the Navajo Nation deserves review, acknowledgement, and analysis. Second, the unique dedication of the founders gives rise to the unique philosophy of *Sa'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón* which inspired its mission, curriculum, and identity. Third, Diné College's mission as well as its curriculum reflects the Navajo people's philosophy, thereby creating a tribally-governed and tribally-controlled college in conjunction with non-Navajo ideas. The effort to include both Navajo and non-Navajo viewpoints has been a challenge in spite of the prevailing assimilative policies in American Indian pre-college and post-secondary education and American Indian Higher Education. An analysis of the history of Diné College has the potential to yield new interpretations and understandings for developing American Indian education and tribal colleges. This study can serve as a guide and as an example for tribal colleges elsewhere that Navajo values and assumptions as well as those of the mainstream can exist together in a higher education institution.

Role of Researcher

As the researcher of this study, and as the current president of Diné College, I was able to easily access primary and secondary sources within the college. However, privileged access to sources required adherence to proper ethical standards of conduct as both researcher and president. For example, information that was shared during college-related meetings and that involved individuals interviewed as part of this study, could not be used as part of this study unless I asked them to share it with me afterwards for the purpose of my research. Care was taken to restrict my role as researcher versus that of president, although, at times they merged. For instance, as researcher I was able to discover important facts related to ceremonial gatherings, governance issues, leadership changes, and accreditation which helped me to develop a context for faculty, staff, students, and Board of Regents in discussing the unique identity of Diné College as a tribally-controlled college versus a mainstream, state-funded community college. The information gathered in some cases overlapped. For example, Navajo songs from medicine men utilized as part of the College's 40th Anniversary re-dedication cultural activities, included utilizing the greasewood cane, *Díwózhiishzhiin*, was complementary to the study because it symbolized the past, present, and future. The *Díwózhiishzhiin* is a black greasewood cane, or planting stick, usually found at elevations between 6,000 to 6,800 feet, and is defined as a "black bushy shrub" used for traditional Navajo ceremonies, including the "mush sticks" or *ádístsiin* described as "thorny gray-green shrub" with whitish stems, linear leaves, and bear fruit (Mayes, 1989). There were also certain restrictions or limitations to the sources of information, particularly regarding

informants. For instance, necessary follow-up interviews with one or more of them sometimes required recording equipment, time, and space, which were not always available. Furthermore, being a full-time President demanded attention to the duties of that position while my function as researcher required approval for annual leave time. The ethical duty of meeting presidential obligations while maintaining objectivity in gathering and interpreting data sometimes became a balancing act as the story unfolded. Nevertheless, clear critical analysis remained a primary concern.

J.W. Creswell (2003) warns that researching in one's own "backyard" could present difficulty in being able to disclose information which raises difficult power issues. For example, two individuals interviewed in this study are employees of Diné College and subordinate to the president of the college in an ostensible power relationship. Conversely, all of the informants are older than the researcher/president and by virtue of their age and standing as cultural and spiritual leaders within the community; they have more power than the researcher/president who is younger than all the informants. Within the latter example, difficult power issues may arise. For example, information gathered from one individual may be inconsistent with something one or both of the other interviewees said so that a request for further corroboration may be seen as questioning his integrity. It is thus important to validate information gathered through triangulation of data with other sources of information, including data gathered from another interview. Conversely, because the researcher has direct access to informants and has built a level of trust and confidence with them, the information collected, interpreted, and verified can be beneficial to both the research itself and to the researcher

in his capacity as president. For example, after recording an interview there follows a lengthy and time-consuming process of transcribing, translating and writing it down on paper. A written narrative is developed and must be validated by the informant with a signature. That verification process acknowledges the importance of the words shared by the interviewee and builds a trusting relationship beyond that of president to employee, president to former regent/employee, and researcher to interviewee.

Organization of Study

This study is organized into six chapters. Chapter One provides an overview, identifies the purpose and significance of the study, discusses the role of the researcher, and outlines its organization. Chapter Two describes the role of oral history in historical research methodology and explains the procedures for collecting, analyzing, interpreting, verifying, and presenting data. A review of literature, research, and related publications relevant to Diné College and pertinent to this study is contained in Chapter Three. Chapter Four surveys the Navajo creation stories, the history of American Indian Education, the Navajo people, Navajo Education, and “The Story” of Diné College. In Chapter Five, five themes, including leadership, curriculum, mission, land, and philosophy are presented based on the interview narratives. Chapter Six concludes the study with a summary, a list of contributions, and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SEARCH – THE SOUTH

*“The Holy People lived here in the beginning.
They built the first hooghan, made the first weapons,
sang the first songs and made the first prayers.
Diné language, ceremonies,
history, and beliefs began here.
This is where we began”*
(Luci Tapahonso, 2008, p. 5).

Methodology Overview

This chapter defines cultural history and discusses the use of oral history as a reliable methodology to reconstruct the events of the past and reviews the procedure required thereby to gain a fair, accurate, and objective understanding of the results. In its assembly, oral history was employed, utilizing a narrative inquiry or “story-telling” approach to determine how certain individuals contributed to the college’s unique founding. An explanation of the procedures used in collecting, understanding, analyzing, and interpreting the data will follow a discussion of the use of oral history as a means of narrative inquiry complementary with American Indian story-telling. Secondary sources related to the study’s methodology were applied to the primary source narratives and to the process of assembling a comprehensive history of Diné College. A systematic process of cross-referencing information through a coding process was used to identify themes and patterns that answer the research questions. Interpretation and presentation of the findings conclude this chapter.

Research Questions

The study's main objective is to determine the critical elements and activities that comprise the cultural history of Diné College. Its underlying question is as follows: What cultural antecedents contributed to the founding of the first tribally-controlled college's unique status and its present standing as a higher education institution? Four informants were principal people or antecedents in Diné College's history, and the following ancillary questions were asked of them:

1. What was your involvement in the development of Diné College?
2. What factors led to the creation of Diné College?
3. What led to the creation of the Diné College mission?
4. When and how did the unique philosophy of Diné College develop?
5. What specific factors represent the philosophy?
6. Why is the philosophy important?
7. What do you consider were the major accomplishments during your tenure at Diné College?

The main question is followed by ancillary questions to reveal in-depth descriptions of the respondents' experience in the founding of Diné College. Open-ended questions drew forth the actual experiences of the informants who were involved directly or indirectly in its development. The intent of these subsidiary questions was to understand more than one perception of the experiences that ensued and how they progressed (Fraenkel and Wallen, 1990; Merriam, 1988). Lincoln and Guba assert that questions in a qualitative design elicit negotiated outcomes and allow for meaning and

interpretations to be used with the data collected from interviews in reconstructing the realities of the past.

Cultural History

In seeking the cultural antecedents that led to the unique founding of Diné College it became evident that various Diné ceremonies, songs, prayers, and values were utilized to establish the College therein creating a cultural history of its root beginnings. Cultural History, according to Stephen Garton, respects the values, rituals, beliefs, pastimes, cultural production, and cultural consumption and a peoples' way of life. Cultural history presents a particular set of beliefs based on traditions, cultural, and historical experiences from the interpretations of anthropology and history disciplines. Cultural history examines the past, present, and even the future life of a group of people. It can consist of the interpretation of records, oral traditions, narratives, customs, arts, and knowledge from the past to the present of human societies or of a particular culture (Garton, 2001).

Although closely related to the disciplines of anthropology and history, cultural history is also defined as a discipline itself (Burckhardt, 1995). The second kind of cultural history is concerned with the distinctive ethos or fundamental character of a culture (Garton, 2001). Cultural history also encompasses the underlying sentiments of habits and character, as Webster dictionary explains, "that [it] informs the beliefs, customs, or practices of a group or society; dominant assumptions of a people or period."

The ethos -- the character or values peculiar to a specific person, people, culture, or movement -- of a culture is concerned with the action or disposition of a group or people. A Diné cultural history is the creation of our four sacred clans from which familial and blood relationship are based on, as well as thought, emotion, songs, prayers, and ceremonies. This study applied cultural history to examine the past, present, and future of Diné College, through oral narratives and stories.

In this study, subsequent efforts are taken to define the distinctive Diné cultural attributes leading up to the growth of a confident and sophisticated educational culture known today as Diné College. The cultural history definition in this study refers to the songs, prayers, land, people, language, ceremonies, values, stories of rituals and beliefs, and pastimes of the Diné people as presented and self-evident in the establishment of Diné College. Garton further explains that cultural history entails the complexity of indigenous cultural traditions and their continuing relevance and dynamic interaction with contemporary life. This study of Diné College aims at presenting a distinctive way of aggregating past cultural activity, such as ceremony, with the personal account of struggles, poverty, unemployment, and the resilience of the Diné people's survival despite a dismal American Indian history at the hands of the United States.

Cultural history relative to this study defines the distinctive Diné ethos surrounding the conception and establishment of Diné College. The story of Diné College brings forth the ethos that is fundamental to the character and spirit of the underlying Navajo beliefs of the – *iihoo'aah bee hooghan* – House of Learning. The

consideration of these cultural history variables combined with the narratives of the storytellers' ethos transforms the stories, songs, and prayers of the past, present, and future into an oral traditional story of lasting significance for the Diné people. This study marks the culmination, and perhaps the very important distinction regarding cultural history and the connection among the mind, body, spirit, and soul as an active presence within the life of the Diné people and their college.

Oral History as a Historical Research Methodology

Effective historical research requires a disciplined study of the activities and events that occurred in the past. Historiography is essentially the study of history without using concepts borrowed from natural sciences, philosophical and theological systems, archaeology, anthropology, or other academic disciplines (Fitzsimmons, Pundt, Nowell, 1967). Webster's Dictionary defines historiography as *historia* meaning a process of learning through inquiry. Historians study history and most information about history is not necessarily written, especially in "pre-literate," or "illiterate" societies (Vansina, 1961; Hoopes, 1979).

From a historiographical perspective, this account of Diné College's past utilizes the narrative inquiry method within an oral history framework. Various scholars have published works on the definition, use, reliability, and accuracy of oral tradition as a method of historical research (Vansina, Hoopes, and Gottschalk). To study oral history "is a test of other people as historians, a test of how well they can deal with their personal histories. But oral history research is also a test of ourselves, of our ability to deserve and

win the confidence of other people of our ability to deal sympathetically but honestly and imaginatively with their memories, and of our ability to deal honestly with ourselves” (Hoopes, 1979, p. 5).

To gain a deeper understanding of how historiography is rooted in oral history well before the Birth of Christ, one can consider accounts of how the world’s ancient civilizations -- Oriental, Greek, Roman, Early Christian -- were documented up to 20th Century Latin. *The Development of Historiography*, edited by Matthew Fitzsimons, Alfred Pundt, and Charles Nowell (1954), details the purposeful movement of oral history in conjunction with written accounts covering the time period, which spans third century B.C., Egyptian history up to mid-20th century America. Egyptian records, Eastern Imperialist traditions, Jewish works of the Old Testament, as well as Latin American traditions, are chronicled in this comprehensive guide to understanding historiography in its full range, including the contribution of oral recitations. The authors of the various chapters highlight accounts of wars and the spread of various religious movements which represent civilized societies as well as so called preliterate ones. Each chapter is rich with detailed accounts of the different cultures, time, place, and events gathered by the spoken word. It is evident that when the written and unwritten history of a particular event is combined meaningfully within the social, political, and economical events a deep cultural context is created.

Oral History Methodology

All societies have passed down stories through the spoken word from one generation to the next. Jan Vansina's 1961 study surveys various aspects of oral tradition and argues that materials available to study the past are all too easily limited, including written and oral accounts, but if used appropriately with supporting materials, oral history can add considerably to a comprehensive understanding of the past (Vansina, 1961). His work starts where Fitzsimons, et al. leaves off as he continues the debate over the definition, reliability, and accuracy of oral traditions as a component of historical research. Hoopes (1979, p. 7) refers to the work of Vansina as being the "best" in terms of oral tradition. Vansina identifies a number of historians, anthropologists, and linguists who appraise oral tradition as being with or without merit. Vansina cites E. Bernheim's categories as the standard for understanding and employing oral traditions, including: "narratives, legends, anecdotes, proverbs, and historical lays," and delineates narratives as being first-hand, eyewitness reports, and groups all other sources as being second-hand, including hearsay reports of events, which must be treated as if they were legends" (Vansina, 1961, p. 3). He urges that care must be taken in collecting and recording oral testimony, and that it should be studied in a proper context to gain full understanding to meet the established standards of historical methodology (Vansina, 1961, p. 187).

In *Oral History, An Introduction for Students* (1979), James Hoopes defines oral history and presents examples of its use as a research tool in understanding the world in which we live. As a teacher, he employs its methods and procedures in the classroom as well as in his writings. He also reviews with critical attention the process of

interviewing, recording, and analyzing orally acquired data. In addition to discussing the influence of new technology in recording interviews, Hoopes underscores “the need to give your research the broadest possible historical significance by placing it in a cultural and social context” (Hoopes, 1979, p. 24).

Louis Gottschalk’s 1969 work, *Understanding History*, describes the challenge conventional historians face as they attempt to discover and interpret the past in order to understand how and why events occurred. He expresses his concern regarding the diminishing integrity of written records and their full capacity for observing important events, stating:

“only a part of what was observed in the past was remembered by those who observed it; only a part of what was remembered was recorded; only a part of what was recorded has survived; only a part of what has survived has come to historians’ attention; only a part of what has come to their attention is credible; only a part of what is credible has been grasped; and only a part of what has been grasped can be expounded or narrated by the historian” (Gottschalk, 1969, p. 45).

Gottschalk presents a general framework that allows the historical researcher to shape the social and historical context that gives the research the significance as Hoopes (1979) calls for.

Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996), in *Educational Research: An Introduction*, discuss the application of historical research to education by way of building institutional histories. The systematic search for reliable data about the past can benefit institutions as they analyze and understand practices, trends, and issues. Gall, et al., identifies three types of sources for institutionally oriented historical research, including preliminary (bibliography), primary (first-hand written record, as well as first-hand oral accounts of

participation in the historical event), and secondary (documented second-hand accounts by someone not present, including most textbooks). The spoken word as a primary source can include “ballads, tales, sagas, and other forms of spoken language that preserve a record of events for posterity” (Gottschalk, 1969, p. 654). They also acknowledge as oral historians those who have interviewed, transcribed, and have produced a written account of an individual’s actual presence in witnessing a significant event.

Donald A. Ritchie’s 1995 work *Doing Oral History* argues, as do others previously cited, the distinction between interviewing for oral history versus other forms of inquiry, stating:

“An interview becomes an oral history only when it has been recorded, processed in some way, made available in an archives, library, or other repository, or reproduced in relatively verbatim form as a publication. Availability for general research, reinterpretation, and verification defines oral history. By preserving the tapes and transcripts of their interviews, oral historians seek to leave as complete, candid, and reliable a record as possible” (Ritchie, 1995, p. 5-6).

Oral history has been practiced from the time stories were first recorded. Ritchie reports that over 3,000 years ago the Chinese collected stories that were used in court histories as part of the historical record of the Zhou dynasty. At the end of the Peloponnesian Wars, the great historian Thucydides interviewed people who participated in the wars and offered his interviews from a theological perspective (Ritchie, 1995, p. 19; Fitzsimons, Pundt, and Nowell, 1954). Ritchie argues, as well, that Samuel Johnson’s historical accounts of French kings several centuries later than when the events themselves occurred could not be impartially written without first-hand testimony. He

asserts further that “a man, by talking with those of different sides, who were actors in it and putting down all that he hears, may in time collect the materials of a good narrative” (Ritchie, 1995, p. 2).

By the end of the 19th Century the celebrated German school of scientific study established that the use of oral as well as written documents were acceptable. German scholarship also promoted documentary research. Ritchie notes that Leopold von Ranke considered documents created extemporaneously with the events themselves as reliable forms of historical evidence. His assertion hastened oral history’s transition from a literary form toward an academic discipline, thereby challenging historians who in scrutinizing “documents in the search for truth ...dismissed oral sources as folklore and myth, valued only by well-meaning but naïve amateurs and antiquarians” (Gunn, 2000, p. 13). Ritchie explains that those print-bound historians considered oral evidence too subjective and referred to interviews as shoddy memories recited from a biased point of view (Ritchie, 1995).

An important element in developing written accounts of events came as a result of writing field notes of historical events. The art and skill of interviewing which the field of journalism began to rely on gained significance during the American Civil War period and the wars following (Ritchie, 1995, p. 21). During the 1890s the United States Bureau of Ethnography used “wax cylinders” to record American Indian songs and stories (Ritchie 1995, p. 21; Hoopes, 1979). Moreover, a major technological innovation that transformed the recording of oral history during the 1900s was the “invention of electronic sound recording equipment” (Hoopes, 1979, p. 7). Hoopes further observes

that “Oral history’s first interviews were recorded manually, but without the invention of the tape recorder, oral history might not have become the veritable movement that it is today” (Hoopes, 1979, p. 8). In 1948, the first modern oral history archive was created at Columbia University through journalist-turned-historian, Allan Nevins (Ritchie, 1995, p. 22). In 1953, at the University of California at Berkeley and five years thereafter in 1958, at the University of California at Los Angeles, oral history archives were officially established (Ritchie 1995, p. 22). In 1967, the Oral History Association was established (Ritchie, 1995, p. 23).

Ritchie’s emphasis on the careful attention to each phase of the rise of oral history methodology has sanctioned the current research study of Diné College. An oral historian must be well prepared with questions and modes of recording to capture data to enrich a story. Ensuring that interviewees clearly understand the purpose of the project and special research process, along with use of the interview tapes and transcripts for archival purposes, is crucial. All audio and video-tape interviews should be carefully labeled with date, time, and the name of the person interviewed. The researcher should ensure that the tapes are transcribed, translated, summarized, and indexed accurately for eventual use in a library or archive. These interviews may be used for eventual publications, documentaries, or exhibits. Ritchie also imparts to the researcher the standards and principles of being a professional oral historian, which includes dealing ethically with interviewees and avoiding common mistakes while concluding the process with a final written oral history (Ritchie, 1995). Pertinent to this project, his book also

provides an overview of the history and development of oral history in the United States that acknowledges the potential for American Indians' participation.

American Indian Oral History – The Tradition of Storytelling

This section describes American Indian oral history and its use of narrative storytelling as an important method for understanding historical events. The importance of storytelling in American Indian oral traditions as a method of inquiry is validated in the way American Indian people regard themselves. Diné scholar Dr. Jennifer Nez Denetdale argues that, “In placing at the center of their inquiries oral traditions as vehicles for understanding the past, Native scholars and their allies are revising the definition of oral tradition and history, demonstrating how they remain integral to how tribal people see themselves, their past, and their future” (Denetdale, 2007, p. 38). Examples of the use of oral narrative methodology can be found in Tiana Bighorse's *Bighorse the Warrior* (1990), and other academic work by John Neidhardt's *Black Elk Speaks* (1979); and Tsianina Lomawaima's *They Called It Prairie Light, The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (1994).

To understand Diné culture, it is necessary to recognize the enduring values that govern the Diné people. Diné oral history stems from origin stories told by elders during the winter months when certain animals are hibernating. The Diné believe that human behavior derives from their relationship with the natural universe, including the reverence for the natural order and the sacred elements of earth, air, water, and fire (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, September 10, 2008). Navajo scholar Dr. Jacqueline Holiday

explains that “storytelling is a traditional custom to convey teachings to tribal members” and “is a method that the Diné people have used to tell their history” (Holiday, 2006, p. 17). There are different kinds of stories which “can be sacred or profane, they teach or entertain, and they contain a people’s worldview: genesis, history, philosophy, or tribal values” (Mann, 2002, p. 58). Dr. Lemanuel Bitsóí points out that “...[for] the Navajo, and other Native peoples, our oral histories define us as American Indians. Oral history is passed on through storytelling, and it is central and integral to the learning process for us. Storytelling is also a way to continue our distinct traditional ways of life through stories and experience” (Bitsoi, 2007, p. 30). It is important to understand that American Indian people “learn their way in life through stories...and that “in more traditional Indian cultures, stories are the medium through which theories of the world are constructed” (Cleary and Peacock, 1998, p. 2). In the Diné world view stories are teachings that “were handed down from the Holy People to our great forefathers, ever since life began” (Aronilth, 1991, p. 3). American Indian people thus practice storytelling as a form of oral communication handed down through each generation to teach about origin, customs, moral behavior, and social mores (Garbino and Sasso, 1994; Harvey and Harjo, 1994).

Storytelling “is a universal practice among Native American people to teach a wide variety of skills and ways of knowledge. Persons who have this knowledge and can communicate it are specialists, as important to The People as medicine people” (Beck, Walters, and Francisco, 1990, p. 59.) Stories typically include songs and ceremonies and “is a beautiful method by which culture is transmitted” (Haskie, 2002, p. 60). Dr. Herbert Benally explains that “In traditional Navajo Society, not to possess knowledge of stories,

teachings, songs, or prayers is to be poor. This knowledge contains the wisdom for a prosperous and happy life; moreover, it provides the means of obtaining favors from the Holy People” (Benally, 1990, p. 3).

In the book *Bighorse the Warrior*, Tiana Bighorse describes her father’s experience during the tumultuous time of The Long Walk when Diné people endured hardship, evil, and harmful activities at the hands of U.S. soldiers. Bighorse’s story is a powerful account of the events that transpired prior to and after the signing of the Treaty of 1868 which ended the Fort Sumner incarceration. The words spoken by Bighorse and other leaders prior to and after the 1868 Treaty are words of power -- not just spoken for the sake of being heard -- but with the intent of inspiring hope, courage, and love. The forceful magnitude that the spoken word sent out during this particular time in Diné history matters because it depicts the sacredness of language spoken from the heart.

Bighorse tells of a battle at Canyon De Chelly, when soldiers were attempting to drive the Diné out of the canyon. Diné men, women, children sensing capture and defeat began jumping off the canyon cliffs to commit suicide. Rather than being killed by the soldiers many Diné individuals leaped to their death. Bighorse, in deep distress, talked to them “to tell them to stay back from the cliff edge. We tell them not to do that because someday it will be peace. Our Great Spirit will save us, some way or other. I saved some of the lives by talking to them like that. I have to talk to them from my heart, not just my lips” (Bighorse, 1990, p. 29). Many lives were indeed saved because of Bighorse’s words of love, courage and hope. Eventually, many other Navajos were captured and forced to walk over 300 miles to a place the Diné called “*Hweeldi*.” During this forced

march, otherwise known as “The Long Walk,” many Diné lost their lives. At the time Barboncito was the Diné leader who was sent by Manuelito to accompany the Diné who were forced to walk to Fort Sumner. He served as a beacon of hope in a hopeless situation.

While at “*Hweeldi*,” Baboncito encouraged his people, the Diné, to “Keep on praying. The Great Spirit is listening, so pray. Without Barboncito and his warriors, the people would never make it” (Bighorse, 1990, p. 51). Spoken from his heart and not just his lips were words which inspired the Diné people to maintain hope and not give up. After nearly four years of Navajo imprisonment at Fort Sumner, Chief Manuelito made his way to Fort Sumner to help negotiate the provisions that would become a part of the Treaty of 1868. Because Manuelito and Barboncito did not speak English, a Mexican interpreter was provided. Likely through translation and interpretation problems, the understanding of both the Diné and the U.S. government in certain provisions of the treaty were misunderstood. Nevertheless, the federal policy to assimilate the Diné included a provision for education which was clearly expressed. Barboncito explained to the Diné people the potential importance of the education provision stating:

“When we were over there at Fort Sumner, none of us talk English. It was too hard for us. We had to get an interpreter. It was a Mexican guy that was talking for us. And it was good that the Mexican guy was with us. But sometimes we didn’t believe what the soldiers really said to us. It was too hard for us to understand what was going on. We were just blank. So just put your kids in school, and someday we’ll have lots of interpreters. We never went to school, and now we’re too old. But when you put your kids in school, someday there will be lots of English talkers” (Bighorse, 1990, p. 58).

Although many Diné believe that it was Manuelito's words that the U.S. government heeded in including education among the treaty provisions, in reality the 1868 treaty was a boilerplate document identical to the one signed by the Sioux at the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. However, Manuelito insisted that the schools the government would provide should not be located at distant, off-reservation places. According to Bighorse, Manuelito maintained that "the people will think that the soldiers are taking their kids away from them like the soldiers did to them, taking them to *Hweeldi*." Ever suspicious, he also asked "When we put the kids in school, are you going to mistreat them like you did us?" (Bighorse, 1990, p. 54).

Thanks to the application of oral history to the written record, these words Manuelito spoke so many years ago are remembered and honored as words of power. Today, by virtue of those powerful words, Navajo students attend colleges and universities, many funded by academic scholarships and financial assistance. Manuelito's words were also used to negotiate the return of the Diné people to their homeland. Unfortunately, many Diné students today are not aware of the significances and sacrifices that resulted in their present-day scholarships, and they lose them due to their failure to comply with academic requirements. In addition, the overall impact of the Treaty's education provision may have resulted in inconsistent and inadequate academic curricula throughout the Navajo reservation. This situation has resulted in inferior schools and poor student achievement with all too many high school students poorly prepared for college-level study.

Although the words and leadership of Manuelito are widely known, the words spoken by Barboncito should be remembered as well, because he pleaded with U.S.

government officials to allow the Diné people to return to their homeland rather than be sent to a reservation in Oklahoma. In his book, *The Glittering World, A Navajo Story*, Diné Scholar, Irvin Morris recalls Barboncito's words:

“I hope, in the name of the Holy People, that you will not ask us to go to any other country but our own. When Diné were first created, four mountains and four rivers were pointed out to us, inside of which we should live, and that was to be Dinetah. Changing Woman gave us this land. Our Holy People created it specifically for us” (Morris, 1997, p. 27).

Like those of Manuelito, these words of power were spoken from Barboncito's heart with undertones so sacred that they could serve as a prayer especially because they were offered in the name of the Holy People, who concurred with his prayer in as much as government officials agreed to let Diné people return to their homeland. Raymond Friday Locke explains that “now, surely, the gods would return to the Dineh. In this land that had been given them by Changing Woman prayer-songs to the Holy Ones would be heard and the Dineh would again be blessed with health and goods” (Locke, 2001, p. 387). Bighorse also said that the Diné hoped that the Treaty of 1868, unlike the three that were signed with the U.S. government, might prevail since it would be the fourth one and since in their Navajo cosmology the sacred number four represents completeness. “And we talked about how the treaty was signed. They are saying this is the fourth time they sign the treaty. Maybe this is a true one. Maybe it will not be broken again” (Bighorse, 1990, p. 57).

As the story continues, the Navajos were allowed to return home. The joy of learning that they were returning to Dinetah overwhelmed the captives. Again, the

leaders reminded the people, “Don’t hurry, just take your time. You will be there. Don’t get yourself tired out” (Bighorse, 1990, p. 55-56). As soon as the returning Diné saw the sacred mountain of the south, Mount Taylor, *Tsoodzil*, they were overwhelmed with joy and tears of happiness, knowing that their prayers and songs were heard. Bighorse noted that, “One old lady sees Mount Taylor in the distance - the sacred mountain of the South - just half of the mountain sticking out. She starts crying, ‘Mountain! We are home!’ and she faints. Then she gets really sick, and she dies two days later-dies from being so happy” (Bighorse, 1990, p. 56). The feeling of elation and excitement was so palpable as the Diné made their way home “... that many of the American soldiers guarding them were moved to join their celebration” (Locke, 2001, p. 387).

Remembering such a pivotal time in Diné history matters because to this day the Diné are reminded that they never take their homeland for granted. The slightest remembrance of the horrific events of The Long Walk period remains emotionally traumatizing two, three, and even four generations later which explains the power of words and the thoughts they evoke. Bighorse further explains, “...we take our tragic story with us, but we can’t talk about it. It is so terrible. Only if somebody would ask us a question, then we talk about it” (Bighorse, 1990, p. 58). Thanks to the enduring power of oral tradition, remembering and talking about the horrific events at *Hweeldi* described from generations ago continues to heal, preserve hope, and perpetuate a sense of *Hozhó*.

Bighorse says:

“I don’t know why these people that went to *Hweeldi*, they still don’t want to talk about it-what happened there. I want to talk about my tragic story, because if I don’t, it will get into my mind and get into my dream

and make me crazy. I know some people died of their tragic story. They think about it and think about how many relatives they lost. Their parents got shot. They get into shock. That is what kills them. That is why we warriors have to talk to each other. We wake ourselves up, get out of the shock. And that is why I tell my kids what happened, so it won't be forgot" (Bighorse, 1990, p. 81-82).

As the Diné returned to Dinétah and began to rebuild their families and communities under government oversight, their resurgence gained strength. The ceremonies such as the deeply revered Blessingway or *Hozhooji* were again being practiced without fear by participants of being kidnapped or killed. Because of the power of the spoken and chanted word, the ceremonies are still practiced to this day.

Diné Storytelling – Words of Power

The importance of American Indian culture, including storytelling and allied oral traditions, in tribally-led colleges persists and thus maintains a direct relationship with the overall human development and enduring communal experience those institutions hope to maintain. This effort provides a unique postsecondary educational experience with the belief that everyday interactions with all segments of the Native culture helps preserve each individual's tribal identity. Individual stories from everyday life, along with stories from time immemorial, have always been a part of the life-long learning process for American Indians. Tribal colleges play a role in perpetuating stories and songs through storytelling. Thus fluency in *Diné bizaad* – The People's Language – along with the preservation of its traditional stories must be part of the Diné College curriculum if its students are to maintain social, emotional, intellectual, and cognitive equilibrium as Diné.

This section provides an overview of important Diné oral tradition, including cosmological stories, all-season everyday stories, and historical stories. Whether sacred or secular, they can be incorporated into academia and thus provide a methodology for inquiry and hands-on research. Oral traditions in the native language epitomize the essence of life for American Indians in general, and particularly for the Diné. Endemic to those traditions is the belief that *Diné bizaad*, The People's Language, is truly sacred because it preserves words of power.

Words derive from thoughts, primarily by verbal articulation serves to transmit the sacred properties of *Hozho* - Beauty. Spoken words consist of vocal sounds propelled through the mouth by *nitchi* (air) seated deep in the body – a sacred element containing power and energy – and activating movement. The specific ceremonies that honor the thought and sounds of the Diné begin in each person with an infant's first laugh, *Aweech'idaadloohgo ba na'a'ne'ee'* and continue through the highly important *Kinaalda*, Rite of Passage, conducted for both male and female youth (Schwarz, 1997). A child's first laugh is a beautiful moment as it “celebrates the child's initial expression of emotion” (Schwarz, 1997, p. 142). Maureen Schwarz explains that “the child's first laugh marks its preliminary step toward expression of...of thought, empathy, and emotional development” (Schwarz, 1997, p. 142). On that occasion, an offering of natural rock salt is made to relatives in which a piece of salt is placed in the left hand for a male child and in the right hand for a female to ensure that the child will be generous and happy (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, February 22, 2009). During the development of a person's thought and voice, he/she is spoken to for the purpose of teaching about life.

Beck et al. explains that “as soon as children start talking and can recollect events, figures and stories, they are lectured to on the best manners and behavior. Stories are told to stimulate the mind; restrictions are told to them so they can form desirable habits and beliefs” (Beck, Walters, and Francisco, 1990, p. 278).

The *Kinaalda* for a boy occurs when his voice begins to change, at which time he is taught by his father, uncles, and grandfathers the appropriate behavior, responsibilities, prayers, and songs he should know to become an honorable man. “This ceremony ensures that men will have physical strength, knowledge of songs, and educated understanding of male sexuality and responsibilities, as well as ‘beautiful voices’” (Schwarz, 1997, p. 173). The origin of the male *Kinaalda* ceremony derives from a Navajo traditional story which involves twin hero sons of Changing Woman and their father, the Sun. Schwarz cites Stanley Fisher in her book of the origin and purpose of the male *Kinaalda*:

“The Twins were trained in a special way in their youth to become very strong. While it was still dark in the morning, they would run to the east to meet the coming Dawn. Now the young boys are trained in the same way. White Bead Woman taught the boys songs to sing in the Dawn...The Twins also ran to meet the Twilight and also sang songs while doing this” (Schwarz, 1997, p. 158).

The female *Kinaalda* ceremony occurs when a young girl has her first menses. “The initial ceremony was conducted by the Holy People” (Schwarz, 1997, p. 173). The *Kinaalda*'s maternal clan assumes the responsibility of this ceremony for their daughter or granddaughter. An anonymous grandmother explains that the purpose of the *Kinaalda* is to mold the young woman for future motherhood and that “this is for her to have a fine voice, for her voice to be forward and strong. She will be physically strong and her

appearance will be outlined with muscles. When she works-she will be strong and sturdy, her being will be well. These are the reasons why it is done” (Schwarz, 1997, p. 192).

As a result of lessons that begin in early childhood, Diné believe that a person recognizes the power of words and the magnitude of thoughts, prayers, and songs to be guarded and shared throughout a lifetime. They should honor words and speak with kindness and thoughtfulness so as to create and restore a sense of *Hozho*. Wealth in Diné society is not associated necessarily with material possessions, but rather with having soft and hard goods including not only jewelry, weavings, cloth, baskets, buckskins, and tobacco, but knowledge of plants and herbs, corn pollen, songs, and prayers. Gary Witherspoon explains that “a poor Navajo [Diné] is one who has no songs, for songs enrich one’s experiences and beautify one’s activities. Songs accompany and enrich both ceremonial and non-ceremonial activities. There are riding songs, walking songs, grinding songs, planting songs, growing songs, and harvesting songs” (Witherspoon, 1975, p. 155). In *Bighorse the Warrior*, Tiana Bighorse recalls the stories her grandfather told and his comments on Hastiin Bigodi’s wealth, and she says, “he knows lots of stories. He knows how to make saddles and bridles and how to braid ropes from hides” (Bighorse, 1990, p. 43). She then goes on to reflect on the power of *Hastiin Bigodi’s* words, “the people at the camp always listen to him. He is a great man, and he can say a kind word to the people that lose their relatives and those that their men get killed by the soldiers...We warriors know him really well. He comes and talks to us too...He is young but wise” (Bighorse, 1990, p. 44).

Annie Kahn, a Diné Medicinewoman and educator, who herself enjoys life and is “interested in prayers and how we hibernate in prayers” defines a wealthy person as one who is “rich with stories, prayers and songs” (Personal Communication, March 26, 2002). Diné people believe that to know and understand the power of thought and words, prayers and songs, is an honor and a responsibility requiring cognizance and carefulness because words are sacred and powerful. The sacred power of words is embedded in oral tradition and its storytelling is valued as a way to learn. Storytelling is a critical way of conveying information, experiences, teachings, and traditions. It encompasses the full spectrum of orally transmitted methods of inquiry in order to gain a deeper understanding of any given topic of study.

Diné storytelling is an integral element to developing the cultural history of Diné College. It is relevant to the stories, songs, prayers, and ceremonies that create the unique historical founding of the first tribal college and its distinct philosophy. Tiana Bighorse’s story of The Long Walk introduces the importance of cultural history and storytelling towards understanding American Indian knowledge and wisdom.

Data Collection Procedures - Informed Consent Form

The researcher set up this study by first obtaining the required approvals from relevant gatekeepers. Various entities approved the proposed research, including the informed consent forms, to comply with standards for interviewing human subjects and established codes of conduct. They are as follows: The Diné College Board of Regents (See APPENDIX A), the Navajo Nation Institutional Review Board (See APPENDIX B),

and the University of Arizona's Institutional Review Board (APPENDIX C). The informed consent form prevented the researcher from misleading his informants and enabled him to build trust and rapport (Farber, 2006, p. 9). Prior to conducting each interview, he explained the purpose of the research, how documents were to be used within and outside the college, who might benefit from the study, and why it is significant. Upon learning about the study's scope and purpose, each respondent was provided a copy of the "informed consent form" and the research questions for their review and signature (See APPENDIX D). The four primary respondents signed the consent form which authorized the interview to be recorded by audio tape and video tape, allowed their names to be used as part of the study, permitted the data and findings to be shared in publications, and agreed to have copies of the study archived at the Diné College library.

Sources and Procedures

This inquiry explored Diné College's application of cultural history during the late 1960s and early 1970s as a singular phenomenon bounded by that time period and activities related to that set of events. Data and other relevant information were collected from primary and secondary sources. A semi-structured interview process utilizing the main question and follow-up ones allowed for deeper examination of data coupled with close interaction with the individuals interviewed (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995; Spradley, 1979; Creswell, 1994, p. 184-188). Farber explains that such a semi-structured process allows the researcher to stay with a set of interview questions, but also permits

the interview subject to discuss other items that may arise thereby so that the process can unfold as naturally as possible (Farber, 2006, p. 14).

Interviews were transcribed and translated into the Navajo language in close conjunction with the examination of written primary sources. Those items included federal and tribal government records; the 1966 survey report on the feasibility of establishing Navajo Community College conducted by the Bureau of Educational Research and Services of Arizona State University; Diné College's institutional records, including: Board of Regent minutes and resolutions; reports of former College presidents; College personnel policies and procedures manuals; College catalogs; and College newsletters. Added to those primary sources of course were the narratives of the four individuals interviewed as eyewitnesses to the founding of Diné College. Secondary sources directly or indirectly related to Diné College were gathered, including dissertations and books. Also included among secondary sources were audio visual items such as videos, audio recordings, songs, and photographs, along with newspapers such as the *Navajo Times* and *Gallup Independent*; academic journals, and books pertaining to Diné College.

Selection of Individuals Interviewed

This study was limited to only Diné College and not other tribal colleges or community colleges within the Navajo Nation whether in Arizona or New Mexico. After surveying relevant primary and secondary written documents, the four selected interviewees were chosen based on their knowledge, direct involvement, and first-hand

understanding of the College's philosophy within the context of Diné cultural history. Three of the four participated directly in planning and implementing College operations. One was involved as the first Chairman of the first Board of Regents, as identified in the initial published College catalog. Two of the four also played a direct role in planning and conducting the dedication of the tract of land for the College's home campus in Tsaile, Arizona. The dedication of Diné College means the formal "ground-breaking" ceremony which usually anoints a tract of specified land by officials and dignitaries prior to erecting a building structure. The fourth individual was selected based on his knowledge of cultural and historical information and his familiarity with the College's cultural ceremonial items. Three of the four also participated in the cultural activities on April 12, 1971. They were not randomly selected but were strategically identified after a review of historical records and personal correspondence.

The four founders of the College, identified by numerous sources both written and oral, were Dr. Robert "Bob" Roessel, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, Dr. Ned Hatathli, and Dr. Guy Gorman who is the lone survivor among them. Research was limited in part because many of the major figures directly involved have died, and in some cases their collected letters and other papers leave unanswered questions curtailing the scope of this study.

As an example of interviewees limiting this study is that prior to his death, when asked to consider leaving his personal library to the College, Dr. "Bob" Roessel told me that he burnt the papers dealing with its founding because at that time neither the president nor acting president showed any interest in acquiring them. Outraged at the disrespect for such historical information on the part of the College, he lit the pile of

documents with a match and watched them burn to the ground (Personal Communication, February 8, 2006). Similarly, the written documents of the late Dr. Dean C. Jackson are not available. Likewise, access to other individuals to interview as well as additional pertinent documentation was limited. The study was further limited because much unwritten record detailing the cultural history of the college as well as some written data gathered were highly subjective, obviously biased, and prone to faulty memories of elder respondents regarding events dating back nearly forty years. Even so, through coding and analysis it became apparent that some, though not all, recorded information could be cross-referenced and validated, leading to the salvage of some written records.

Interviews were conducted with Dr. Guy Gorman, Mike Mitchell, Jack C. Jackson, Sr., and Dr. Wilson Aronilth. Dr. Gorman served as one of the original founders along with Dr. Roessel, Dr. Hatathli, and Dr. Yazzie. Dr. Gorman was also the first president of the Board of Regents. Mike Mitchell accompanied the founders on their travels to various locations such as to Phoenix, Window Rock, Rough Rock, Lukachukai, and Wheatfields, Arizona to attend planning meetings. He also participated directly in the College's founding, including the important dedication activities of April 13, 1971. Mr. Jack C. Jackson, Sr. was involved in the early years as an employee beginning on July 2, 1969 and he was a key participant in the dedication of the permanent campus. As twin to former College president, Dr. Dean C. Jackson, Mr. Jack Jackson and his family were active as well in various cultural ceremonies with his brother, as Navajo culture requires that both twins participate in a ceremony if one is directly representing or sponsoring it. As twin brothers and particularly twins from the first original Diné clan,

Kinya'aani, Dean and Jack Jackson are significant contributors to the historical and cultural development of Diné College. Jack continues to work at Diné College as a cultural and legislative expert. In addition, Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr., who began his employment with Diné College in 1969, has been directly involved in its cultural and ceremonial activities, including the creation of the College's original symbolic logo. He has published three documents on the philosophy, culture, and history of the Navajo people and is a living expert on the College's cultural roots. Today, he serves as faculty member within the Center for Diné Studies at Diné College.

Location of Interviews

All interviews took place at the Diné College-Tsaile campus in the President's office. That venue was selected because it was a comfortable location and each individual interviewed agreed that it was an appropriate setting. It also assured privacy and confidentiality so informants could feel free to share their experience. Moreover, the sacred items of the College were near the seating area which added comfort and familiarity. Those items included the ceremonial greasewood cane, *gish*, used at the dedication of the Tsaile main campus on April 13, 1971, as well as a ceremonial basket containing a corn pollen pouch, a crystal stone, mountain tobacco, a tobacco pipe, arrowheads of different colors, a blessing stone, a shield stone, and a silver necklace with the College's logo at its center. These elements contribute to Diné College's unique identity as cultural treasures similar to the sacred mountain bundles that certain families hold as part of their collective cultural legacy and ongoing spiritual health. To be near or

to carry these sacred items is an honor, a privilege, and a blessing therefore making it all the more appropriate to have them near at hand. These sacred items are similar to the Bible or Cane of the Catholic religious belief. Farber notes that when conducting qualitative interviews and asking people to share their lives and experiences, making respondents feel as comfortable as possible while assuring their privacy and confidentiality is important (Farber, 2006, p. 12). In this study, the researcher asked beforehand, if he should visit each subject at home or at another location of his choosing, or whether he wanted instead to be interviewed elsewhere on campus, including a more private location. Each chose the President's office as the interview location.

The interviews elicited valuable and insightful information that otherwise would not have been obtained elsewhere. For example, none of the other primary or secondary sources consulted for this study provided information regarding the cultural ceremonies related to the founding or the dedication of the Tsaille permanent campus. As a guided conversation where a few topics are covered in depth, a process of discovery engaged the informant and allowed the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the participants' experience (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). As an example of this personal interview process, the questions regarding the College's philosophy versus the mission differ although on the surface they may be similar questions. In oral history methodology Rubin explains that in a guided conversation a subject being interviewed may volunteer additional information or personal responses which have been long withheld. A guided conversation procedure gives the subject opportunities to talk freely about the particular topic at hand as well as disclose information that he/she has not shared with anyone else.

This is a result of building trust and rapport between researcher and subject in a comfortable interview location (Farber, 2006, p. 9).

Interview Process

Interviews were recorded on audio cassette, digital recorder, and video tape. In addition, the researcher took detailed notes, observing the setting, the mood of the time, the location of related events, descriptions of people who participated in various activities, and the meaning of what transpired. These were done in order to add depth to the interviewee's response, including noting any physical reactions to a question like a grimace or smile (Patton, 1990). Self-observations that elicit reaction, biases, thoughts, and feelings were documented, permitting the addition of less visible data (Farber, 2006, p. 17). The seven interview questions identified earlier were answered either in Navajo or English depending on the comfort level of the informant. Following the response to each question, the researcher asked the interviewee if he wished to share further information or offer any guidance to conclude the interview.

The researcher approached the data collection process as objectively and consistently as possible by asking each subject the same questions and using the same method for collecting data. Keenly focused on the process of collecting data, he made sure as well that research protocols were met prior to each interview by securing informed consent agreements from the informant. After data collection was complete, he duplicated the original audio tapes to safeguard the original copies. On all tapes the date and the person being interviewed were identified. The duplicate audio copies were then

used in the tedious but essential process of transcribing and translating the interview narratives from Navajo to English. The process of translating the narratives was particularly delicate and challenging because meaning and nuance are all too easily diminished or lost in the conversion from Navajo to English. For example, words that denote sacred elements or identify deities could easily be corrupted in English. After the English transcript was drafted, it was shared with the informant for his review, modified appropriately, and given final approval. The procedure described here is guided by the advice offered by Lichtman and French (1978) in which they state that “Historians should approach their evidence skeptically and be prepared to go beyond the intuition or common sense to advance arguments that justify the conclusions drawn from inspection of source material (Lichtman & French, 1978, p. 16).

Analysis of Data Collected

Once the transcripts were approved by the interviewees, they were placed on a large poster board in sequential order and tacked onto a large wall. Each interviewee’s transcripts were posted according to age, level of involvement with the College’s founding, and according to the researcher’s own perception of degree of participation. For instance, Dr. Guy Gorman was the oldest of the four, followed by Mike Mitchell, then Jack C. Jackson, Sr., then finally Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr. To gain an overall feel for the information as it was collected, the researcher read each transcript carefully after it was placed on a wall. First impressions of the data were noted on the sides of the narratives as part of the first sweep of data analysis. The researcher then read each

transcript again and used a black marker to underline events, activities, or words that “jumped” out. The third reading of the transcripts represented the first round of coding, noting of similar or unusual data by inserting symbols such as “X” or “*,” which allowed for the flushing out of common themes, categories, and concepts, as well as for consistent and inconsistent features (Neuman, 1997). For example, words like “laughter” and “joking” popped out because they referred to the reaction of people baffled with the idea that Navajos believed they could establish and operate their own college. Next, the researcher copied all interview questions on a large sheet of paper using a different color marker for each one. The seven questions were marked as follows:

#1 Involvement in founding of Diné College? = Pink

#2 Factors that led to the founding of Diné College? = Orange

#3 Creation of Diné College mission? = Teal

#4 When and why did the philosophy develop? = Yellow

#5 Factors of the philosophy? = Blue

#6 Importance of philosophy? = Purple

#7 Accomplishments of individual? = Red

The fourth round of reading the narratives included the color-coding process and again was tedious and time-consuming, but it allowed the study to begin to unfold as a story. Depending on the length of the transcript, the color-coding portion of a single one took up as much as seven hours or a full working day. Using the color markers in correlation with the interview questions, the researcher circled and underlined that portion of a given narrative which answered a specific sub-question. On a separate sheet

of poster paper, he placed symbols for what the interviewees were referencing during a particular interview. Then, on another sheet of poster size paper a number of emerging themes were noted. For example, the themes of sovereignty-leadership, mission-purpose, dedication-philosophy, and land-ownership began to surface. It was primarily during this process of analyzing the data that the information being shared became emotional because of the sacrifice, strength, and prayers to face the criticism, ridicule, and tremendous challenge to establish a beautiful College emerged. For example, the idea of utilizing Navajo traditional concepts in building a Hogan by applying *Hozhoojo* or Blessing Way songs became manifest.

Sarah Shillinger notes that researching an oral history differs from any other type of historical inquiry, and she states, “It is inherently personal for both the researcher and the informer. It is this very closeness that gives an oral history its poignancy. The intimacy of the process allows both the reader and the researcher to perceive the impact of an historical event in ways no other method permits” (Shillinger, 2008, p. 10-11).

Similar events were underlined and given a symbol. For example, while recognizing the placement of the ceremonial planting cane as a significant moment in the development of the College, two different informants identified some other individual who participated in the ground blessing. That is Mike Mitchell and Jack C. Jackson, Sr., identified each other’s role in planning and then participating in the ground blessing activities. What thus emerged were consistent patterns and themes. Another result of collating data after the transcripts were mounted on the wall was the emergence of a palpable sequence of activities, starting as far back as the 1950s. The development of the

College followed a distinct timeline (See APPENDIX E), which corroborated the dedication of the Tsaile tract of land and which illustrated the application of various themes all the way. Those themes could now be recognized and categorized as part of the overall analysis of the transcripts so as to further reveal connecting patterns and consistencies along with identifying inconsistencies as well.

Verification

Information drawn from the transcripts was cross-checked with primary and secondary sources to reconcile differences and contradictions as well as to verify key points, themes, and categories. For example, Mike Mitchell and Dr. Guy Gorman spoke of the individuals who helped establish Rough Rock Demonstration School and were also instrumental in the development of Diné College. Those two sets of events were also accounted for in books written by Roessel, Boyer, Stein, Iverson, and Szasz, and thus had to be consulted to assure the accurate triangulation of data to allow for further verification. The validation of primary sources must not only include cross-referencing interviews, but it also requires convergence with available written accounts (Creswell, 1994, p. 154). This was exemplified when Dr. Wilson Aronilth provided commentary on his own informal research about what led to the College's founding which was corroborated with the feasibility study conducted by Arizona State University (ASU) in 1966. The data gathered by researching primary and secondary sources were verified and expanded within the framework of the research. Data analysis was drawn and transcripts were assembled. Upon completion of drafting the transcripts they were shared with

informants who then confirmed the transcripts with their signature. Hoopes notes that “Because transcription is essentially an editing process, the authenticity of the transcript can only be assured by returning it to the interviewee for final checking” (Hoopes, 1979, p. 119).

The researcher confirmed information by employing a triangulation verification model which supported the outcome of the research once assembled in thematic order. The findings generated through the interview procedure along with a review of primary and secondary sources discloses themes which contribute to a conclusive research summary and recommendations for further study that presumably will help define a strategic direction for the College.

Interpretation and Presentation of Findings

The history of Diné College is presented in a thematic manner in a subsequent chapter. The themes generated through the analysis of data include leadership, mission, curriculum, philosophy, and land. Gall et al. recommends that combining the chronological and thematic approaches is meaningful and avoids obscuring themes that flow into different time periods (Gall, et al., 1996, p. 667). They also advise that handling research materials is crucial since “Historians add still another layer of interpretation by the way they choose to emphasize or ignore particular data and by how they organize data into categories and patterns,” since the interests, biases, and values of those who recorded the activities can cause the informants to add or omit information (Gall, et al., 1996, p. 644). It is important for the historian to be cognizant of his own

interests, biases, and values regarding the subject that is being studied so they can “see” certain aspects of the past and not others (Gall et al., 1996). For example, several of the informants discussed the dedication of the Tsaile tract of land held on April 13, 1971 whereas the researcher previously assumed that just one individual, Edward Bahe Harvey (selected to prepare the ceremonial cane) was the same person who conducted the dedication ceremony. As it turns out, however, the prayers and song(s) recited at the dedication ceremony were offered by an additional participant, Charlie Benally.

Benefits

Hoopes says that oral history allows for the researcher to ask questions of the interviewees “to get at the core of truth” (Hoopes, 1979, p. 15). Effective questioning can allow the researcher to get at the “inner feelings” of the events, which can then help explain the “why” as well as the “how” (Hoopes, 1995, p. 17). By asking questions that invoke feelings, Hoopes asserts, we can understand not only “what” but also “why” things occurred and the motives and reasons behind events and experiences (Hoopes, 1995, p. 47). Additionally, Yow encourages the use of “open-ended” questions, which invites the subject to be more open and candid in answering as he or she chooses and to attribute meaning to the experiences discussed (Yow, 1994).

Hoopes further explains that “Research in oral tradition may be useful in dealing with particular or local cultures, such as those of native and black Americans, who may not be literate or may have been denied a written history because of political oppression” (Hoopes, 1979, p. 6). An example he provides is the oral history of the slave movement

collected by Alex Haley which led to the creation of the book and movie *Roots* (Hoopes, 1979). Marshall adds that the use of oral history and first-hand local testimony, American Indians who have been subjected to various stereotypes viewed through an Euro-American lens is “the only way to get the story” which allows us to “gain insight into Euro-American attitudes and the Native American experience” (Marshall, 1991, p. 173). Oral history narratives by American Indians can shed light on the emotions, ideas, activities and knowledge of the challenges and accomplishments experienced by tribes which helps others gain insights into their communities. Oral history also allows for songs to be shared as part of the story and adds further dimension to the study of American Indian life today and in the future.

Limitations

The reliability and accuracy of oral history depend on the memory of an individual, and therein lies the limitations of the use of recited narratives. However, as all the source researchers herein cited have expressed, written documents with factual information typically can supplement and verify the oral narrative, just as a number of conforming accounts can validate the accuracy of a given story. Yow contends that “consistency within testimony is easily verified,” and accuracy can be checked by consulting other sources and comparing accounts” (Yow, 1994, p. 21). Also, Hoopes warns that the subjective or biased role of the interviewer can compromise an interview if he “does not guard against his biases, he may consciously or unconsciously fabricate the document and make it say what he wants it to say” (Hoopes, 1979, p. 12). Conversely,

Yow argues that the narrator, or historian, has some flexibility to share the story as he sees it based on the information collected (Yow, 1994).

Summary

This chapter began with an overview of the oral history methodology as a valid method to understanding events of the past. A general discussion on American Indian storytelling as an appropriate narrative inquiry approach was presented with specific discussion on the words of power in Navajo oral history. The procedural methods in selecting the individuals to be interviewed, securing approval of informed consent-human subjects form, description of the sources of data, and medium for collecting, and presenting the data were reviewed. Analysis of data included conducting various rounds of coding, review of notes, and re-reading of transcriptions and translations of interviews, and continuous review of primary and secondary sources. Themes and patterns were identified by systematically color-coding the data after transcripts were enlarged and placed on large sheets of poster paper onto a wall. Then open-coding was followed by a second sweep. Categories, themes, and patterns were labeled and color coded which generated findings to answer the guiding question(s). This procedure allowed for breaking down the data in order to observe and categorize the phenomena or case-study (Farber, 2006). Next, a timeline provided the context of the informant's involvement in the historical development of Diné College. A systematic analysis offered insight and enhanced understanding, as well as provided meaning to the study while engaging critical and creative thinking (Patton, 1990). The research questions, the analysis of data which

revealed themes and patterns, verification technique, and interpretation of data were presented. Finally, a discussion was presented on the data findings in thematic order, including leadership, mission, curriculum, philosophy, and land.

CHAPTER THREE

WHAT'S WRITTEN & WHAT'S NOT – THE WEST

*“Storytelling is like weaving a rug or singing a song.
You have to take care of it and use it in the right way,
and it will take care of you.”*

(Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, October 25, 2008)

Literature Review Overview

A survey of relevant literature has established a frame of reference for this study. Books and various dissertation projects written about Diné College in particular and tribal colleges in general will be discussed as part of this chapter. Although a body of literature on Diné College’s historical, political, and legislative history details the key events that led to the passage of the Navajo Tribe’s resolution establishing Navajo Community College and eventually the federal government’s Navajo Community College Act of 1971, no written studies focus on the oral history of Diné College’s founding, particularly the dedication of the permanent campus in Tsaile, Arizona. Dissertation studies dealing with other institutional histories of colleges also helps to guide this study in a general historical context. Altogether, this survey covers literature dealing with such institutions and Diné College in particular, including the survey report conducted by the Arizona State University’s Bureau of Educational Research and Services in February 1966.

Institutional Histories – Dissertations

A number of other dissertation studies have utilized the oral history method and narrative inquiry regarding institutions of higher education elsewhere. Although a

number of dissertations have been written to document the institutional histories of particular colleges and universities, it was especially helpful to review and discuss the following ones, as they best reflect the current study based on 1) oral history methodology, 2) use of narrative inquiry, 3) size of institution, and 4) duration of years being studied.

Dr. Thomas Harold Stein in his 2006 dissertation entitled, *The History of Otterbein College, 1970 to 2004*, states that “the usefulness of historical research permits the historian to explore institutional histories in better detail” (Stein, 2006, p. 7). He utilizes interviews and institutional records to illuminate the personality and characteristics of that particular institution. He acknowledges that in interviewing and developing a written record, he found “subjective contributions” to institutional histories. He builds upon prior institutional histories of Otterbein to reveal the unique character of the institution by examining documents and conducting a series of interviews. His research showed that Otterbein College continued to perpetuate the individual personalities of its founders and those who followed them. Stein found it impossible to interview everyone affiliated with the founding of Otterbein, however, because of their deaths, relocation, or unavailability much as the researcher of this study has encountered.

Dr. Jiravadee Chaowichitra’s 1994 dissertation, *South-East Asia College – History, Development, Problems, and Related Issues to Achieving University Status*, writes that “Historical research in education can address general education history, history of an issue, history of education legislation, institutional history, and many others” (Chaowichitra, 1994, p. 10). In his work, conventional historical research method

combines a descriptive narrative approach. Together with interviews offered by institutional employees, his research findings were “clustered” and presented in chronological order which informed this study’s overall presentation. Relevant to this study as well, the Thai government’s purposeful exercise of sovereignty to create its own college and thus provide educational opportunities to meet its educational and training needs resembled Diné College’s original establishment and present-day mission.

In Swarthmore College – The Evolution of an Institutional Mission, a 2003 dissertation, Dr. Lawrence M. Schall examines three key presidential terms to understand how core values of its mission were “challenged, transformed, or recalibrated,” in the areas of curriculum and extra-curricular offerings. Schall utilizes a historical research method defined as “inductive,” because she was not testing a theory but rather “setting out to explore a subject area and answer a question” (Schall, 2003, p. 28). As an employee of Swarthmore College and an “independent” researcher, Schall was able to leverage her established credibility within the organization to “draw as close to” to the subject as possible. Her ability to use “existing familiarity with the college,” and her official position as librarian to “dive deeper into its history and culture” are presented as ethical considerations and informs the role of researcher within a qualitative study. Rather than a descriptive one, Schall calls her historical research a “retrospective” approach (Schall, 2003).

Dissertations on Diné College

Dr. Lloyd House's (1974) dissertation, *The Historical Development of Navajo Community College*, presents a chronological examination of the historical developments of what was formerly Navajo Community College. A particular methodology was not specifically identified although it was evident that it followed the more standard objective tradition. He presents a general legislative history of the founding of Diné College by utilizing primary documents and interviews of Diné and non-Diné employees. His research also provides information about the status of funding, land, students, tuition, and fees. House does not mention any information regarding the College's dedication, however, nor does he discuss the philosophy which is of particular importance to a tribal college. His focal point is on the "locus of power" within a "cross-cultural or bi-cultural education" framework in attempting to understand how an educator from one culture impacts the education of students from a different one as framed by Murray Wax, Rosalie H. Wax, and Robert V. Dumont (1964). Wax, et al. argue that tribes surrender any control over the formal education of their children as a result of being forced to become politically dependent on the federal government and suggest that in its development, Diné College at its core, faced the challenge of being a "tribally-owned and tribally-operated" college. His questions about "tribal-control" within the "tribal-college movement" considers the recognition and accompanying role of non-Indian members. He questions whether those outsiders could understand the kind of "Navajo Council" that President Ned Hatathli outlined and formalized in his "Navajo Control Position Paper." This paper strongly urged that founders "constantly and continually work toward greater and greater

control of the college in the hands of Navajos” as the true test of Navajo control (House, 1974, p. 112). House asserts that, “Anglos should not be in the driver’s seat. They should not be the ones directing and controlling the college” (House, 1974, p. 112). House’s study is the first Diné-written account of Diné College. Although he discusses Navajo control, he does not elaborate on the cultural activities affiliated with the dedication of the Tsaile campus, nor does he mention any ceremonies, prayers, or songs. He does not discuss the development of a Diné-based philosophy. One of his recommendations acknowledges that “Indigenous control cannot be compromised; either one has it or one does not, and the progress made at Navajo Community College during the past indicates that the sooner people get it, the better” (House, 1974, p. 132).

Dr. Wayne Stein’s 1988 dissertation *A History of the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges, 1968-1978*, and his subsequent book entitled *Tribally Controlled Colleges – Making Good Medicine*, (1992), focuses on the first ten years of the tribal college movement. His study identifies federal policies that led to the establishment of Diné College and eventually to the 1972 creation of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) of six tribal colleges, including Diné College, Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University (1970), Oglala-Lakota College (1971), Sinte Gleska University (1971), Turtle Mountain Community College (1972), and Standing Rock College (1972). Stein conducted interviews of several key founders of Diné College, including Dr. Robert Roessel and Dr. Guy Gorman; however he does not delve into cultural activities leading to its founding. He utilizes current periodicals and institutional documents to support his study in terms of establishment, federal and private

funding, governance, faculty, politics, curriculum, students, and the leading role Diné College played in the establishment of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) in 1972. He also chronicles the accomplishments of the first president, Dr. Robert A. Roessel in 1968, and each subsequent president up to the beginning of Dr. Dean C. Jackson's appointment in 1978.

An empirical dissertation study entitled, *The Tribally Controlled Community Colleges and Universities Assistance Act (TCCUA) of 1978*, Dr. Janine Pease-Windy Boy's 1994 dissertation amasses extensive information from interviews and written records. Her study seeks the "Indian Voice" and chronicles the events, activities, and key individuals that contributed to the establishment of the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges and Universities Assistance Act of 1978, signed into law on October 17 in that year. She develops and utilizes a comprehensive bibliography of sources, including federal records and testimonies, institutional documents, and an array of interview transcripts of key individuals to support her study. Her study discusses the activities which culminated into the TCCUA of 1978 and the establishment of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) in October, 1972. Pease-Windy Boy's perspective is national and federal in scope and through that lens she summarizes the establishment of Diné College and Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Nation as "a major step in Indian law," but does not consider discuss activities related to the cultural history of Diné College (Pease-Windy Boy, 1994, p. 35).

Dr. Lawrence Issac's 1980 University of Arizona dissertation, *American Indian Administrators of Tribally Chartered Community Colleges: Backgrounds, Roles, and*

Conflicts, surveys the roles of American Indian administrators at 14 tribal colleges and details the struggle between Indian and non-Indian roles and responsibilities in internal and external capacities among members and non-members of tribal college communities. His research offers general information on Diné College and the tribal college movement but scarcely mentions the philosophy, curriculum development, and founding of Diné College. Isaac provides the standard legislative and political history of the development of the tribal college movement, yet he does not discuss any of Diné College's cultural history.

Dr. Paul Willeto's 2001 dissertation, *Study On Leadership Development For Effectiveness: The Effects Of Implementing Four Leadership Development Activities With Tribal College Administrators At The Branch Campus Level As A Strategy To Articulate A College Mission*, focuses primarily on community campus staff at Diné College. His qualitative methodology studies and generalizes themes of strengths and weaknesses, problem solving skills, communication skills, and leadership styles through what he terms "leadership development sessions" or focus group sessions. His observations are compiled from interviews, notes from the respective deans, and written documents of the college. His recommendations include job-related training in leadership development and effective communications to understand and implement change based on the mission of the College. Utilizing published sources, Willeto's study mentions the Diné Education Philosophy in general, as well as the history of Diné College and the tribal college movement, yet he does not utilize interviews or specify the rationale for the creation of Diné College's unique philosophy, nor its cultural history.

Dr. Arlinda Moon's 1999 dissertation entitled, *Self-Determination through Tribal Colleges: Rhetoric or Reality* examines, as a case study, the rhetoric that surrounded the 1978 Tribally Controlled Community College and University Act (TCCCUA) and explores the reality of its implications. Her research investigates the TCCCUA and its implementation during the 1995-1996 academic year at Diné College as the first tribally controlled community college established in the United States. Hers is a documentary analysis case study method utilizing primary sources and on-site interviews of thirty-five Diné College employees and students. Moon's study reveals that the rhetoric surrounding the TCCCUA policy emphasizing self-determination for Native Americans remains to be fully realized due to insufficient funding by the federal government. The findings of her study indicate that participation in or completion of Diné College courses enhance graduates' ability to be self-determining. Moreover, she asserts that Navajo language and culture retention are integral to students' decisions whether to live on or off the reservation. Her study recommends that the TCCCUA policy could strongly contribute to student success if it were fully funded and implemented.

Her dissertation offers several recommendations for future research and for implementation, including comprehensive research and data gathering on tribal college students and graduates, including colleges they might attend after graduating from Diné College. Whether or not graduates feel that they reached their academic milestone(s) was also discussed. Additionally, she recommends a study of traditional Navajo leadership with focus particularly on a Navajo traditional style of leadership as a model to facilitate culturally-relevant governance. She also proposes studies on economic development

opportunities with the Navajo Nation as partners to enhance student self-determination. She concludes with a recommendation which remains relevant today: the need for the Navajo Nation government and Diné College to collaborate in addressing issues confronting the Navajo people. Yet Moon fails to mention any cultural ceremonies, songs, or prayers that were utilized during the College's establishment which reflects a traditional method of leadership.

Dr. James H. Raymond's 2004 dissertation study on *A History of American Indian Tribal Colleges* provides general legislative and political history utilizing House (1974), Stein (1988), Boyer (1989), and Oppelt (1990) as references leading to the establishment of Diné College. He also cites the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) and the *Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education* as valuable resources which chronicle the historical events of tribal colleges as well as current activities of the 35 members of AIHEC. Raymond surveys in chronological order the key events that led to the Civil Rights Movement and the subsequent movement to establish tribal colleges, beginning with Diné College's founding. Using a qualitative historical methodology, Raymond primarily employs written documents to develop his study. He did not interview Navajo leaders or educators who were involved in the creation of Diné College. He uses personal communication sparingly to gather his data toward assembling a developmental history of the 35 tribal colleges - including their location, accreditation status, funding sources, and governance structures.

His study opens with the first tribal college, Diné College, and concludes with the 1998 establishment of Tohono O'odham Tribal Community College in Sells, Arizona.

He profiles each institution including size of land, tribal government, and types of funding that each college receive, including those from the different federal agencies directed to work specifically with tribal colleges through the 1996 White Initiative on Tribal Colleges and Universities (WHITCU) Executive Order 13021 issued by United States President, William J. Clinton. Upon the establishment of WHITCU, the National Science Foundation, Department of Defense, Department of Energy, the National Aeronautical Space Administration, and the Department of Health and Human Resources, in addition to the Department of Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs Office of Post-Secondary Education became sources of funds to increase research, academic development, and provide facilities for tribal colleges. Notable, too, are the funds being received from the United States Department of Agriculture to support research and extension services in tribal communities, as well as to help establish endowment funds for tribal colleges.

Raymond provides a comprehensive legislative and political history of each tribal college, and focuses at length on the six members of the group that established the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC), which includes Diné College. He describes the creation of the American Indian College Fund (AICF) and accounts for the success of the tribal colleges' collective power to gain a \$30 Million grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, which has gone on to support many tribal college initiatives to establish new programs in curriculum, fundraising, professional development, and tribal-based leadership. As part of the W.K. Kellogg "Capturing the Dream" campaign, Raymond explains that Diné College was able to secure initial funds leading to the

development of a bachelor's degree program in Elementary Teacher Education in partnership with Arizona State University. Another major grant that Raymond cites is the \$30 Million grant from the Lily Foundation to the American Indian College Fund for tribal colleges to construct and renovate new classrooms and facilities.

Raymond's research is informative regarding the general legislative and political activities leading to the creation of 35 tribal colleges; however, his research does not delve into any cultural history, including creation stories, songs, prayers, or ceremonies that have accompanied the founding of the respective colleges profiled. He explains that "tribal colleges have created distinctive and vibrant institutions by bonding Native American culture and values to a Western curriculum while meeting the same rigorous academic and administrative standards as mainstream colleges and universities. On the reservations, tribal colleges have created opportunities for individuals to shape their destinies and the destinies of their communities, and have assisted Indian tribes to reconnect to their history, culture, and languages" (Raymond, 2004, p. 180).

Literature on Diné College

Literature on the cultural history of Diné College is limited especially in its scope. There are published books, doctoral dissertations, academic journals, and newspaper articles that recount the College's general history; however there is no comprehensive written account of its cultural history which incorporates its dedication. The seminal study by Dr. Lloyd House on Diné College remains the only study which reports on the historical developments of the College, although emphasis on the cultural history is

limited. Studies and reports on Diné College, or tribal colleges in general, have been written by Dr. Wayne Stein, Paul Boyer, Norman T. Oppelt, Dr. Janine Pease-Windy Boy, Dr. Paul Willeto, Dr. Lawrence Issac, Ruth Roessel, and Dr. Robert Roessel, Jr. All provide general information on the College related to governance, political and legislative history, curriculum, philosophy (in Willeto's case only), funding, and the tribal college movement yet little is mentioned on Diné College's cultural history.

Norman T. Oppelt's 1990 book entitled *The Tribally Controlled Indian College, The Beginnings of Self Determination in American Indian Education*, profiles nineteen tribal colleges, including the activities leading to their establishments. Oppelt chronicles the tribal and federal legislative and political activities of each tribal college's creation. He points to the creation of Harvard, William and Mary, and Dartmouth as predecessors to American Indian Education, as well as to colonial, religious, and federal American Indian boarding schools leading up to the Self-Determination Act of 1975, and finally to the creation of Diné College. As for that achievement, he identifies the leadership of Dr. Bob Roessel, Dr. Ned Hatathli, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, Dr. Dillon Platero, Dr. Guy Gorman, Judge Chester Yellowhair, Dr. Howard Gorman, and Dr. Dean C. Jackson, as well as the leadership of Navajo Chairman Raymond Nakai as instrumental. He also acknowledges the involvement of Sanford Kravitz and Richard Boone of the federal government's Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) as "strong supporters" of the Navajo proposal to study the feasibility of establishing a college on its reservation. He recognizes the activities of the college's leadership toward the establishment of Public Law 89-192, the Navajo Community College Act of 1971, as a "major step" by the tribe in securing

financial stability for the college's creation. Oppelt describes the leadership of Dr. Bob Roessel as pivotal in the establishment of Rough Rock Demonstration School and his role as the first president of Diné College. He cites briefly the critical leadership of Dr. Ned Hatathli, Thomas Atcitty, Donald McCabe, and Dr. Dean C. Jackson as well toward creating a stable administration following the college's initial founding.

He details the enrollment of students and the growth of the student body corresponding with the educational and vocational offerings of the curriculum. Recognizing the institution's mutually dual-mission as complimentary, he explains that "cultural reinforcement and preparation to continue education and be competitive in the dominant culture are not mutually exclusive" (Oppelt, 1990, p. 38). Dr. Dean C. Jackson likewise asserted that "he did not see the transmission of traditional culture and a solid curriculum as necessarily being in conflict...In fact, he felt they could support each other" (Oppelt, 1990, p. 38). As his only reference to cultural history, Oppelt reveals that the creation of the College's unique buildings, designed in "accordance with traditional Navajo beliefs and customs," reflects the traditional Hogan structure of Navajo dwellings, conceived and utilized as culturally-relevant for learning. His study also highlights how the College received full accreditation in 1976, and he discusses how housing needs were met for appropriate faculty and staff, and dormitory facilities for students. In his study, Oppelt affirms that "Navajo Community College has set a precedent that gives hope to other tribes that they may also establish a community college to meet the needs of their people" (Oppelt, 1990, p. 39).

Similar to the previously mentioned dissertations, Oppelt does not account for the cultural activities that led to the creation of the Tsaile campus. He neither recognizes the use of the “cane” to dedicate the college nor the full range of symbolic and sacred dedication activities. Neither does he identify the community members, including the Charlie Benally family, who donated the Tsaile tract of land which provided for the College’s permanent home at Tsaile. Although he mentions the dual-curriculum, he overlooks the cultural ceremonies that traditional elders conducted to establish it, including the Crystal Holy Light ceremony.

Ernest L. Boyer and his son, Paul Boyer, published books entitled *Tribal Colleges: Shaping the Future of Native America* (1989), and *Native American Colleges, Progress and Prospects* (1997), which document the growth and changes in the tribal college movement. They call the twenty-seven tribal colleges “the key to social renewal, and without question the most significant development in American Indian communities since World War II” (Boyer, 1997, p. 1). They provide general descriptions of the involvement of tribal leaders and tribal members in their important governance role, curriculum, instruction, facilities, students, funding, and teamwork orchestration. They describe how Navajo philosophy guides instruction in the Navajo language at the College through traditional methods, but they do not cite a specific method. Furthermore, they explain how Diné College receives its federal funding based on “demonstrated need” rather than “Indian student count.” In addition, they explain how tribal colleges can contribute to tribal economic development, cultural survival, and tribal health and wellness by preparing students with skills to contribute to these areas.

In concluding their reports, the Boyers make recommendations for adequate federal funding for all tribal colleges through the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges and Universities Act of 1978; for increased funding to tribal colleges as Land Grant institutions; for ample funds for facilities construction from the federal government as well as from foundations, corporations, and philanthropists to strength the unique curricular offerings of tribal colleges; for partnerships between main-stream colleges and universities with tribal colleges; for increased funding for technology development at tribal colleges, faculty development, data collection and technical support for the American Indian Higher Education Consortium; for funding support for the American Indian College Fund; and for increased funding for the Tribal College Journal.

The Boyers contrast tribal colleges with main-stream colleges and universities, specifying that tribal colleges are distinct by being Indian-controlled. Their recommendations remain relevant today. However, as other authors have excluded, the Boyers do not account for the cultural history of Diné College even though they recognize Navajo philosophy as culturally appropriate if students are to gain a meaningful education. They identify the instrumental leadership of Dr. Guy Gorman, Dr. Dean C. Jackson, and others in prompting Navajos to assert “their rights more aggressively...[because of the] frustration that few tribal members had the skills needed to effectively lead a nation with a population reaching two hundred thousand” (Boyer, 1997, p. 2).

Mrs. Ruth Roessel’s book, *Navajo Studies at Navajo Community College* (1971), expresses the hope that the “reader will obtain from the volume a clearer picture of

Navajo Studies at Navajo Community College.” She, too, argues for Navajo control of Navajo education rather than leaving it to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, particularly as it relates to Navajo-specific curriculum material being developed by Navajos themselves. She explains that the biggest obstacle to developing Navajo-controlled education has been the prevailing attitude of Navajos and non-Navajos alike toward the inability of the Navajos developing and controlling their own college. She recalls that in the spring of 1968, Navajo Chairman Raymond Nakai convened leaders from Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah “to announce that the Navajo Tribe was starting its own community college that July...One of the business leaders present exclaimed, ‘Good God, Mr. Chairman, you don’t mean to tell me that you think the Navajos can operate a junior college?’” (Roessel, 1971, p. 45). Roessel explains that many of those who were at that meeting laughed, yet as Ruth Roessel said, “Today, (1971), no one is laughing because Navajo Community College stands proudly as a monument of what Indian people can accomplish when they throw their efforts toward goals and programs which they themselves have set” (Roessel, 1971, p. 45). Ruth Roessel describes how the transition of Navajo-control of education from the Rough Rock Demonstration School to Navajo Community College came about through shared facilities with the Bureau of Indian Affairs’ Many Farms High School and the leadership of BIA Area Director, Graham Holmes. Through the use of the Many Farms facility, she explains the College grew “to be a reality rather than merely a dream...Needless to say, it is much easier to sell a reality than a dream” (Roessel, 1971, p. 45). Roessel recognizes the importance of funding for the newly established college as being critical to its success, explaining that “for more than 20 years the Navajos had

dreamed of the day when such an institution would be a reality, but it came into being only after the Navajos had tasted the success of Navajo control at Rough Rock” (Roessel, 1971, p. 45).

Unlike other studies, Roessel’s book provides information about the dedication of the Tsaile main campus by way of Navajo traditional methods. A photograph depicts Charlie Benally, Theodore Tsosie, and Colorado Congressman Wayne N. Aspinall, Chariman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, grasping “the traditional digging stick [being] used in this initial breaking of the ground” on April 13, 1971 (Roessel, 1971, p. 49; See APPENDIX F). Roessel does not describe the discussions or activities on how and who was involved in preparing the ‘digging stick’ for the dedication activities, or the cultural ceremonies that were involved prior to the dedication activity. Nor does she explore the cultural activities that led to the creation of the unique philosophy of the college in her discussion about the importance of developing a uniquely Navajo studies curriculum with its own appropriate materials.

Dr. Robert A. Roessel, Jr.’s book, *Navajo Education, 1948-1997: Its Progress and Its Problems* (1979), presents the most comprehensive overview of Navajo Education from World War II to 1978. He details the evolvement of federal, state, and Navajo funded and operated schools, including discussions of Navajo-controlled education at the Rough Rock Demonstration School and Navajo Community College. He explores the idea of Navajo control as “the responsibility to direct, to make decisions, to regulate and to dominate...the key element lies in the authority to make decisions being vested in that person, community, board, tribe or what have you...[in essence, control] means the right

to be wrong” (Roessel, 1979, p. 287). Roessel dedicates a chapter to Navajo Community College, Rough Rock Demonstration School, and includes a comparison of the two Navajo-controlled institutions respectively along with discussion about general Navajo education, government, and health programs and services. He pays particular attention to governance, funding, and student information.

In his chapter on Diné College, he identifies its need to apply its own philosophy as follows: “For any community or society to grow and prosper, it must have its own means for educating its citizens...It is essential that these educational systems be directed and controlled by the society they are intended to serve” (Roessel, 1979, p. 62). The Navajo-specific context of *Sa’ah Naaghai Bik’eh Hozhoon* is not mentioned by Roessel, although his study contains pictures that depict the formal dedication ceremony of the Tsaile permanent campus with Congressman Aspinall, medicine man Theodore Tsosie, and medicine man Charlie Benally holding the *gish* or cane (See APPENDIX G). In another important photograph in his book, Roessel shows Charlie Benally pointing to the Corn Stalk model which would ultimately become the fundamental illustration of the *Sa’ah Naaghai Bik’eh Hozhoon* philosophy (See APPENDIX H).

Bob Roessel, a vocal supporter as well as critic of Diné College comments that, “leadership is the key ingredient in any endeavor,” as he un stirringly describes the turmoil and the “lacked leadership” following the death of President Dr. Ned A. Hatathli in 1972. Roessel says:

“Certainly, the Navajo people have the right to expect and demand that the President of Navajo Community College be not only a biological Navajo but also one who knows and respects his Navajo culture. Further, the President must set the kind of example that

Navajo youths want to follow; consequently, his private and professional life must be without blemish. Finally, the President of Navajo Community College must be a leader who understands the needs and opportunities of the reservation and combines that understanding with experience and acceptance of community college philosophy” (Roessel, 1979, p. 81).

Dr. Roessel rejected the idea of the college becoming a four-year college, even though the Board of Regents authorized such a movement in June 1978. He insisted that “Navajo Community College should succeed first as a two-year institution before trying to become a four-year college” (Roessel, 1979, p. 81).

Dr. Roessel compares the differences between Rough Rock Demonstration School and Navajo Community College regarding their governing boards, including qualifications for membership, members’ role in day-to-day operations leading to interference, and their respective administrations in the context of a cultural framework. He explains that “political interference” from Window Rock, meaning the “action” and “posture” of the Tribal Chairman and Tribal Council, could impose intrusions into the affairs of the college primarily because Regents were to be appointed by the Tribal Chairman rather than through five elected legislative agency representatives. Although the process of electing a Board of Regents would not necessarily eliminate tribal politics, Roessel was emphatic that “there can be little doubt that many of the problems faced by Navajo Community College over the past four or five years have their roots in the political interference in the operation of the institution by the tribal administration” (Roessel, 1979, p. 73). The qualifications for the College’s Board of Regents, was another item of his concern, particularly regarding the degree of fluency of professional Navajo educators or leaders in Navajo culture, with emphasis on the distinction between

being “culturally Navajo” or simply being “biologically and linguistically Navajo.” He then cautions that the College Board of Regents should not be:

“Dominated by those who are not culturally Navajo, but who are biologically Navajo. At the college the Board of Regents is controlled by those who do not gain their primary strength for life from their Navajo traditions and religion. It is one thing to expound the virtues of Navajo life in order to obtain political support; it is another thing to live a Navajo life in which one’s culture and traditional religion surround and strengthen a person. It is one thing to wear beads; it is another thing to believe! It is one thing to preach Navajo culture; it is another thing to practice Navajo culture” (Roessel, 1979, p. 74).

Dr. Roessel differentiates Rough Rock as being governed predominately by the Board, whereas Navajo Community College being governed by its administration. He further illuminates the difference between the two institutions by recognizing a more fragmented application of Navajo studies at Navajo Community College into the academic curriculum, versus their centralized role at Rough Rock Demonstration School, citing the differences as two alternatives of how the administration and governing boards viewed Navajo studies. He strongly opposes the college’s isolation of Navajo studies as a separate and likely de-emphasized academic discipline rather than making it central and integrated into the overall curriculum. He further opposes the idea of the College Board of Regents moving their meetings away from the students and the college administration, thus excluding students and faculty from their discussions and decisions.

One of the strengths that Dr. Roessel recognizes is the development of the Navajo Community College Press and its potential for contributing to the literature on Navajo culture, history, philosophy, government, and language. However, like so many of the other contributors to the dissertation at hand, Dr. Roessel does not describe any of the

cultural activities, including ceremonies, that accompanied the creation of Rough Rock Demonstration School or Navajo Community College, even though some photo illustrations depict the dedication of the college using the “planting stick,” and the discussion of the “corn stalk model.” Even so, Dr. Roessel’s book should be required reading for Navajo educators as well as those involved elsewhere in the tribal college movement.

Dr. Peter Iverson’s book *The Navajo Nation* (1981) provides a comprehensive profile of the Navajo people, including cultural, political, social, economical, governmental, and educational challenges and achievements. Iverson begins with his family’s involvement with the Navajos while he was growing up which led to his tenure as an instructor in 1969 at Navajo Community College’s campus in Many Farms. Within his work’s broad scope, he provides a chronology of key individuals and events leading to the establishment of the Navajo Nation. He describes the creation stories of the Four Worlds, relationships with Pueblos and other southwestern tribes, with Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans, leading to the signing of the Treaty of 1868. Iverson further explores the impact and influence of various American institutions and practices on the Navajo Nation, including health programs, recovery of natural resources by way of mining and agriculture; governmental groups, and social issues; and developmental activities of federal, public, private, religious, secular, and tribal education programs.

Particular to Diné College, Iverson details the formation of Rough Rock Demonstration School and names key individuals in that school’s development and its influence in the creation of Diné College. He also provides specific information on the

establishment of the Navajo Nation Council's education policies and funding sources for higher education. In doing so, he recognizes the leadership of Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, Dr. Dillon Platero, and Dr. Guy Gorman, as well as that of Chairman Raymond Nakai and key Navajo educators such as Dr. Ned Hatathli, Yazzie Begay, Howard Gorman, Carl Todacheene, Mike Mitchell, Dr. Dean C. Jackson, Jack C. Jackson, and others included among those individuals who helped to create Diné College. At the center of the excitement generated by that achievement was the non-Navajo educator and tribal advocate, Dr. Robert A. Roessel, Jr. Iverson describes as well the Rough Rock Demonstration School's success in fostering Navajo-centered instruction utilizing federal government funding through the Demonstration In Navajo Education (DINE) organization, which was critical in the establishment of Rough Rock Demonstration School. He also identifies the individuals who were involved in securing federal, tribal, and private funds for the college's establishment, which played an important role in enabling the College to take root.

In detailing the College's establishment, Iverson recognizes how the original founders exercised their concern that Navajos themselves control the institution and make their own decisions regarding curriculum, programs, administration, operations, and governance. He discusses, a source of conflict confronting the College, even up to the present, which is the idea of Navajo control, including the development of curriculum materials written by Navajos and taught through the traditional Navajo educational method of storytelling. Although Iverson describes all major aspects of the college's founding, he too neglects to discuss the cultural history of the college in its full spectrum.

He does not mention the contribution of Charlie Benally and Edward Bahe Harvey in retrieving the “planting cane” for the dedication of the Tsaile tract of land, nor the ceremonies that were conducted to properly utilize the “planting cane” in the college’s growth. Additionally, he acknowledges tribal control as a point of contention between Navajos and non-Navajos in terms of internal decision-making at the College, including the lack of Navajo written curriculum, but he does not cover the use of the “corn stalk model” as the critical icon in establishing the College’s *Sa’ah Naaghai Bik’eh Hozhoon* philosophy.

Iverson’s work is noteworthy and monumental as it chronicles the origin of the Navajo people beginning with the creation stories up to 1981, all from what qualifies as an insider’s perspective. His work is admirable, and builds the case for his compiling a follow-up book entitled, *Diné, A History of the Navajos* (2002), with collaborator Dr. Monty Roessel, son of the late Dr. Robert A. Roessel, Jr.

The 1966 Survey Report on the feasibility of establishing Navajo Community College compiled by the Bureau of Educational Research and Services of Arizona State University was authored by Dr. Robert W. Ashe, Director, Dr. Raymond E. Wochner, Assistant Director, Mr. Melvin Zinser, Project Assistant, and Mr. Jimmy R. Begaye, Navajo Research Assistant. This report was in collaboration with over 30 consultants specializing in community colleges, curriculum, and governance. The report indicates that a community college is strongly desired by the Navajo people and that its establishment is legally and financially possible although there were numerous challenges. Based on surveys generated regarding availability and analysis of federal,

state, and tribal finances, population trends, employment opportunities, combined with the increased social problems; the absence of a skilled or trained workforce; and high unemployment on the Navajo Nation, the report recommended that a community college was reasonable and feasible.

The overall report included a review of the historical and political influences of U.S. Government sanctioned missionary schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, state public schools, and was presented in the context of an eighty percent deficiency rate in reading and writing among Navajo students. It included as well a survey of Navajo college students, high school graduates not in college, and parents of high school graduates which indicated a high interest in attending a college on the Navajo reservation if such an institution existed on the reservation. The study urged that the community college be “home grown,” under tribal leadership, and that resources such as scholarships, operations, and capital outlay be committed toward such an ambitious endeavor. Further, the study considered the various sources of employment at the secretarial, managerial, skilled, and service levels which would be available to students and graduates, including tribal enterprises, tribal and federal government programs, resource development (gas, oil, coal, timber, etc.), public health service, tourist industry, and areas of personal employment.

As a proposed community college enterprise, the report explained general education programs, transfer education programs, occupational education programs, and community service programs, as typical of a recognized community college delivering general education intended for competency and general understanding for citizen

development, transfer education to prepare students for advanced college and university work, occupational education to train them for vocational and technical endeavors (pre-professional, semi-professional, and technical), and formal and informal community service programs intended for students of all ages, including an adult basic education program. Notably, the report included a strong recommendation to provide adequate guidance and counseling services to incoming students to help them transition into college level curricula, stating:

“The guidance program can be no better than the personnel who provide it. Nothing less than a soundly conceived guidance program, organized and managed by a professionally competent staff, should be acceptable from the very beginning. To expect that a sound program will be developed by an incompetent staff, is to expect what never was, nor ever will be” (Ashe, et al., 1966, p. 96).

The team recommended adoption of an “open door” admission policy to provide accessibility for high school graduates, adult learners, and other community members offering the greatest possibilities to pursue training and education. Recommended as well was a program staffed by qualified and competent instructors with suggested minimum requirement of a master’s degree with emphasis placed on the learner. The report also cited anticipated staffing needs at the levels of administration, instruction, instructional support, and included the possible utilization of student workers as part of the federal work-study program to help defray tuition, fees, room, board, and related expenses. The study recommended as well that accreditation be gained from the Arizona State Board of Junior Colleges to award appropriate degrees or certification.

Moreover, the study team recommended that the proposed location for the Navajo Community College campus be located in the Window Rock or Ft. Defiance area because

it is the center of government operations for the Navajo Nation and contains the largest population base. Facilities development should consider availability or unavailability of land, infrastructure, utilities, noise and pollution issues, transportation, scenery, soil, and architecture, in as much as the “physical plant should facilitate instruction and learning,” and the “buildings and setting should harmonize” (Ashe, et al., 1966, p. 107). The study team provided legal and fiscal opportunities to establish a community college within the New Mexico and Arizona community college system, including guidelines for county, technical, and state community colleges with funds derived from the sale of bonds or state budgets. It was also recommended that the leadership of the Navajo Nation invite state education officials to request that a state community college establish a state-funded college within its boundaries. However, what was not mentioned in the entire document was the option for establishing such a community college as the Navajo Nation’s own tribally-controlled institution. The study merely recommended that “A college on the reservation seemed imperative to meet the need of developing leadership and responsibility of the Navajo and also in developing the communities on the reservation” (Ashe, et al., 1966, p. 4).

To build a community college on the Navajo reservation was one thing but to have it owned and operated by the Navajo people themselves was not given serious consideration. The report indicated instead that, “Legal control of the Navajo Community College will probably be held by a county junior college board,” and that a Navajo advisory committee of 7-9 Navajos could be designated “to discuss general plans for college development” (Ashe, et al., 1966, p. 71). The study observed that:

“The Navajo wanted to live on the reservation. That was home. His desire to live in harmony with nature and his fellow man seemed to dictate that he live in the community of mountains, the painted desert, and beautiful landscapes. All of these things seemed to lead to the conclusion that a college on the reservation would be good for his people” (Ashe, et al, 1966, p. 3).

The report failed entirely to recommend any Navajo culture, language, or philosophy, or to allow for a curriculum that would reflect the Navajo people and their traditional way of life. Although it provided a general framework for establishing a community college, it took the Navajo leaders’ vision, desire, and ambition to move the recommended activities to action, on terms they themselves envisioned.

Summary

An analysis of the history of Diné College has the potential to yield a new interpretation and understanding of its historical underpinnings. This study thus contributes toward developing viable literature on American Indian education through a tribal control framework. The emerging literature on tribal colleges has fostered culturally relevant academic programs and courses not only among tribal colleges, but state-funded colleges and universities that serve diverse groups. This study can promote a respectful understanding among potential and current faculty, staff, administrators, presidents, boards of regents, and policy makers at current and future tribal colleges, and at outside institutions seeking to educate Native Americans.

This chapter offers all relevant components related to this study about Diné College. The oral history method is consistent with the traditional Diné “story-telling” view of the past. Diné oral history does not distinguish between historical research based

exclusively on written record and verbally recited accounts; they are one and the same and inextricably linked in telling the Diné College story. However, where they differ is by way of the method in which they are recalled. One is recorded by way of written record with citations, while the other is recorded by memory reinforced with visual symbolic images. Thus this literature review surveys the written literature as it relates to Diné College, tribal colleges, and institutional histories, particularly pertaining to accounts or the lack thereof of relevant cultural activities. This literature review recognizes dissertations on institutional histories about tribal colleges in general and Diné College in particular followed by books and a formative feasibility study on Diné College.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STORY – THE NORTH

“After the emergence of Diné from the underworld to the present world the sacred mountains had been given their positions by First Man. Various seeds of trees, shrubs, plants, and grasses brought from the lower – worlds were planted in a very ritual way to contribute to the completion and beauty of the earth and to make this world a suitable dwelling for its future inhabitants”

NCC Site Blessing Ceremony, *Navajo Times*, April 15, 1971.

The Story of Diné College Overview

This chapter presents the story behind the establishment of Diné College which answers the research question: What cultural antecedents contributed to the founding of the first tribally-controlled college’s unique status and its present standing as a higher education institution? This qualitative study employs the oral history method with its narrative, story-telling approach applied by the researcher. The study’s clear aim is to create a “cultural history” regarding the establishment of Diné College as the first tribally-controlled institution in the United States. Cultural history reflects the long-established traditional stories and ceremonies, including their subsidiary songs and prayers of the Diné people which were fully integrated into the unique establishment of Diné College. Before the story of Diné College is undertaken, however, definitions of key terms are presented, along with an organizational summary.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section presents the storied creation of the Diné people through the evolution of four worlds (black, blue, yellow, and white) and is followed by a discussion on Euro-American policies initiated to assimilate American Indians into Eurocentric values and practices. As federal policies of

extermination, termination, and eventually self-determination evolved, the “story” of the Navajo people’s vision to create its own institution of higher education unfolds. That section then concludes with a discussion of the legislative and political history of Diné College’s establishment. The second section presents the oral history derived from the interview transcripts of four Navajo individuals. Those narratives are woven into this study’s thematic story of Diné College which explores the range of significant nuances behind the unique philosophy and purpose of Diné College’s founding. This section thereby explains who, what, when, where, and why certain events culminated in the establishment of Diné College. The individual stories narrated by the informants are interwoven into this chapter to reveal the cultural activities and experiences which contribute to the unique dedication, or opening ceremonies, of Diné College and the establishment of its guiding philosophy.

In its aggregate, this chapter reveals five major themes, including leadership, land, mission, curriculum, and philosophy which are further discussed in Chapter Five. The five themes reflect profound depth abiding in the cultural history of Diné College while respecting sacred elements (including songs, prayers, and ceremonies) that can only be shared and learned by direct contact with an appropriate elder.

Definition of Key Terms

Sa’ah Naaghái Bik’eh Hózhóón (SNBH) – *Sa’ah Naaghái Bik’eh Hozhoon* is identified by Diné College as: “*Ni’ Asdzáán dóó Yádiłhił biyi’dóó Bikq’ii dóó Bi’áadii ałch’i’ naazláago dabiilzı́ díí bee át’é hwiindzin. Díí bik’ehgo na’nitin dóó óhoo’aah*

silá,” or in English: “The duality of knowledge in form of male and female are present in mother earth and father sky. These are the foundations of teaching and learning” (Diné College Board of Regents Resolution, DC-FEB-1900-08, February 9, 2008). SNBH designates “the Diné traditional living system, which places human life in harmony with the natural world and the universe. The philosophy provides both for protection from the imperfections in life and for the development of well-being” (Diné College Catalog, 2008, p. 3). Dr. Herbert Benally explains that SNBH reverts to “where life is generated,” (*ákwe’é iiná hóló*) at the exact intersection between the dual spheres and the complimentary interaction between male and female, east to west (male) south to north (female). He explains that “this is also the symbolic representation of the concept of *sa’ah naaghái* and *bik’eh hózhó*” (Benally, 1990, p. 3).

SNBH thereby embodies the complimentary relationship individuals have with the natural environment, the cardinal directions, blood and clan relatives, animals, and that which is sanctioned through prayers, songs, and ceremonies. SNBH also designates the balance between the *Naayéé’jí* (male-protection way) and *Hózhó’jí* (female-beauty way) principles which creates *Hozhoon* (beauty and harmony). It allows for one to live into old age with all physical attributes, and mental faculties, and to see one’s grandchildren and great-grandchildren toward the end of life’s journey. As a process, SNBH is represented “with domains as *Nitsáhákees* [thinking], *Nahat’á* [planning], *Iiná* [implementing], and *Siih Hasin* [assessing] (Diné College Self Study Report, 2008, p. 7). To attain *Sa’ah Naaghái Bik’eh Hozhoon* is to reach the ideal age of 102 years old (Jack C. Jackson, Personal Communication, January 13, 2009). At Diné College, the “mission

is to apply the *Sa'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón* principles to advance quality student learning: through *Nitsáhakees*, *Nahatá*, *Iiná* and *Siih Hasin...*”(Diné College Catalog, 2006-2007, p. 3).

The four domains of the *Sa'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hozhoon* philosophy will be described herein. A simple definition of each is not possible as each is a component of a large, complex, all-encompassing worldview.

Nitsáhákees – *Nitsáhákees* is the act or process of thinking. Thinking derives from the early dawn light spirit and contains powerful energy that creates movement and therefore requires respect and care (Benally, 1990, p. 7(1)). *Nitsáhákees* is adorned with *Yootgai* (white shell), and represents *Hayootkáat* (dawn), Há'a'aah (east), *Sis Naajini* (Mt. Blanca), *Daan* (spring), and birth phase of life. *Nitsáhákees* “represents yesterday and Navajo culture and language” (Diné College Self Study Report, 2008, p. 7). The Early Dawn spirit symbolizes the east where good thoughts, sound mind, physical fitness, and mental strength originate (Aronilth, 1991, p. 28).

Nahat'á – *Nahat'á* means planning. Planning is symbolized by *Dootliizhii* (turquoise), and represents *Nihoodiitiiizh* (day), *Shádi'ááh* (south), *Tsoodzil* (Mt. Taylor), *Shíihgo* (Summer), and the adolescent phase of life. Dr. Wilson Aronilth explains that the south direction is comprised of the Blue Twilight spirit and that “ideals filled with good things to make life complete come from this direction along with a humble feeling to do better in life” (Aronilth, 1991, p. 29). *Nahat'á* represents plans for “today, teaching, and learning,” as well as the interaction between thinking and planning for self and others (Diné College Self Study Report, 2008, p. 7). The term *Nahat'á* also derives from the

word *Naatanii* (leader). Leadership equates with representing one's family, community, organization, or nation. It also represents the goals and objectives that the person designated envisions for himself/herself and others in the best interest of everyone, including the tribe or in this case, the college. Dr. Manley Begay explains that "to be an effective *naatanii* one needs to know Beautyway ceremonial songs and prayers, land and water functions, planting seasons, domestic disputes, and daily issues; to be an effective *hashkei naatanii* [protection way leader] one needs to know the way of the warrior, which means knowing war songs and prayers, possessing bravery, and showing concern for war and safety issues" (Begay, 1997, p. 42).

Iná - *Iná* means living, or following one's mature life. Although a definition of life can vary, for this study *Iná* is represented by *Diichilí* (abalone shell), *Niihootsoi* (evening), *E'e'aah* (west), *Dook'o'oostíid* (San Francisco Peaks), *Aak'eedgo* (fall), and adulthood in life. In terms of Diné College's institutional process, *Iná* "represents tomorrow and family, kinship and community" (Diné College Self Study Report, 2008, p. 7). Aronilth explains that the west is associated with the spirit of Yellow Evening Twilight, and that "life is a journey and each of us has a different amount of time which to travel" (Aronilth, 1991, p. 1). *Iina* means implementation or activation of thoughts and plans into action.

SiihHasin - *Siih Hasin* is wisdom gained from tested experience, skill, knowledge, and understanding. *Siih Hasin* is represented by *bááshzhinii* (black jet), *Nihodilthit* or *Cha'hatheet* (night), *Náhookqs* (north), *Dibé Nitsáá* (Mt. Hesperus), *Haigo* (winter), and old age. Diné College equates *Siih Hasin* with assurance, reflection,

evaluation, and “represents the future and physical, spiritual and intellectual well-being” (Diné College Self Study Report, 2008, p. 7). Aronilth explains that the north spirit represents Folding Darkness and that it is “for positive self awareness to protect us from danger and evil” (Aronilth, 1991, p. 33).

Hozhooji – *Hozhooji* way principles refers to the Beauty or Blessing Way ceremonies, complete with songs, and female teachings. *Hozhooji* way teachings encourage generosity, kindness, respect for self, kinship, clanship, regard for others, values, learning traditional knowledge, reverence of and care for speech, listening, thankfulness, balanced mental perspective, optimism, displaying a proper sense of humor, maintaining strong reverence of self, being enthusiastic and motivated, and caring for one’s work (Jim, 1996; See APPENDIX I). Dr. Manley Begay notes that in leadership, “*Hozhooji* naatani means the beauty way of leadership and is generally female; it is concerned with domestic affairs like animals, children, home, land, and clan issues” (Begay, 1997, p. 42).

Naayéjei - *Naayéjei* way principles abide in Protection or Protective Way ceremonies, songs, and male teachings. *Naayéjei* means protection from negative thoughts, an improper attitude, inappropriate behavior, and overindulgence that leads to imbalance and disharmony. Some *Naayéjei* teachings include: “Never be fearful, never be impatient, do not be hesitant, never be easily hurt, never be overly emotional, do not be overly reluctant, never be overly argumentative, do not overburden the self, do not be shy, do not get mad easily, do not carry around expectations of negative circumstances” (Jim, 1996; See APPENDIX J). As for application to leadership, Begay explains that

Naaeeiji or “*Haskeijii naatani* means the warrior way of leadership and is male in nature, but not exclusively; it is concerned with foreign affairs like enemy, war, and safety issues” (Begay, 1997, p. 42).

Tradition – Tradition, or traditional, in this study means the customs, culture and traditions of Diné people, including songs, prayers, and ceremonies. Traditional Diné ceremonies are those found in the Blessing Way and Protection Way ceremonies. A traditional Diné person is one who believes and practices prayers, songs, and ceremonies contained within these ceremonies.

Culture – Culture in Diné life means the language, songs, ceremonies, and prayers, both traditional and contemporary that are part of the Diné way of life. Diné traditional culture means the ethos (values and beliefs) of the Diné people.

Cultural History - Cultural history presents a particular set of beliefs based on traditions, culture, and historical experiences from the interpretations of the anthropological and historical disciplines. Cultural history examines the past, present, and even the future life of a group of people. It can consist of the interpretation of records, oral traditions, narratives, customs, arts, and knowledge from the past to the present of human societies or of a particular culture.

Duality – *Atchi Silah* or *Atch’í’ Naazláago* – are the principles of male and female, night and day, negative and positive, and other inter-dependent, inter-related, and inter-linked elements, where often conflict and harmony co-exist, which also considers that for action there is a reaction, and which is contained within the unique Diné term of *Sa’ah Naaghai Bik’eh Hozhoon* as well as within prayers, songs, and ceremonies.

Section One

The purpose for sharing the Diné Creation story is to understand the relationship that the Diné people have to land, air, water, and fire, as well as to the various animals, and how this story was relied upon in thinking about establishing and operating a college. This first section includes stories from individuals as primary sources and from written secondary sources.

Diné Creation Story

The traditional Diné belief in *Iina* (life) and all that it encompasses resides in the ceremonies, prayers, songs, and stories of the *Diyin Dine'e* (Holy Beings). Diné origin stories of *Hajiinei* (the emergence), told through oral accounts, describe an evolution through four worlds and Diné believe that origin stories can only be absorbed through one's life time and not through books or tapes (Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008). The stories and songs of Changing Woman, a revered female deity, are similar to other peoples' traditional stories and they need to be protected and respected because they represent the Diné, present and future (Jimmie Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008). The Diné people emerged upward through those four worlds with no particular date attached, but only as four ancient events, which endure as lessons and teachings for the Diné people to know (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, October 25, 2008).

According to those teachings, the First World was the Black World, Black Air or *Ni'Hodithit*, which is darkness and is described as a small floating island with four corners. Each corner represented the four cardinal directions. To the East was Dawn the

life giver; Folding Dawn containing white column of clouds; Coyote, also known as Child of Dawn; white shell, Water Spirit; and First Man (*Attse Hastiin*) who burnt a Crystal for fire which was used to awaken the mind. To the South were Folding Sky Blue, turquoise, Bluish Black Heron, and a blue column of clouds. To the West was Folding Twilight, a yellow column of clouds, abalone, Rainbow Mist Spirit, and First Woman (*Attse Aszdaa*) who burned turquoise for fire, and who represented darkness and death. To the North was Folding Darkness, a black column of clouds, Thunder Mountain Spirit, and jet obsidian. Different Insect Beings and Mist People governed the Black world.

Through the Mist People First Light formed the Creator of All Things (*Ya'atnii Neeyani*). Using a Crystal Rock Light, the Creator (*Ya'atnii Neeyani*) made First Talking Spirit (*Haashche'éélt'í*) to represent Life. Next, Second Talking Spirit (*Haashch'ééghan*) was made to represent Birth, and through First Talking Spirit (*Haashche'éélt'í*) *Sa'ah Naaghái* was made representing Male; and through Second Talking Spirit (*Haashch'ééghan*) *Bik'eh Hozhoon* was made, representing Female. According to Aronilth, “*Sa'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hozhóón* is the essence and existence of life. It is our spirit, soul, mind, and body” (Aronilth, 1980, p. 71).

Different Insects Beings (*Wolazhini Dine'e or Na'ozoziii*) included spider ants (*Na'ozozii*), wasps (*Tsesna*), black ants (*Wolazhini*), beetles (*Niltsago*), dragon flies (*Ta'niil'aii*), bat (*Jaa'abani*), Spider Man (*Na'ashje'ii Hastiin*), and Spider Woman (*Na'ashje'ii Aszdaa*) represented the First World. These beings valued the idea of making and carrying out plans together, with consensus being the method of decision-

making. The First Seed Corn (*Doo Honoot'inii*) was also part of the First World. A disagreement occurred among the Insect Beings who began shooting evil at one another. Before this world was destroyed by fire, an opening to the East was made. First Man took portions from the four clouds and the four mountains to take into the next upper world (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, Personal Communication, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971; Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984).

The Second World, Blue World, Blue Air, or *Ni'Hoodootiizh*, was created when First Man brought the four pillars of light and samples of the four mountain dirt from the First World, then he used tobacco to remove the evil that was part of the First World's demise. He expanded the four pillars of light and the four mountain dirt specimens by blowing tobacco smoke on them and then toward each direction, using Tobacco Horn Worm's pipe. The Blue World (*Dotiizh*) was represented by feathered beings, including blue bird (*Dolii*), blue hawks (*Ginitsoh Dootlizh*), blue jays (*Joo'gii*), and blue herons (*Taltl'aai Ha'aleeh*). Other animals in this world were locust (*Wiinishchidi*), and badger (*Nahashch'id*). The wolf (*Ma'iitsoh*) lived in a White House to the East which was represented by ZigZag Lightning. To the South, wildcat (*Nashdoitbei*) lived in a Blue House, which was represented with Straight Lightning. The kit fox (*Ma'iiltsoi*) lived in the Yellow House to the West, which was represented with the Rainbow. The mountain lion lived in a Black House to the North which was represented by Sun Ray.

In each of the houses the animals were fighting and killing one another when First Man killed them all. Coyote traveled to each of the different colored Houses. After

restoring peace First Man returned life to the animals he killed, and thereafter the remaining animals agreed to give him songs and prayers for what he did. He then created a Prayer Feather Wand (*Ke'eet'aan*) of black jet, representing Sun Ray (*Shábittóól*) of the north; turquoise, representing Straight Lightning (*Atsoolghat*) of the south; abalone, representing Rainbow (*Nááts'ílid*) of the west; and white shell, representing Zig Zag Lightning (*Atsin Nítlish*) of the east - all were made for the remaining animals and holy beings to travel on into the next world, the Yellow World. However, before this process could be completed, an offering (*Yeel*) was made to allow for the passage to occur (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, Personal Communication, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971; Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984; Mitchell, 2001).

Blue bird was the first to enter the Third World, Yellow Air, or *Ni' Haltsoh*, from the West, followed by First Man, First Woman, Coyote, the Insect Beings, and the remaining animals. They entered the Yellow World by following the four footprints on the wand created from the sacred stones, using the songs and prayers given to First Man from the animals and birds. In the Yellow World there were two rivers that crossed. The Female River crossed from North to South, while the Male River crossed from East to West, also known as Male and Female Rivers (*Txó' Biká dóó Txó' Bí'áád*), Crossing of the Waters (*Txó' Atnáozlǫ́*), or Place Where the Waters Crossed (*Txó' Bit Dahisk'id*).

First Man brought the four pillars of light and the four mountain dirt to the Yellow World. The mountain to the east was called *Tsisnaajini* or White Shell (*Yootgai*) Mountain, which was represented by Turquoise Boy and First Man, Dawn Boy, Dawn

Girl, and the Mirage People. To the South, *Tsoodzit* or Blue Bead-Turquoise (*Doothiizhi*) Mountain was ordained with Turquoise Girl, Blue Twilight Boy and Blue Twilight Girl, and Sunshine People. To the West, *Dook'o'oostiid* or Abalone Shell (*Dichit'i*) Mountain was ordained with White Shell Girl in addition to First Woman, also Yellow Evening Boy, Yellow Evening Girl, and Sunset People. To the North, *Dibé Nits'a* was ordained with Black Jet Obsidian (*Baazhini*) Mountain, Folding Darkness Boy, and Folding Darkness Girl. To the center there was Banded Rock Mountain or Banded Rock House (*Dzit Na'oodilii*), ordained with Soft Goods and Mirage House (*Há'dahoniyé' Bee Hohan*), and Pollen People. To the center-east was Gobernador Knob Mountain (*Dzit Ch'o'oli'i*), which represented Precious Stones.

There existed four animal leaders in this world, including the bear, big snake, otter, and mountain lion. Other animals also existed in this world, including the fox (*ma'iitsoi*), deer (*biih*), cat (*Mosi*), spiders (*Na'ashje'ii*), lizards (*Na'ashoiilbahi*), snakes (*Na'ashoi*), squirrels (*Dlozilgai*), chipmucks (*Hazeits'osii*), mice (*Na'ats'oosi*), and turkey (*Tazhii*) (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971; Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984).

It was in this world that Turquoise Boy slept with First Woman, which angered and hurt First Man, and which was identified as the first adulterous act. First Man consulted big snake, mountain lion, otter, and bear to evaluate the action of Turquoise Boy and First Woman, which led to an agreement among them that the two sexes should separate. While the separation was happening, yellow fox, blue fox, and badger

developed strong sexual desires and sought various women uncontrollably. Following the separation, First Man approached and asked a hermaphrodite (*Nádleeh*) to prepare food, to weave clothing, and to fix his hair, since women were not available. He then built a raft and moved with most males to the opposite side of the crossing rivers. Some men became frustrated and tried to satisfy themselves sexually with strange objects but were struck by lightning. The women on the other side of the river, after losing interest in the few men who stayed with them, also found sexual pleasure with strange objects, which led to the birth of certain Monsters who would eventually become Giants (*yei'iiis*) in the fourth world. Although they tried to become independent from the men, they grew lazy and weeds overgrew their fields of corn, beans, and squash. Tired of their sexual longing, First Man and the four leaders convened a purifying ceremony and summoned the women to come back to the men (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, Personal Communication, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971; Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984).

At the same time, Coyote was lurking around the edge of the crossing rivers. He had taken a White Shell, which fell out of First Man's pouch, to the water's whirlpool, where he decided to steal one of Water Monster's babies (*Tééhootsódii Biyazhi*) by hiding it under his blanket. Becoming furious, Water Monster created heavy rains which led to the rising of the water. As the Third World became flooded, deer and different birds instructed First Man that an exit should be made at the East Mountain. He quickly took the four portions of dirt from the four mountains, then tried planting a cedar tree

from the Third World but it would not grow tall enough. He then planted a pine tree which also failed to grow sufficiently, and then a male reed, which again did not grow tall enough. Finally, he planted the female reed which did grow tall enough to extend into the next world. First Man, First Woman, Coyote, the Insects, and a female and male representative of each animal crawled through the reed into the Fourth World. The locust was the first to enter the reed, and the turkey, as is evident by his white-tip tail, was the last. To this very day, the turkey's white-tip tail represents the rising waters' suds, and its feathers are used in certain ceremonies to recount this period of Navajo history (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, Personal Communication, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971; Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984).

As First Man, First Woman, and the animals entered into the Fourth World, also known as the White or Glittering World, or *Ni' Halgai*, they realized that Coyote took Water Monster's baby and ordered him to return it, which he did. An offering of White Shell Basket (*Nitliz*) was made and the flooding waters receded. The place of emergence is called *Hajínéí* and occurred near *Dinétaah*, by Gobernardo Knob and Huerferno Moutain (Irene Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971; Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984).

The Fourth World was a body of water where and when locust emerged. He was met by strange monsters that tested his patience by requiring him to sit in place for four days without moving, and having him draw an arrow through his body first, through his

mouth, and then through the side of his body. He passed the tests and the strange monsters allowed him and the others to enter that world. The Four Winds blew and dried up the water and mud which created the land. At this time the First Fire was made using flint rock from the Third World, igniting wood from fir, pinon, spruce, and juniper which issued a strong roar. Then the First Poker (*Honeeshgish*) was made, accompanied by songs and prayers. The newcomers then constructed the first Sweat Lodge (*Táchééh*). At nearby Gobernardo Knob (*Ch'óol'í'í*) First Man and First Woman soon thereafter found a baby who was to become the one now known as White Shell Woman or Changing Woman, (*Asdzaa Naadle'i* or *Yoolgai Asdzaa*). First Man and First Woman then built a Hogan with five logs which became the Male Hogan (*Atch'í'adeez'á*). The women built a Female Hogan using stalks from sunflower. The entrances for both Hogans were made to the East, where songs and prayers originated. The Hogans were blessed with White Corn and Yellow Corn, Corn Pollen, and powder from Prayer Sticks. At precisely this time the first death occurred and Coyote was given the task of devising a way to see where the dead would go. He threw a black rock into a lake and it sank thus it was decided that all who died would go to the world below (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, Personal Communication, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971, Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984).

Meanwhile, White Shell Woman gave birth to twins, Monster Slayer (*Naayéé' Neezghání*) and Born for Water (*Txó' Bájish Chíní*), but she had to hide her sons in a hole in her Hogan by the fire to protect them from the Monster Giants (*yei'is*) who had also

emerged from the Third World. As the twin boys were playing outside, Spider Woman (*Na'ashjé'ii Asdzáá*) noticed them and began to teach them songs and prayers. They were curious to find out who their father was, so she told them it was the Sun (*Jóhónaa'éí*) and gave each twin a sacred Eagle Plume Feather (*Hiinááh bits'os*) to be used in searching for him. When they then asked their mother for directions to see him, she acquiesced to their questions and warned them that they would encounter obstacles such as Reeds That Cut (*Lókáá' Adigishii*), Moving Sand (*Séít'áád*), Canyon That Closed in on a Traveler (*Tsé' Ahééníídiit*), Four Pillars of Rocks (*Tsé Yót'ááhi' aii*), and the Wash That Swallowed (*Nahodits'q'*). As they drew close to the Sun, there would be a Great Snake (*Thiish tsoh Dooniniti'ii*), Huge Black Bear (*Shashtosh*), Big Thunder (*Ii'ni'bika'ii*), and Big Wind (*Níyoltsoh*), all of whom would challenge them. However they were armed with prayers and chants from their mother and Spider Woman in how to overcome these obstacles.

As they made their way to their father's home in the sky, they encountered his wife, who became jealous when she learned that Sun sired the twins. Together the Sun and his wife tested the twin warriors by lowering them into Hot Springs and demanded that they identify the sacred mountains, which they did. Once they proved who they were, they were armed with additional songs and prayers, and were instructed that Monster Slayer (*Naayéé' Neezghání*) would be the one to kill the Big Giant (*Yeitso*) while Born for Water (*Txó' Bájish Chíní*) would guard the fire, to watch the fire poker, and offer prayers and songs in behalf of his brother. The Sun further told the twins that he would be the one to kill *Yeitso*, the leading monster who was actually their half-brother. Monster

Slayer then went on to kill Horned Monster; Big Monster; all the Bird Monsters, including the father, the mother, and their two children; Monster who Kicked People Off The Cliff; Tracking Bear Monster; Monster That Killed With His Eyes; Crushing Rock Monster; Moving Sands; Twelve Antelopes; Wandering Stone, and others. An additional group of monsters, including Hunger, Poverty, Grime, Sleep, Lice, and Old Age were allowed to live because they would be useful to the future of the Diné by teaching them not to be lazy, but to be generous and to live a full life. The Sun was asked to kill those who lived in the four houses but to safeguard the descendants of the male and female pairs of animals who emerged from the Third World.

Following his exploits, Monster Slayer was found bloody, beaten, and unconscious from enemies who had almost killed him, which was when the first Enemy Way (*Anaaji*) ceremony was performed by the Holy People to help him recover. This ceremony is performed today by the Diné people for those who have gone to war and have returned to the Diné homeland (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, Personal Communication, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971; Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984).

Following the defeat of the monsters, the sun and moon, night and day, and the four seasons were created to bring order to life, including planting and harvesting. To the East, Dawn Boy, White Bead Boy (*Yootgai Ashkii*), Blanket of White Shell, White Shell (*Yootgai*), Daylight, Black Cloud Blanket and Male Rain, White Lightning, and Bear (*Shash*) were assigned to Blanca Peak (*Sisnaajini*). To the South, Turquoise Girl,

Turquoise (*Doottiizhi*), Dark Mist, Blue Clouds Blanket and Female Rain, Stone Knife, and Big Snake (*Thiish Tsoh*) were placed at Mount Taylor (*Tsoodzil*). To the West, Yellow Corn Girl, Abalone (*Diichiti*), Abalone Boy (*Diichiti Ashkii*), Yellow Cloud Blanket, Black Clouds, Male Rain, and Black Wind were established at San Francisco Peak (*Dooko'oostiid*). To the North, Corn Beetle Girl, Darkness, Rainbow, Black Jet Obsidian (*Baashzhini*), and Lightning were distributed to Hesperus Peak (*Dibé Nitsa*) (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, Personal Communication, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971; Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984).

As the Holy Beings and the Diné people settled into the Fourth World, other tribes gathered there too, including the Paiutes, the Chiricahua Apaches, the Mescalero Apaches, and the Jicarilla Apaches. Around this time Changing Woman grew up within twelve (12) days with instruction from First Talking Spirit (*Haashche'éélt'ít*) giving her the songs and prayers to observe her “Walking into Beauty” ceremony (*Kinaaldá*). She bore the four original clans of Towering House (*Kinya'aani*), One Who Walks Around (*Hoghan'naagha'nii*), Bitter Water (*To'di'chiini*), and Mud People (*Hashtlishnii*) clans (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, Personal Communication, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971; Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984).

The teachings from these stories implant appropriate respect for the clan system and regulate proper relationships, or “*K'e*” among the Diné people. During the time of creation, various ceremonies emerged to correct the disharmony that would confront the

Diné people. These ceremonies were conducted to preserve and restore order among the elements and with the Diné people for all time. In keeping with these narratives and through the use of Blessing and Protection Way ceremonies, order and balance were restored whenever disharmony occurred. In most, if not all the stories, the improper action of animals as well as of individual Diné was corrected so that harmony, “*hozho*,” could be restored through ceremonies and oral teachings. Stories about mythic characters, including coyote the trickster, enable the Diné people to perpetuate their language and culture. Those stories serve as a reminder to the Diné of historical events, and they bestow wisdom, knowledge, and guidance about proper ethical and moral character and behavior (Irene H. Clark, Personal Communication, December 25, 2008; Glenabah Hardy, Personal Communication, December 26, 2008; Tommy Singer, Personal Communication, January 1, 2009; Yazzie, 1971; Roessel, 1971; Aronilth, 1980; Zolbrod, 1984; Mitchell, 2001).

Diné cultural history recognizes the Pueblo people (*Kisaani*) people in the Fourth World, and from then on interaction has continued through trading, ceremonies, and marriage. Contact with the Spanish people (*Besh bi'chá'i*, meaning “metal hat”) and Mexican people (*Naakai* meaning “those who walk around”) has been frequent and is more evident in the oral history of the Navajos compiled prior to and during the arrival of the Euro-Americans. Navajo oral history does not locate such interaction on a Westernized timeline but rather fixes it in key events first accounted for in oral storytelling. Spicer, Underhill, Acrey, and other anthropologists place Pueblos contact with the Navajo arrival somewhere between 1100 AD to the present, with the Spanish

from the 1300s to 1500s, and with the Mexicans from 1500s to the mid 1800s, then the Euro-Americans arrived during the middle of the 19th century.

Early European Conquest American Colonial Education

Although the Diné people had conflicts with the various Pueblos, the Spanish, and the Mexicans over a 600 year time span, it was the arrival of the Euro-Americans from the eastern shores of what is now the United States that the Diné world would be greatly devastated. The conquest or “discovery” by Christopher Columbus, an “Italian merchant sailor well-schooled in Portuguese colonizing techniques,” of the Caribbean islands, or “Guanahani by its Arawak natives” introduced European interests in the newly “discovered” lands (Williams, 1990, p.78-82). American Indian Legal scholar, Robert A. Williams, Jr. explains the rationale that the Catholic church, as an example of other European interest, would use in conquering land for the Queen, King, pope, or church, stating:

“The Spanish bulls of 1492 strongly echoed the basic themes of universal papal guardianship first elaborated by Innocent IV in the thirteenth century and then revived in papal legal discourse in the mid-fifteenth-century Portuguese African bulls of donation. The pope, exercising his indirect jurisdictional authority as shepherd of Christ’s universal flock, entrusted the heathen inhabitants of the lands newly discovered by Columbus to the care and tutelage of a qualified Christian monarch, in this instance, Spain” (Williams, 1990, p. 79-80).

This led to the beginning of European expansion into the western hemisphere. The arrival of the Europeans heralded hegemony of American culture with its political institutions, economic infrastructures, ideologies, religious beliefs, and its educational

system, reinforced by colonial missionaries, its aristocratic pretensions, and its democratic principles, all promoted early on first by colonial missionaries and eventually by other institutions to eradicate Indian culture and taking of Indian land. The unstoppable invasion upon American Indian life was also influenced by the Spanish from Mexico to North America. In the early 1500s the Spanish conquistadors began their work to Christianize the natives as noted by Father Bartolome de Las Casas when he wrote: "God created these simple people [American Indians] without evil and without guile. They are most obedient and faithful to their natural lords and to the Christians whom they serve...Surely [they] would be most blessed in the world if only they worshipped the True God" (McAlister, 1984, p. 154). Spearheaded by the Spaniards, the European dominance of the entire western hemisphere eventually led to full conquest and the systematic destruction of American Indians.

The colonial goal was to draw the Indians into the imperial orbit of English interest by Christianizing, assimilating and "civilizing" them in as much as they were perceived as savage and uncivilized (Reyhner, 1989, p. 9). Schools were built alongside churches on Indian land as part of the effort to separate Indians from their traditional village or nomadic lifestyle in the interest of claiming lands first for the King or Queen, then for Church, and finally for the American government in the process of westward expansion. Various Christian organizations, including Catholics, Protestants, Moravians, Baptists, Mennonites, Quakers, and Mormons assisted in the imposition of "manifest destiny," or the federal government's policy of assimilation to eradicate the Indians.

Prominent American leaders such as George Washington and Henry Knox, to name just two, actively promoted the attempt to “civilize” and assimilate American Indians. There was a well-documented aggressive plan to eradicate American Indian cultures and replace them with European-oriented world views by attacking the young, leading to the removal of children from their homes and the influence of their parents and Native communities and sending them to federal Indian boarding schools. Interestingly, America’s oldest and most prominent university, Harvard College, was chartered and tasked to “civilize” American Indians. In 1636, Harvard College was established in part “for the education of English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge” (Layman, 1942, p. 71-72; Morison, 1930, p. 6). Similarly, William and Mary College at Williamsburg, Virginia was established in 1693 (Oppelt, 1990, p. 3), as was Dartmouth College in 1769, for “the education and instruction of youth of the Indian tribes in this Land in reading, writing and all parts of Learning” (Layman, 1942, p. 87-88). All three institutions were charged with the mission of educating Indians but “only included a commitment to American Indians in their charters in order to secure funds from prospective donors in England, not for any noble purposes” (Bitsoi, 2007, p. 21).

Early federal relations with American Indians can be best described as being controlled by a government driven primarily by the impact of European imperialism and land control. The cultural assaults were intended to destroy the local inhabitants and make way for European-style settlement in the new lands. The onslaught of violence, disease, ethnocide, lies, displacement, and killing was a product of that vast, indomitable movement. The Navajo people, with its accompanying ceremonial activities, including

songs, prayers, and dances, were able to withstand the genocidal onslaught. As the story of Diné College unfolds, it will become apparent that the lasting role of ancient pre-conquered traditions in asserting tribal control while establishing the first Native American college, would serve as a powerful force in the tribal college movement.

Generally, the results of government sponsored suppression of indigenous languages and cultures in the United States have been devastating for American Indian peoples. Prior to the turn of the nineteenth century this suppression was coupled with genocidal activities such as forced removal which helped greatly reduce the American Indian population in the United States from an estimated ten million in 1492 to just over two hundred thousand in 1900. Russell Thornton (1987) describes this drop in population as the ‘American Indian holocaust’ (Reyhner, 1996, p. 1). The history of forced assimilation and imposed schooling was a campaign of linguistic and cultural hegemony intended to strip American Indians of their culture and language now called “ethnic cleansing” (Reyhner, 1996, p. 9). This genocidal campaign with its alignment of allied activities was finally curtailed by the United Nations (UN). On December 9, 1948, the UN approved the International law against genocide:

“In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group” (Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights, 2003, p. 1).

In 1802, the young American Congress had then authorized the Trade and Intercourse Act which appropriated \$15,000 per year “to promote civilization among the

friendly Indian tribes and to secure the continuance of their friendship” (Prucha, 1975, p. 19). It was believed at the time that this was the most humane and efficient means to eradicate the ‘Indian problem.’ Essentially, educating native children was the trade-off for the continued taking of Indian land; however, it was the missionaries and agents of the federal government who received the funds on behalf of the tribes. In 1819 Congress established the Indian Civilization Fund Act as another assimilation step that provided \$10,000 a year. This act furthered the process by employing “capable persons of good moral character, [and] to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation” (Prucha, 1975, p. 33). This was the government’s first authorization for funds specifically intended to provide instruction to Indian children. Missionary and benevolent societies were contracted under this funding to teach Indian children reading, writing, arithmetic, and to perform “such other duties as may be enjoined” (Prucha, 1975, p. 33).

In 1824 the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was created under the Department of War. Ten years later, the BIA was transferred to the Department of Interior, with the same missionary agents advancing the assimilation policy of the federal government, which now included manual training in vocational schools to teach farming and homemaking. Thus the federal policy that enforced schooling for Indians fundamentally intended to relocate them away from their ancestral lands and make way for white expansion. The plan was for the BIA to provide for their basic needs as they were forced to adapt to a restricted reservation environment elsewhere. It was envisioned by the government that the Indian Tribes would replace their native culture with white values.

The Federal Policy of Removal was also linked to an attempt to extinguish language and the identity it served to maintain. In 1830, the Indian Removal Act was passed authorizing the President of the United States to exchange lands in the West for those held in the Eastern States. That legislation served to rationalize the majority opinion voiced by Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall, in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), that Indians were “domestic dependent nations” through the Doctrine of Discovery (Wilkins and Lomawaima, 2001, p. 84). Marshall wrote that Indians “are in a state of pupilage...Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian” (Getches, et al., 1998, p. 106). One year later, Marshall ruled in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) that Georgia law had no force on Cherokee land and reasoned that “the settled doctrine of the law of nations is that a weaker power does not surrender its independence---its protection. A weak state, in order to provide for its safety, may place itself under the protection of one more powerful, without stripping itself of the right of government, and ceasing to a state” (Getches, et al., 1998, p. 120). Federal jurisdiction over Indians as protectors and eventually as “trustee” of Indian lands and resources, including trust funds and education, would create the “trust” relationship between the U.S. government and Indian tribes. Certainly, Indians did not explicitly give away any of their sovereign rights and authority to the Federal government. Indian tribes did not expressly relinquish responsibilities for their family, their community, or their land through any court opinion or treaty. In terms of treaty provisions, however, the Federal government implicitly gained jurisdiction and hence authoritative responsibility, which facilitated the continued taking of land (Williams, 1990; Getches, 1998). A further

consequence, then, was that treaties became civilizing instruments “intended by the federal government to move the Indians from their aboriginal cultural patterns to the agricultural existence that was deemed necessary for the Indians” (Prucha, 1985, p. 16).

Although the Canons of Construction exist to construe ambiguities and decisions in favor of Indian tribes, tribal leaders who provided their “X” signature or sent delegates to inscribe it on their behalf, were not elected representatives (Getches, et al., 1979, p. 131). True Indian leaders maintained distinct leadership and decision-making over their own family, community or tribes, and not according to the boilerplate treaty agreements. Perhaps the reason so many treaties were broken by the Federal government with American Indian tribes was the lack of considered recognition that Indian tribes maintained their own unique patterns of leadership and governance specific to their respective history, culture, traditions, and spiritual customs. Begay explains that, “With the arrival of Europeans in North America, changing circumstances altered many of these patterns of leadership. In their dealings with Native nations, the colonial powers often looked for governance structures resembling their own, structures that place substantial power in the hands of single leaders” (Begay, et al., 2007, p. 277).

For the Navajo Nation, there were a number of treaties entered into, but because of mere size and segmented governing structures of the tribe based on a clan system, not all bands or communities were aware of them. Before the treaties were signed, thousands of Navajo people died, families were completely decimated, ceremonial items were destroyed, yet there was a point when peace was made, many lives were saved and Navajos returned to their homeland. Young notes that there were war and peace leaders,

but they were not necessarily the same individuals (Young, 1978, p. 25). Furthermore, although only two treaties were ratified by the Senate after agreements were made, there was no further official or widespread review from the Navajos except that they ratified their agreements independently or in small groups through prayers and offerings.

Through the prayers that were made, the Navajo people believed that the treaties became sacred and binding. The reason this point must be stated is that the present day Navajo Tribal government holds the agreement(s) to be valid and indeed sacred. To this day, the lives that were lost in the battles of all wars are remembered through ceremonies and prayers that also sanctify treaty documents. Promises that now stand as a peace accord require respect for the sovereign authority of the Navajo tribe and the Federal government. These same prayers, songs, and ceremonies would be reflected in the cultural activities that would comprise the cultural history of Diné College's founding.

Treaty Making with the Americans

Between 1846 and 1868, there were eight treaties signed between the Navajo Nation and the United States, although most attention is given to the last treaty signed in 1868, at Fort Sumner. Those previous to the 1868 treaty contained specific provisions for peaceful trading, the establishment of boundaries, religious advancement, domestication, hunting rights, and returning or exchanging prisoners and/or property. The 1849 and 1868 treaties were the only ones actually ratified by the U.S. Senate. The first peace treaty between the U.S. government and the Navajos signed on November 22, 1846, at Ojo del Oso, Navajo Country, proposed five distinct articles. This agreement,

made to achieve “lasting peace” between the Navajos and Americans, included peaceful relationships with the Pueblo Indians and the people of New Mexico (Acrey, 1978, p. 8). On May 20, 1848, the second peace treaty, known as the Newby Treaty, was made (Acrey, 1978, p. 9). The third treaty with the Americans, signed on September 9, 1849 at Canyon de Chelly, as part of the broader 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, was signed between the United States and the Mexican government and placed the Navajos under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States (Acrey, 1978, p. 15). This treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate. On July 18, 1855, the Articles of Agreement and Convention, also known as the Treaty of Laguna Negra, was signed upon Congressional enactment of the “Indian Appropriations” law, which established specified boundaries for the Navajos to live in (Acrey, 1978, p. 22). There is no text of the fourth treaty insofar as existing documents acknowledge, nothing was found to document its provisions possibly because it was not ratified.

On November 20, 1858, the Terms of Armistice was signed at Fort Defiance, New Mexico (now in Arizona) between the Americans and the Navajos. The sixth treaty, also known as the Bonneville Treaty, followed and was signed on December 25, 1858 to restore peace, but was “meant to punish the Navajos for their wrong doings, not to bring about a better understanding between the two forces” (Acrey, 1978, p. 29). A seventh treaty was signed on February 15, 1861, at Fort Fauntleroy, New Mexico (now Fort Wingate). Known as the Canby Treaty, its intent was to create a border between the residents of New Mexico and the Navajos, and to reduce the stealing of Navajo slaves by the New Mexicans (Acrey, 1978, p. 32).

The Treaty of June 1, 1868 signed at Fort Sumner, New Mexico at a place called Bosque Redondo, but known to the Navajos as “*Hweeldi*,” was the last one forged between the Navajos and the United States. Known to the Navajos as “*Naltsoos Sani*,” or old paper, it was signed between 9:00 and 10:00 a.m. by the United States Peace Commission led by General Sherman and Navajo Chief, Barboncito, with “twenty nine Navajo headmen representing their people, placed [ing] their marks on the treaty” (Acrey, 1978, p. 76). A preliminary agreement was made on May 29, 1868, with Barboncito formally chosen as the leader by the Navajos because of his earlier selection “at the earlier Coyote Ceremony” (Acrey, 1978, p. 75). A ceremony was held with Barboncito designated the “main patient” to represent the Navajos. The Navajos had been forced to walk over 350 miles (each way) to Fort Sumner and back to their current reservation territory in what would be called *The Long Walk*. Four years earlier, in 1864, Colonel Kit Carson led the U.S. troops into Navajo territory in a “search and destroy” mission to capture the Navajos. They were rounded up from Canyon DeChelly, marched to Fort Defiance and Fort Fauntelroy enroute to Fort Sumner. Approximately 8,354 Navajos made the brutal walk (Young, 1978, p. 34). On January 10, 1868, the acting commissioner of Indian Affairs, E.E. Mix, wrote in his report regarding the question of “Navajo self-sufficiency,” stating:

“Before the Navajos were brought to the Bosque Redondo, the Indians had made a living from the land without government help. They had hunted, grown corn and wheat, and had raised livestock. They had owned thousands of horses and sheep, and were recognized as one of the richest tribes in the country. Their blankets were some of the best that could be made” (Thompson as cited by Acrey, 1978, p. 69-70).

Less than 4,000 returned after the signing of the Treaty. Thirteen articles of agreement were accepted, including Article VI which stipulated the new education requirement for the Navajos as part of the Federal Government's "civilization" agenda:

"In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as may be settled on said agricultural parts of this reservation, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that, for every thirty children between the said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provision for this article to continue for not less than ten years" (Wilkins, 1999, p. 230).

This particular article in the 1868 treaty is considered by many to be the work of Chief Manuelito, one of the Navajo leaders (*nataaniis*). According to Navajo Nation Council Education officials, the article provided language that authorized the formation of the Navajo Nation government's Division of Navajo Education and eventually the inception of Navajo Community College. It is, or so it could be concluded, based on the dismal drop-out rates of Navajo students attending college and then unable to secure quality jobs on or off the Reservation that the Bureau of Indian Affairs failed miserably at implementing the education provision, and perhaps all of the provisions, of this treaty.

A report issued by the Board of Indian Commissioners dated November 23, 1869, reaffirmed the federal policy of assimilation which included education, stating that:

"The legal status of the uncivilized Indians should be that of wards of the government; the duty of the latter being to protect them, to educate them

in industry, the arts of civilization, and the principles of Christianity; elevate them to the rights of citizenship, and to sustain and clothe them until they can support themselves” (Getches, et al., 1998, p. 150).

Failure to provide competent teachers to “teach the branches of an English education,” however is evident in the rationale the founders of Diné College expressed in their desire to establish their own college on an Indian reservation that would be more responsive in meeting the divergent needs of a growing tribe. The recognized incompetence of BIA teachers in preparing students for further education or entry into the work force ultimately served as the catalyst to study the feasibility of establishing the first tribally-controlled college in the United States, fund it, and convert that idea into reality.

The 1887 General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act, allocated Indian land to settlers which further devastated the Indian way of life. For the Navajo people on the other hand, the return to aboriginal lands was and continues to be important to the survival of its culture, language, and spirituality. Confined to the reservation per the 1868 Treaty provision, the Navajo people were unable to hunt and harvest in areas once part of their homeland. The federal policies and provisions contained within the Treaty of 1868 resulted in the systematic colonization of the Navajo people. Further domination was secured by the Compulsory Indian Education Act passed in 1887, which required Indian students to attend school without parental consent. This forced education policy was a prelude to the Boarding School model espoused by future government agents, commissioners, and superintendents as a means of forcing the Indian out of his or her “savagery.” The weapons of assimilation, namely western education and land appropriation, forced Indian tribes to retreat but not surrender. Superintendent of Indian

Schools, Captain Richard H. Pratt recommended that control over land could not be compromised if educating Native children meant consigning them to boarding schools.

Pratt further stated:

“the end to be gained, however far away it may be, is the complete civilization of the Indian and absorption into our national life, with all the rights and privileges, guaranteed to every other individual, the Indian to lose his identity as such, to give up his tribal relations and to be made to feel that he is an American citizen. If I am correct in this supposition, then the sooner all tribal relations are broken up; the sooner the Indian loses all his Indian ways, even his language, the better it will be for him and for the government and the greater will be the economy for both” (Utley, 1964, p. 266).

The question of whether the U.S. government should relinquish more lands to the Navajos, as well as to other tribes, or to retain full federal control thereof, was a major dilemma for officials. As a result, two ideas were forwarded. The first policy was initiated by Captain Pratt, who was authorized by Congress in 1870 “to convert military barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, into the Carlisle Indian School, the first federal off-reservation boarding school for Indian youth” (Lomawaima, 1993, p. 229). At Carlisle, Indians wore uniforms and were organized by order and rank similar to the structure of military operations. Eventually, this educational experiment was replicated in Chilocco, Oklahoma; Lawrence, Kansas; and Genoa, Nebraska. The idea behind this educational model was that “the essential transformation would be internal, a matter of Christian belief, non-tribal identification, mental discipline, and moral evaluation” (Lomawaima, 1993, p. 229).

The second idea, specific to the Navajo experience, was put forth by Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1905, who favored some retention of Indian

culture and wrote, “The Indian is a natural warrior, a natural logician, a natural artist. We have room for all three in our highly organized social system. Let us not make the mistake in the process of absorbing them, of washing out of them whatever is distinctly Indian...” (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1905). Commissioner Leupp’s recommendation did not prevail, but at least it voiced a position that would re-emerge in Indian educational policy. Furthermore, the off-reservation boarding school experience led many Navajo children and teenagers to experience life off the Reservation and some would eventually return to lead the movement to establish tribal schools, government programs, and colleges at home.

In the early 20th Century the U.S. began a series of reforms, resulting in a greater freedom to manage tribal affairs. Representative government increased, trust responsibility diminished, and Indian land was allotted. Although American Indians have been citizens of their original homelands since the beginning of time as described earlier, formal recognition by the United States finally occurred “by an act of Congress in 1924” (Fuchs and Havigurst, 1972, p. 10). In 1928, John Hopkins University conducted an investigation into Indian affairs, led by Louis Merriam. Published under his name as *The Problem of Indian Administration*, it “condemned the allotment policy and the poor quality of services provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, urged protection for Indian property, and recommended Indians be allowed more freedom to manage their own affairs (Reyhner and Eder, 1989, p. 102). In 1934, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) which sanctioned tribal representative government and ended land allotment (Getches, et al., 1998). Also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, that

legislation finally upended the General Allotment Act of 1887, which “had the effect of stripping some forty-one million acres of land from Indian hands...of forty, eighty or 160 acres to people, many of whom [Indians] traditionally had held land in common” (Fuchs & Havigurst, 1972, p. 7.). There had been a drastic loss in Indian landholding between 1887 and 1934, resulting in the reduction of 138 million Indian owned acres to only 52 million. “More than 26 million acres of allotted land was transferred out of Indian hands after it passed out of trust” (Wilkinson, 1987, p. 20). The 1934 IRA acknowledged American Indian sovereignty and tribes were able to establish constitutional governments, although the Navajos rejected the plan. According to Begay, “even though the IRA increased Indian participation in the decision-making process, tribal decisions were subject to the final authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs” (Begay, 1997, p. 48).

In 1953, Congress enacted the Termination Act, Public Law 280, which further reduced federal trust responsibilities in an effort to neutralize any trace of full political autonomy within Indian tribes (Wilkins, 1999, p. 61). According to Getches, exercising plenary power, Congress “took the unprecedented step of passing general legislation extending state civil and criminal jurisdiction into Indian country” (Getches, et al., 1998, p. 208). Under that legislation, the BIA was directed by Congress to withdraw its trust responsibility and government-to-tribal government relationships, hence “the transfer of many educational responsibilities from the tribes and the federal government to the states” (Getches, et al., 1998, p. 208). Indian rights were compromised, and land holdings were in effect further diminished; eventually tribes would no longer be able to

fully govern their own internal affairs, reservation Indians everywhere would have limited reserved rights.

Renaissance of Tribal Sovereignty

In reaction to the 1950s federal policy of termination, leaders of the Navajo Nation contemplated deeply and engaged themselves in a new type of political and educational renaissance. This group of leaders included educators, policy makers, cultural experts, traditional practitioners, and grass roots community members, meditating spiritually, thinking locally, and acting globally to protect land, people, culture, language, and traditions bestowed upon them since their creation. From their very beginnings, the Diné people believed that the Holy People placed them within the four sacred mountains to live harmoniously and to maintain their sacred way of life (Aronilth, 1992). Deloria and Lytle note that with the emergence of a new tribal leadership through the establishment of the 1961 National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) issued a message that “Indians were no longer to bow their heads in humble obedience to the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the institutions of white society” (Deloria and Lytle, 1984, p. 198). Native leaders began to address not only tribal issues but national concerns that affected them. They networked with articulate Native leaders across the United States to defeat the policies of the termination period. They had to know how to make policy, administer the tribal government, and lobby Congress (Szasz, 1974, p. 144, 154; Deloria and Lytle, 1983, p. 109). Cornell observes that during the 1950s and 1960s, the civil rights movement promoted a deeper understanding of Native American

concerns, and through the Civil Rights Act, especially, ushered in legislation to aid underserved groups. By the early 1960s Indian and non-Indian protests brought widespread recognition of the Termination policy's dismal failure to help Indians (Cornell, 1988).

At the end of the 1950s, the Navajo Tribal Council's Education Committee was established when Dr. Dillon Platero, the youngest council delegate at that time, sponsored the resolution (Iverson, 1981, p. 120). Howard Gorman, Council Delegate from Ganado, remarked that the Diné "began to realize that Navajo education belonged to the Navajo and not to people in Washington or Phoenix or Santa Fe" (Bilingual Education, Rough Rock News, January 31, 1973). The Navajo leaders believed in the prayers and songs, spoken in Navajo at community gatherings, which perpetuated the tribal way of life. They maintained a deep concern for the Navajo children, the future of the Navajo people, and the perpetuation of Navajo culture with its prayers, songs, and ceremonies, all of which precipitated the Navajo Education Committee resolution. The Navajo Tribal Council and the Bureau of Indian Affairs issued a joint statement as the tribe's official education policy on August 29, 1961, which formally promoted, 'educational competency' for all Navajo people so that they may participate in local community, state and national life equally with other citizens. The new policy included the provision of comprehensive schooling, kindergarten to twelfth grade (K-12), as well as higher education opportunities, utilizing existing boarding school facilities plus public schools "on the Navajo Nation so that all children may be near their parents" It also included

education facilities and services for “mentally and physically handicapped” Navajo children (Iverson, 1978, p. 65).

The exercise of tribal sovereignty was at the heart of the resurgent Native leadership throughout the country and led to greater participation in higher education. Boyer notes that, “By 1965, the Higher Education Act focused on much-needed aid to students and to developing institutions, setting the stage for greater Indian participation in higher education” (Boyer, 1989, p. 21). Tribal sovereignty had never been totally extinguished with the signing of treaties, and it now became the necessary tool to regain control of the fate of tribal culture, language, governance, and traditional ways despite constant federal and state challenges. Kidwell explains that “Tribal Sovereignty implies that Indian nations have the right to chose their own forms of government, pursue their own cultural forms of governing, determine their own membership, and retain government-to-government relationships with federal and state governments” (Kidwell, 1999, p. 281). Former Chief Justice of the Navajo Nation Supreme Court, Honorable Robert Yazzie, describes sovereignty as nothing more than the ability of a group of people to make their own decision and to control their own lives (Yazzie, 2000). Political and legal expert, David E. Wilkins states that, “Tribal sovereignty is the relative independence of a tribe combined with the right and power of regulating its internal affairs without undue foreign dictation.” He further adds a further dimension to sovereignty as:

“...the intangible, spiritual, moral, and dynamic cultural force inherent in a given tribal community. This force empowers the tribe toward political, economic, and cultural integrity. It is the psychic glue that links a tribe to its territory, its environment, its neighbors, and entails the people’s right to

think and act freely and to meet their own needs as they see fit” (Wilkins, 1999, p. 16-17).

Wilkins’ definition of cultural sovereignty further intensifies the campaign to perpetuate Navajo language, culture, philosophy, and history in a tribal-driven education system, beginning with the Rough Rock Demonstration School followed by the inception of Diné College. After understanding the multiple waves of federal policy and its cumulative impact on tribal government, culture, language, and education, Native scholars, leaders, and friends of the American Indian had little choice but to fight to reclaim what belonged to them. May notes that it was predictable that education would be a key arena in which indigenous peoples could reclaim their languages and cultures to secure professional and vocational success by seizing the opportunity to regain direct control of the educational process which had been largely denied them by colonization (May, 1999).

Viewed on a national scale, the movement to establish a tribal college on the Navajo Nation was occurring at the same time as American Indian advocacy organizations nationwide began to develop. Szasz observes that the creation of tribal colleges stemmed partly from the reassertion of self-determination on the political front thanks largely to the newly created National Congress of American Indians in 1966 (Szasz, 1974). It was apparent “that NCC [Navajo Community College] was riding the crest of the wave of Indian self-determination and that the timing of its entrance into the education world was well gauged” (Szasz, 1974, p. 177). During this resurgence of tribal leadership throughout the country, Boyer notes:

“Native Americans demanded to be heard. For the first time, many tribes began to voice their own vision of the future. Limited educational advancement would no longer be tolerated. Vocational training was not adequate. There was an urgent need for leadership among Native Americans, and Indian-controlled, quality education was essential. The stage was set for the founding of the first tribal college” (Boyer, 1989, p. 21).

Navajo Leaders Take Business of Education into Own Hands

In the 1950s, prior to the Civil Rights and Indian Self-Determination movement, the Navajo Tribe laid the groundwork for higher education through financial appropriations and resolutions. In 1954, an initial \$30,000 allocation was made to establish an educational scholarship fund. Former secretary-treasurer and then executive secretary of the Navajo Tribe, Mr. J. Maurice McCabe, convinced fellow Tribal Council members to “invest in the future of the Tribe through the education of tribal members” (Young, 1978, p. 153). During the second term of Navajo Chairman, Sam Ahkeah, the Navajo Nation received initial payments of royalty revenue from oil fields which led to the establishment of a “tribal college scholarship fund” (Iverson, 1981, p. 52).

Thereafter, the Tribal Council would eventually pass resolution, CF-36-57, the “Tribal Development Program on February 15, 1957 creating a \$5,000,000 higher education scholarship grant trust fund to assure the education of future generations of Navajo children” (Young, 1978, p.153). The Navajo Nation Council’s resolution outlined the fund’s purpose, “to provide a permanent source of income to pay for the college and higher education of Navajos and, insofar as surplus income may be available, for their secondary education and vocational training” (NNC, 1995, p. 239). In 1958, \$180,000 was available for scholarship aid, then the Navajo Nation Council added an

additional \$5,000,000 to the Scholarship Trust Fund, thus bringing the total to \$10,000,000. In 1954, the “Aneth, Utah, oil strike of 1956 [which] yielded \$34.5 million in royalties for the tribe’s coffers in that year alone,” of which \$5,000,000 was deposited into the scholarship trust fund (Iverson, 1981, p. 153; Young, 1978, p. 68).

According to Young, the vision that led the Navajo leaders to deposit the revenues into a scholarship fund showed more wisdom than making a one-time per capita distribution (Young, 1978, p. 69). During this time, Iverson notes, “Navajo Education Committee Chairman Dr. Dillon Platero advocated a feasibility study for the location of a college on the reservation” (Iverson, 1981, p. 120). Dr. Platero and Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, led the movement for Navajo education, “convincing parents of the essential need to keep their children in school, as well as playing an active part in the forging of educational policy” (Young, 1978, p. 155). At the executive level, Chairman Raymond Nakai and Vice-Chairman Nelson Damon who were elected in 1963, then re-elected in 1967 for a second term, led the movement for Indian-controlled education.

On September 8, 1964, the Navajo Nation Council approved the proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) with a vote of 48-1. As part of the Community Action Program under Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act, funding for pre-school, youth programs, leadership development, health programs, community development programs, and a community college were proposed by the Navajo Nation. In January 1965, the Navajo Tribe was awarded \$920,000 from the OEO (Iverson, 1981, p. 90).

In April 1965, the Navajo Tribe established the Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity (ONEO) with funds allocated for Headstart programs, small business

development, and community based programs (Wilkins, 1999; Young, 1981; Oppelt, 1990; Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972; Szasz, 1974). Furthermore, the OEO benefitted tribes in five areas: 1) opportunities for American Indians to devise and operate their own programs; 2) valuable administrative and bureaucratic training for American Indians wishing to run for tribal offices and manage tribal businesses; 3) opportunities for American Indian leaders to gain managerial experience through the OEO; 4) creating tribal agencies to bypass the BIA; and 5) social services on Indian lands (Clarkin, 2001, p. 125-126). During his visit to the Navajo Tribal Fair on September 9, 1967, then U.S. Vice President, Hubert Humphrey spoke on behalf of President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty initiative. Mr. Humphrey was encouraged to learn of Chairman Nakai's "plans for a junior college" which would follow the "experimental school at Rough Rock" (Gill, et al., 1968, p. 3). He further pointed to OEO mandates that funded programs "to enable the Indian people, the members of the Navajo Tribe, to have the same opportunities, to enjoy the same benefits, which the United States government offers to the rest of the population" (Gill, et al., 1968, p. 4).

In 1966, the Tribal Council's Education Committee, led by Chairman, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie and Vice-Chairman, Dr. Guy Gorman, established four goals for Navajo Education, including:

"(1) providing programs suited to the specific needs of Navajo students; (2) more involvement by parents and tribal leaders in the education programs; (3) distributing information about the types of programs being carried out on the reservation and reports on the progress of these programs; (4) helping in any way possible to make full use of funds provided by outside sources which would help the Navajo people" (Thompson, 1975, p. 168-169).

Evidence that Navajo leaders were taking a stand to support a just, fair, and equitable education for their youth emerged in tribal government programs. It is important to recognize several influential and distinguished leaders who made major contributions to a new era in Navajo education. Peter MacDonald, Sr., was the first executive director of ONEO, whose funding encouraged local community involvement thus facilitating the growing need to gain greater control of Navajo schools. The rapidly developing Lukachukai, Rough Rock, and Rock Point “demonstration” schools were initial recipients, even though certain procedures disallowed new institutions to receive the maximum funding available. Nevertheless, the opportunity to utilize some portions allowed them to attain independent status thanks to creative fiscal management. Stein notes that, “Serious change for American Indian education began when Councilmen Dr. Guy Gorman and Allen Yazzie, Navajo Nation chairman Raymond Nakai, and educators such as Ned Hatathli, Robert Roessel, and Ruth Roessel founded Diné, Inc. with the intention of taking control of the education of Navajo students” (Stein, 1999, p. 261). DINE stood for “Demonstration in Navajo Education” and was founded by Dr. Allen Denny Yazzie, Dr. Ned Hatathli, and Dr. Guy Gorman (Iverson, 1981, p. 116). DINE became a non-profit corporation designed to facilitate funds from the BIA to the newly established school at Rough Rock since at the time it was unable to receive funds from the OEO (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972, p. 252; Szasz, 1974, p. 171). The locally controlled school movement continued when schools were established at Ramah (1970), Borrego Pass (1972), and Rock Point (1971), with language and culture as essential elements in the curriculum of each, following the example of Rough Rock Demonstration School,

making them distinctly part of the community. The use of language and culture in these schools followed by its implementation at Diné College distinguished these schools as tribally-controlled as opposed to public and missionary schools. Although the funds came from the federal government, the exclusively Navajo governing boards at these community controlled schools allowed for the incorporation of language and culture into the curriculum, along with the appropriate songs and prayers, making them unique.

Thus, the predecessor of Diné College was the Rough Rock Demonstration School which was the first tribally-controlled community elementary and secondary school on an American Indian reservation (Szasz, 1972, p. 154). It was appropriate for students to master Western/American reading, writing, and math techniques, but that could be done together with Navajo language, culture, concepts, stories, and experiences handed down orally from generations. According to Mrs. Ruth Roessel, Rough Rock Demonstration School maintains a sacred basket as its cultural foundation rather than a planting stick (*gish*), and does not overtly maintain fundamental Navajo philosophy statements such as Diné College's *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon*. However, what makes Rough Rock Demonstration School unique according to Mrs. Roessel is the abiding belief of its all-Navajo Board of Directors in the centrality of Navajo cultural values (Personal Communication, January 13, 2009).

Establishment of Diné College

The administrators who initially provided OEO funds in support of Rough Rock also contributed principally towards the establishment of Diné College. Founded

originally as Navajo Community College, Diné College serves the entire Navajo Nation, unlike the Rough Rock and other community schools which catered to a specified local community (Iverson, 1981, p. 121). Oppelt notes that support from the OEO office similar to that received by Rough Rock was also critical to early funding for the College, “Sanford Kravitz and Richard Boone...were strong supporters of Navajo self determination in education and were instrumental in obtaining initial OEO funding for Navajo Community College” (Oppelt, 1990, p. 34). Roessel also mentions that Kravitz and Boone of OEO supported the initial proposal and advocated for operating funds (Roessel, Jr., 1979). Ultimately, however, it is through the strong leadership of Dr. Roessel in establishing Rough Rock that the OEO was supportive of the Diné College idea (Barrett and Thaxton, 2007, p. 3).

Early OEO support provided funds for the Arizona State University feasibility study which first demonstrated the need for a college within the Navajo Nation (*Navajo Times*, August 29, 1968; Szasz, 1974, p. 176). Acrey notes that “the increasing numbers of Navajos seeking higher education led the Tribal Council in 1965 to investigate the need for a college on the reservation. Accordingly, that investigation quickly developed into concerted action, and helped by funds provided by the tribe, ONEO and private foundations, Navajo Community College was officially founded in July, 1968” (Acrey, 1978, p. 280). To mark the benchmark event, *The Journal of American Indian Education* proclaimed that “a demonstration grant for a community college - planned, developed and operated by and for Indians – on the Navaho Indian Reservation at Many Farms, Arizona has been announced. Theodore M. Berry, Director of the Office of Economic

Opportunity's Community Action Program, said the grant of \$454,150 will establish The Navaho Community College, the first college exclusively for Indians in this country" (Gill, et al., 1968, p. 25). Iverson acknowledges that "Navajo Community College came into existence as a logical progression from the generally positive results achieved at Rough Rock Demonstration School" and that many of the key individuals who were involved in the Rough Rock success, including Dr. Robert Roessel, Jr., Dr. Dillon Platero, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, Dr. Guy Gorman, and Dr. Ned Hatathli, were also instrumental in the creation of Navajo Community College (Iverson, 1981). Once Rough Rock Demonstration School initiated operations, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, Dr. Guy Gorman, Dr. Dillon Platero, Dr. Ned Hatahli, and Yazzie Begay celebrated that accomplishment by committing their newly realized expertise to other important projects. Dr. Guy Gorman would later explain, "We were just joking around at first and we never thought that it would actually come true" (AIHEC 2005 Conference Ceremony, March, 2005).

At the time, broad national understanding supported the need to build tribally-centered higher education programs and facilities. Historian Jack Forbes who was involved in the establishment of Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl (D-Q) Indian Chicano University which opened April 2, 1971 near Davis, California, expressed such a concern when he wrote, "It is clear that although some Indians now attend public and private colleges and universities, a problem in higher education still exists. No institution is designed to really meet the fundamental needs of the Indian community, which needs an institution of higher learning both *Indian controlled* and *Indian centered*" (Forbes, 1966, p. 1). An American Indian University, he argued would fight colonialism, stating,

“Throughout history, Indians were kidnapped, locked up, beaten, maimed, retarded and alienated from their people and traditions. They were subjected to the most downgrading humiliation and ridicule and have been victims of crippling physical and psychological violence” (Lutz, 1980, p. 3). Although some indication existed that American Indian students were beginning to enroll in postsecondary education, there was as yet no broad recognition of a tribally-based desire to preserve culturally-based teaching at a real Indian College. Yet “At the heart of the tribal college movement is a commitment by Native Americans to reclaim their cultural heritage...The commitment to reaffirm traditions is a driving force led by a spirit based on shared history passed down through generations, and on common goals” (Boyer, 1989, p. xiii). It was precisely at this point, however, in time that Navajo leaders also clearly understood that Navajo culture was at odds with the underlying pedagogical theory of western academics, including Raymond Nakai, Dr. Dillon Platero, Dr. Allen Yazzie, Dr. Ned Hatathli, Dr. Guy Gorman, Ruth Roessel, Dr. Dean C. Jackson, Jack C. Jackson, Mike Mitchell, and others (Iverson, 1981, 2002). Prompted by that awareness, it remained for the Arizona State University Survey Report of 1966 to recommend that a community college on the Navajo reservation was indeed necessary and therefore recommended (Ashe, et al., 1966). Reporting with the limited vision of a work of fiction, the survey team agreed that it was reasonable and feasible to establish a state-run, Reservation community college, rather than a tribally-controlled post-secondary institution developed and operated by the Navajos themselves. One of their recommendations was to convene state, BIA, and business leaders to gain their support for such an initiative, albeit under state jurisdiction.

It was at this point that the leadership of Raymond Nakai became instrumental. As tribal leaders continued to press for the establishment of Navajo Community College despite constant resistance from the BIA, Chairman Nakai called for a meeting in 1967 at Many Farms, Arizona, to gather support. In response to his comments an unidentified BIA official remarked, “My God, Mr. Chairman, you don’t mean to tell me that you Navajos think you can run a college.” Chairman Nakai quickly replied, “We’re not asking for your permission but rather telling you what we are going to do” (Iverson, 2002, p. 235).

On July 17, 1968, the Navajo Tribal Council, through resolution CJY-87-68, declared Navajo Community College a reality and appointed a Board of Regents. Roessel later reported to the Board of Regents that, “Surely after waiting 20 years, interest and support was easily obtained. The Navajo Tribal Council met the day after the grant was signed in Washington [D.C.] and formally approved the establishment of the Navajo Community College and officially created a Board of Regents approved by the Tribal Council and empowered by the council to act and direct the Navajo Community College” (Roessel, July 1968, p. 4). Upon passage by the Navajo Nation Council, the initiative to secure funds from the federal government and private sources became a common goal. Although Northern Arizona University and Arizona State University provided advice and support, Navajo Community College, “from its inception, was an independent institution. It was not, as were later tribal schools, tied to a sponsoring institution of higher learning,” which further highlights its uniqueness as the first tribally-chartered post-secondary educational institution on an Indian reservation. As such it

exemplifies the exercise of tribal sovereignty, meaning that it was founded by Navajo leaders, approved by the Navajo Tribal Council, and governed by an all-Navajo Board of Regents (Oppelt, 1990, p. 34).

Dr. Robert “Bob” Roessel was the first president. The first Board of Regents included Dr. Guy Gorman (President, At-large Member), Carl Todacheene (Vice President, Shiprock Area Member), Judge Chester Yellowhair (Secretary-Treasurer, Tuba City Area Member), Dr. Dillon Platero (at-large Member), Yazzie Begay (Chinle Area Member), Dr. Howard Gorman (at-large Member, Ft. Defiance Area), Dr. Allen D. Yazzie (at-large Member), and Wilson Skeets (Crownpoint Area Member). The Navajo Nation contributed \$250,000 and 1,200 acres of land, but the “first funds received in support of the college came from the William T. Donner Foundation in New York City, in the form of a grant of \$50,000 received in June, 1968” (Roessel, 1968, p. 1). Tribal leadership, well orchestrated support, clear policy development, generous land appropriation, carefully assembled financial resources, and above all a broadly shared visionary statement resulted in the historic founding of what was to become Diné College. Benham and Stein explain that “the Navajo intelligentsia of the mid-1960s was first able to put together the necessary internal and external politics, people, and resources to found a true tribally controlled college in 1968,” as a role model for other tribal nations to follow in creating their own institutions of higher learning (Benham and Stein, 2003, p.31).

As the Navajo Nation moved forward to gain tribal-control of education programs on the Reservation, the federal government began shifting its policies of termination

towards self-determination. President Nixon on July 8, 1970 renounced the federal policy of termination in favor of self-determination stating that “it should be up to the Indian tribe to determine whether it is willing and able to assume administrative responsibility for a service program which is presently administered by a Federal agency,” including education (Getches, et al., 1998, p. 227 – 228). He maintained that federal commitment to tribes should not cease because of tribes’ desired self-determination, stating that “there is no reason why Indian communities should be deprived of the privilege of self-determination merely because they receive monetary support from the Federal government. Nor should they lose Federal money because they reject Federal control.” The Nixon administration heeded strong recommendations from Indian leaders to leave community education to community members, and the president further declared that the “Indian community should have the right to take over the control and operation of federally funded programs, we believe every Indian community wishing to do so should be able to control its own Indian schools.” The Nixon political era coalesced with the strong Navajo movement toward self-government, community leadership, cultural vitality, and early educational reform (Getches, et al., 1998, p. 227-228).

In 1971, Congress affirmed the efforts of the Navajo people by enacting the Navajo Community College Act. That measure was preceded by intense activities on the part of the founders to gain support for the College at the Navajo Nation level, a challenge itself, but a successful one due to perseverance and leadership. Movement occurred at the federal level as well, requiring numerous trips to Washington by “Bob”

Roessel and his wife Ruth, Dr. Guy Gorman, Carl Todacheene, Yazzie Begay, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, and others. There, they received considerable help from the leadership of Congressman Wayne Aspinall of Colorado, Chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee along with strong traditional reinforcement. Through prayers and songs as part of the delegation's effort to have their own tribal college, the initial funding for capital construction funds was obtained. Beginning with the last treaty signed with the federal government in 1868, Navajo leaders always offered prayers in expression of an underlying desire to make peace and to return back to their original homeland. As a result of these prayers and songs it is believed by many traditional Navajos today that a successful return was attained. Before they leave their home communities, Navajos to this day offer songs and prayers to assure a safe journey and to return home. That belief in the power of those prayers was so strong, some believe, they became a reality for the delegation. Dr. Elvira Bitsóí Largie states that, "In reality, these events became a collective group effort towards a common goal and a greater presence because of the cultural connection which becomes the cultural history of the Navajo people" (Personal Communication, June 26, 2008).

During one of their visits to Washington, D.C., while the entire delegation waited to meet with Congressman Aspinall, Mrs. Ruth Roessel, Bob Roessel's Navajo wife, cajoled former Colorado Congressman Wayne Aspinall to urge his support for the proposed college. According to Dr. Guy Gorman, as the others were outside the office, Ruth noticed Aspinall leaving his office and she commented on his daughter's upcoming wedding. Prior meetings with the congressional representative lasted only ten minutes at

most and he would customarily say, “You have ten minutes, state your business.” But once Ruth made her observation, according to Gorman, “this time he spent several hours with us” and proceeded to discuss the Navajo delegation’s endeavor for over two hours (Gorman, AIHEC, 2005, Interview, 2007). According to Bob Roessel, several trips to Washington to meet with Chairman Aspinal for 10 minute meetings resulted in little result, but on their “fourth trip we again made our appeal and again recited the reasons for the college...Mr. Aspinal listened and at the conclusion of our allotted 10 minutes showed us the door. Only this time Ruth, who never had spoken during the previous meetings, turned and spoke to Mr. Aspinal as the rest of us went outside his office. Mr. Aspinal closed the door and we would hear Ruth talking and both of them laughing. In about 10 minutes the door opened and Mr. Aspinal had his arm around Ruth and said ‘I’ll be there,’” referring to the invitation to the groundbreaking ceremony for the College (Roessel, 2002, p. 131). Although there were no plans for a ceremony the invitation accepted by Congressman Aspinal excited the delegation and soon thereafter “the all Navajo Board of Regents decided they did not want a routine ground breaking done with shovels. Rather they wanted a medicine person to officiate and use a traditional Navajo digging stick.” At the ground blessing, Congressman Aspinal, Theodore Tsosie (Benally’s son), and other dignitaries held onto the digging stick, *gish*, with Charlie Benally reciting a prayer. Typically Navajo prayers accompany a song and most songs and prayers last from 10 to 20 minutes, which concerned Dr. Roessel because Aspinal was an older gentleman but also because his hand was near the bottom of the *gish* which meant he was bent over for a while. Dr. Roessel observes that:

“The problem soon became evident when Mr. Aspinal had his hand placed near the ground. He was stooped and bent over. Mr. Aspinal was an elderly man in his early 80s. I hoped the Navajo prayer would not take too long. The prayer went on and on and on. I could see the beads of sweat rolling down Mr. Aspinal’s cheeks. I thought we had lost our only chance. The prayer lasted over 20 minutes. At the end of which he called me and Ruth to come to him. Mr. Aspinal said: ‘I have been to churches, mosques, synagogues, and other places where people pray but I never felt the power of God as I felt here. You will get your College!’” (Roessel, 2002, p. 131).

Congressman Aspinal would lead the charge for passage of the Navajo Community College bill upon his visit to the dedication of the Tsaile permanent campus on April 13, 1971, where he felt the power of the *Diyin Dine’e* – Holy Spirits. Two days after the ceremony, Aspinal’s comments at the dedication made headline news stating: “All of this has been accomplished with financial resources assembled from both the private and the public sectors, and without any special federal legislation...I should be very disappointed if the college became a federal school...it faces a great challenge. It deserves to succeed” (Navajo Times, April 15, 1971, p. 1 & 5). Roessel notes that Aspinal soon thereafter, “scheduled hearings and despite objections from the BIA, the Navajo Community College was passed” (Roessel, 2002, p. 132). At one of the hearings when Yazzie Begay was allowed time to speak, Gorman explained, “He spoke then took his corn pollen pouch and starting praying,” and although no records document the Navajo prayer, it is believed the prayer offered in the Navajo language invoked the Holy Spirits (*Diyin Dine’e*) which touched the mind, body, and spirits of all in attendance whether Anglo or Navajos, moving them to feel the power. “After Yazzie Begay finished, Congressman Aspinal asked for questions. Hearing none, he motioned to approve the legislation” (Gorman Interview, 2007). Another strong advocate, Arizona

Senator Barry Goldwater delivered a speech on the Senate floor in support of the Navajo Community College bill, stating:

“This college was established by the Navajo Indians themselves on a dream and a shoestring. It is a courageous undertaking which contains many of the aspirations of a very proud and deserving segment of our population. The Navajo Community College is the first college ever located on an Indian reservation. It is the first college ever to be controlled by an Indian board of regents. And it is the first college which is totally sensitive to the needs of Indian students. . . . “The shoestring is, of course, financial in nature. . . . The fact that the Navajo Community College came into being this year is due in large part to the determination and help of the Navajo Indians themselves, two grants from the Donner Foundation and a two year financial commitment by the Office of Economic Opportunity. . . . I am sure this body is well acquainted with my long held views in opposition to federal aid to education. However, room has always existed for exceptions to this opposition, particularly in the realm of higher education and construction costs. Added to this is my firm belief that the Indians represent a special case for consideration by the Federal Government” (Roessel, Jr., 1969, p. 41-44).

The Navajo Nation’s request for \$5,500,000, originally referred to as H.R. 5068, passed the House of Representatives on “November 15 by voice vote” having first been introduced by Arizona Congressman Sam Steiger, “to authorize a Federal financial contribution to the construction and operation of the Navajo Community College, which is a college established and operated by the Navajo Tribe” (92nd Congressional Report 92-636, November 9, 1971). Upon recommendation by the House Interior Committee, H.R. 5068 was reported to the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee as Senate Report 92-548 on December 2, 1971. It was recorded that “The Senate December 6 passed the bill by voice vote” (92nd Congressional Report, 1971, p. 860), and “completed action on a bill (HR 5068 – P.L. 92-189) authorizing a \$5.5 – million federal contribution

for the construction and operations of Navajo Community College, the first college established in an Indian reservation and the only one established and operated by an Indian tribe” (Congressional Report, 1971, p. 860). On December 15, 1971, House Bill 92-636 and Senate Bill 92-548 were “presented to the President” of the United States and “Approved” as “Public Law 92-189” (Legislative History, December 15, 1971).

Dr. Robert A. Roessel, Jr., a non-Navajo in-law married to Ruth Roessel who resides in Round Rock, Arizona, was instrumental in writing and communicating the need for such an institution with Hatathli, Platero, Begay, and Yazzie, along with Dr. Dean C. Jackson, Judge Chester Yellowhair, Dr. Howard Gorman, and Mike Mitchell. Dr. Roessel took the lead in writing the initial proposal for the establishment of Navajo Community College. He was a former Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) employee who also served as principal of the Round Rock Boarding School. He also served as the first director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School. Other key individuals such as “Tribal Judge Chester Yellowhair, Dr. Howard Gorman, and Dr. Dean Jackson were other tribal leaders deeply committed to allocating tribal resources to the establishment of this unique institution” (Oppelt, 1990, p. 34).

Securing federal, state, and tribal support for Navajo Community College certainly answered one of the greatest challenges for the newly created college. Although tribal funding was eventually authorized on an annual but inconsistent basis, College officials were also committed to gain direct and substantial annual funding from Congress. Roessel explained that “On April 1, 1969, administrators of Navajo Community College testified before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, telling

members why direct aid is needed, how it would be spent, and describing briefly the college's goals and objectives" (Roessel, Jr., 1968-1969, p. 12). Consequently, sufficient funds were raised to underwrite building the first phase of the Navajo Community College campus.

Present Day Diné College

After more than three decades following the dedication at Tsaile, the Navajo Nation passed legislation which provides a twenty (20) year permanent funding source to Diné College. The many years of challenge and struggle, and an enduring chronology of its people, the Navajo Nation once again set precedence for other tribal colleges throughout the country. By partnering with the Navajo Nation, the federal government, state colleges and private donors, Diné College developed and implemented an ongoing strategy to stabilize funding. The Navajo Nation Council, in July 2004, passed a landmark legislation when it established the Diné Higher Education Grant Fund Act, which provides annual funding to Diné College at \$4.2 Million for a twenty year period. The annual funds received from the Navajo Nation enabled the college to devise and implement, at minimum, a five-year strategic plan allowing for the development of bachelor degree programs in Diné Studies and Teacher Education. The Act exhibited great commitment on the part of the Navajo Nation to higher education in general and Diné College in particular. The twenty year permanent fund grant represents a lasting commitment under conditions of self-determination and self-governance by the Navajo

Nation Council to provide higher educational opportunities to its youth while securing the future of Diné College.

Phase one of the Navajo Community College – Diné College has been realized beginning with the Navajo Community College Act of 1971, and through subsequent annual appropriations from the federal government. Phase two development of the original Navajo Community College master plan has yet to be achieved primarily due to the development of a branch campus in Shiprock, New Mexico, and six regional sites, which meet the ever growing educational needs of students in communities such as Crownpoint, Window Rock, Ganado, Chinle, Tuba City, and Kayenta. A new site is being planned for Dilkon, Arizona. As a result, the infrastructure and facilities at the Tsaile main-campus have been largely bypassed to accommodate the growing needs of the satellite campuses beyond Tsaile. More recently, the College secured the modernization of the Navajo Community College Act or Diné College Act of 2008. The Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 (P.L. 95-471) allows for other tribal colleges to receive operational and maintenance funds as Title I institutions, whereas Navajo Community College, now Diné College, receives funds as the only Title II institution. The new bill titled the “Navajo Nation Higher Education Act” was authorized as part of the Re-authorization of the Higher Education Act of 2008. The college is currently seeking appropriations of \$100 Million, \$16.6 Million over six years, to fund the “Demonstrated Needs” of Diné College. It aims to take full advantage of Executive Order 13270, which established the White House Initiative on Tribal Colleges & Universities of 1998, and which United States President, William J. Clinton signed,

directing federal agencies, offices, and programs to work with tribal colleges and universities. Another federal funding achievement occurred with the 1994 congressional approval to designate tribal colleges as “Land Grant” colleges, enabling them to receive additional federal funds for research, extension programs, and endowment. Diné College has established two research institutes, the Diné Policy Institute (DPI) and the Diné Environmental Institute (DEI) that intend to build capacity towards the four-year degree programs in Diné Studies, Environmental studies, and other related studies.

External relations with other institutions were assured with the establishment of American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC). In 1972, six tribal colleges formed that association, including Navajo Community College, D-Q University, Oglala Sioux Community College, Sinte Gleska College, Standing Rock Community College, and Turtle Mountain Community College. The primary purpose for this partnership was “to stabilize their financial base, advocate for them politically, and to provide technical assistance” (Ambler, 2002, p. 6). The creation of new tribal colleges and the funding for their students and operations provides a tremendous benefit. Even so, federal government budgets are constantly shrinking and increased advocacy remains a challenge. Most times this depletion leaves the needs of the original AIHEC group overlooked. Governance and equitable representation and distribution of funds, as well as increasing dues structures, remains a core concern for Diné College, especially since it is the largest of all the tribal colleges with many campuses and a correspondingly large student enrollment.

In 1978, all the AIHEC presidents jointly created the American Indian College Fund (AICF) to “serve as a separate, nonprofit organization, primarily to help raise money for scholarships” (Ambler, 2002, p. 8). The AICF promotes the tribal colleges in public relation campaigns, seeks philanthropic funding for facilities, cultural programs, and faculty/staff development.

Section Two - Oral History of Diné College

Dr. Guy Gorman, Sr., Mike Mitchell, Jack C. Jackson, Sr., and Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr., have remained leaders in Navajo culture, philosophy, traditional healing practices, history, and education. Each of them is married and has children and grandchildren, and is well-respected among the Navajo people. As part of developing the oral history of Diné College, this study has turned to them with the intent to document the experiences and observations of four mainstay individuals involved in the cultural activities that led to the unique dedication of Diné College along with its underlying philosophy. Their stories are significant to the cultural history of Diné College.

Profile of Individuals Interviewed

The first mainstay individual interviewed by the researcher is Dr. Guy Gorman who was born on August 12, 1922 near old Nazlini, south of Chinle, Arizona which is located near historic Canyon De Chelly. Now a National Monument, Canyon De Chelly houses old Anasazi ruins and was one of the last strongholds for the Navajo people in the early 1860s, prior to the forced march to Bosque Redondo, near Fort Sumner, New

Mexico. His parents were Arthur and Martha Gorman. His clans are Water Edge (*Tabaahi*), Bitter Water (*Todichiini*), Red Running into the Water People (*Táchii'ni*), and Big Water (*To'tsohni*) clan. He is married to Juanita Tso, daughter of Hosteen and Barbara Tso of Chinle, and they have five children and numerous grandchildren. At six years old he attended Chinle Boarding School up to sixth grade, when he transferred to Fort Wingate Vocational High School, located ten miles east of Gallup, New Mexico, for schooling from seventh to tenth grade.

He was drafted into the Army when he was eighteen years old, prior to finishing high school. Discharged on January 29, 1946, after serving in the World War II conflict as a medical technician, he completed his high school education at Chilocco Indian School in Chilocco, Oklahoma, where he became certified in power plant operations. Through a 36 week program he attained a certificate as an electrical journeyman at the National Trade School located in Kansas City, Missouri. He then worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a laborer, auto mechanic, electrician, and head foreman before entering Navajo tribal politics and serving for over twenty years on the Navajo Tribal Council before resigning in the 1980s. His membership as Vice Chairman on the Navajo Nation Council's Education Committee led to his involvement in strengthening Navajo Education polices, and in the creation first of Rough Rock Demonstration School and then of Diné College. Dr. Gorman served as the secretary of the Demonstration in Navajo Education (DINE), Inc., a non-profit corporation, established in June 1966 as an entity to accept Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) funds on behalf of the Rough Rock Demonstration School. He also served as the

first Chairman of the Navajo Community College Board of Regents via his position as Vice Chairman of the Navajo Nation Council's Education Committee (Personal Communication, December 20, 2006, January 12, 2009; Johnson, 1968, p. 62).

Another primary interviewee is Mr. Mike Mitchell who is originally from Tsaile, Arizona, the home of Diné College. He was born on October 27, 1927, into the Red Running into Water (*Tachii'nii*) clan, born for the Salt (*A'shihii*) clan. His maternal grandfathers are the Water Flowing Together (*To'hedliini*) clan, and his paternal grandfathers are the Red Streak People (*Deschiini*) clan. He is married to Priscilla Mitchell and they have seven children and numerous grandchildren. He is an in-law to the Charlie Benally family.

Mr. Benally was the medicine man who performed the cultural ceremony at the April 13, 1971, dedication of the Tsaile campus. Also, he was the Roadman who conducted the Native American Church or *Azee Beenahagha* peyote ceremony on April 12, 1971, at Mr. Charlie Benally's residence in Tsaile. This ceremony was held to bless the sacred planting cane (*diwizhii zhin gish*) which was used to dedicate the Tsaile tract of land on April 13, 1971. In addition, Mr. Mitchell became involved in the Rough Rock Demonstration Project through his clanship affiliation with Dr. Bob Roessel's wife, Ruth Roessel. Mitchell witnessed the different meetings regarding the transition of Diné College from Rough Rock to Many Farms, Arizona, and the acquisition of the Tsaile tract of land which became the home of Diné College. Although he was sent off to boarding school, he always ran away to return home, therefore, he never completed any type of Western education.

While working on the Santa Fe Railroad in Las Vegas, Nevada, he enlisted into the United States Army. He served two years during the Korean War conflict and was discharged after he damaged his ears from the blasting of weapons. He was involved in the creation of the Navajo Medicineman's Association and was an officer in the Native American Church organization of the Wheatfields, Arizona chapter, the local governmental unit of the tribal government which includes the surrounding communities of Black Rock and Tsaile. Mr. Mitchell also worked as a custodian and dorm supervisor at the Rough Rock Demonstration School in the late 1960s during its initial establishment. He eventually was employed at Diné College as a janitor and a Navajo cultural teacher during the early 1970s. He has authored two different Navajo cultural publications, including *Origins of the Diné* (2001) and *Navajo String Games, Na'atl'o'* (1999), published by the Rough Rock Navajo Studies Press, Rough Rock, Arizona (Personal Communication, January 15, 2008, January 2009).

The third interviewee for much of this story's oral cultural history is Senator Jack C. Jackson, Sr. who is from *TesToh inde'tin*, Che'zhintah, Arizona. He grew up in the TesToh region, located in the southwestern area of the Navajo Nation. He is the twin brother of the late and former president of Diné College, Dr. Dean C. Jackson. Now seventy-five years old, Senator Jackson resides in *T'xo'dildoh'*, New Mexico, and Window Rock, Arizona. He is born into the Towering House (*Kinya'aanii*) clan, born for the Salt (*A'shihii*) clan, and his maternal grandfathers are the Bitterwater (*T'xo'di'chiini*) clan, and his paternal grandfathers are the Red Cheek Bone People (*Tl'aaschi'i*) clan. He is married to Mrs. Elouise Watchman-Jackson, who is from

Tohditdoh, New Mexico, which is located 5 miles east of Navajo, New Mexico. They have four children and many grandchildren.

Senator Jackson has been a life-long educator, statesman, tribal leader, farmer, rancher, and traditional medicine man practicing the Female Wind Way (*Nitchi Bí'aad*) ceremony. He served for over 20 years in the Arizona State House of Representatives and Senate, as well as serving one term on the Navajo Nation Council in which he represented the St. Michaels/Window Rock communities. He was also president of the Native American Church of Navajoland from 1978 to 1982. Senator Jackson is currently the Director of Legislative and Cultural Affairs at Diné College. For over 20 years, he served in various capacities there, including Director of the Diné Education Philosophy Office and Dean of Student Services, under different Diné College administrations.

Senator Jackson attended Chilocco Indian School in the 1950s, in what was termed the “Special Five-Year Program for Navajos,” created for those students who were too old to attend regular elementary schools yet too young to be excluded from federal education programs. Many of these students were taught vocational and technical trade skills including dry cleaning, animal husbandry, and domestic services such as how to take care of a household. Rather than pursuing a vocational career, he attended and graduated from Northern Arizona University (NAU-formerly Arizona State College) with a bachelor’s degree in education. He received his master’s degree from NAU in Educational Administration. As an ordained traditional *Hataathli*, medicineman, Senator Jackson is widely sought to provide teachings and guidance in Navajo life ways.

During Senator Jackson's early career as a professional educator on the Navajo Nation, particularly when he was a teacher at the Window Rock School District in Fort Defiance, Arizona, he observed that there was no consideration of Navajo culture or language in the curriculum. Nor was there any real discussion of the role Navajo culture might play in the education students received, or of any program to train Diné teachers to advocate for Navajo-centered education. Aware of that oversight over the years, he contributed to the Navajo Nation's Division of Diné Education's Curriculum Guide as a staff with their Culture Office in the 1980s.

The last primary interviewee for this study is Dr. Wilson Aronilth Jr., who was born on November 20, 1933, and was raised by his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Nick Hunt of Turquoise Springs, Toadlena, New Mexico, located 70 miles north of Gallup, New Mexico. He is born into the Rainbow Clan of the Red House (*Kintachiini*), born for the Red Running into Water People clan (*Táchii'nii*), Tangle Up (*Ta'neeszhahnii*) clan are his maternal grandfathers, and Big Water (*Txó'tsohni*) clan are his paternal grandfathers. Growing up with his grandparents, Dr. Aronilth was taught different traditional ceremonies and songs. Dr. Aronilth is originally from Cliff Rose Creek in Nashitti, New Mexico, but now resides in Wheatfields, Arizona with his wife Marie T. Aronilth at a place called Cedar Ridge. They have been married for 51 years, and they have four children, 14 grandchildren, and six great grandchildren.

Now 75 years old, Dr. Aronilth has served as staff and faculty at Diné College for over 40 years. He began his employment there as an Assistant to the Animal Science office and taught classes related to the Animal Husbandry program in January 1969. Dr.

Aronilth received no formal western education, but spent years mastering traditional teachings from the Hogan through his elders, learning stories, songs, and ceremonies conducted inside the traditional female Hogan, including those from the intricate “Blessing Way” and “Protection Way” ceremonies. His knowledge of traditional ceremonies, stories, songs, and prayers is widely recognized, and as a result, in 1994, he was one of the first Navajos to receive an honorary doctorate degree of Diné philosophy of Learning from the Navajo Community College Board of Regents. This was done through a comprehensive knowledge and practicum curriculum which tested his knowledge of songs, stories, prayers, and ceremonies. He claims that he is not an ordained practitioner, meaning someone who has had a sing/ceremony (*hataal*) over him and thus given the ritual songs, prayers, and practices of an ordained traditional medicine man. Rather, he identifies himself more as a “Diné Psychologist and Diné Philosopher in terms of being an educator.” He is a Roadman (*Na’hatah’i*) with the Native American Church of Navajoland, now the *Azee Bee Naahagha* of Diné Nation. The Roadman is the primary person who conducts the *Azee Bee Naahagha* peyote ceremony, which typically lasts for twelve (12) hours beginning at dusk and ending at dawn (Wilson Aronilth, Jr., Personal Communication, December 15, 2006; Aronilth, 1992, p. 1).

Dr. Aronilth has contributed in a variety of ways to the traditional cultural philosophy and curriculum framework at Diné College, including preparing the College’s sacred prayer stones with accompanying turkey and eagle plume feathers (*Keetanyalti*), and providing leadership (*Naha’ta*) songs that have perpetuated and safeguarded the College’s cultural and spiritual health and have thus assured well-being. (Prayer Sticks

were employed during the Second World and were originally created by First Man to safeguard travel into the Third World). Additionally, he contributed to the development of the original logo of the College and its revised version, which depicts a male arrowhead and a human figure arching over it (See APPENDIX K). Another contribution was his work assisting in the development of the unique curricular framework for the College's Center for Diné Studies, which generates the four-part concept of Thinking (*Nitshakees*), Planning (*Nahata*), Implementing or Living (*Iina*), and Evaluation or Assurance (*Siih Hasin*). He was also instrumental in developing the Navajo Clan Relationship Chart which depicts the four original clans of the Towering House (*Kinya'aani*), One Who Walks Around (*Hoghanagha'ni*), Bitter Water (*To'dichiini*), and Mud People (*Hashtlishnii*) clans together with their derivative clans (See APPENDIX L).

He has also developed critical literature and position papers on Diné culture, philosophy, and history, and has written on the development of Diné College's Diné Policy Institute conceptual framework paradigm. He has published three books related to Navajo culture, history, and philosophy, including *Foundation of Navajo Culture* (1991), *Navajo Philosophy* (1978), *Navajo Oral History* (1978); one book on Navajo art, *Introduction to Silversmithing* (1970); and he has produced unpublished manuscripts, namely, *Foundation of Navajo Behavior* (1969) and *Introduction to Holistic Healing* (1980), (Personal Communication, January 10, 2007, January 15, 2009; Aronilth, 1991).

Although a number of individuals were instrumental in establishing Diné College, including the forementioned Dr. Bob Roessel, Dr. Ned Hatathli, Yazzie Begay, and Dr.

Allen D. Yazzie, to name a few, this study focuses on the stories of the four individuals introduced above: Dr. Guy Gorman, Mr. Mike Mitchell, Senator Jack C. Jackson, Sr., and Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr., all of whom were directly and indirectly instrumental in founding Diné College, and each of whom has consented to the use of his name and the inclusion of his transcripts here. Their responses are shared in order of seniority based on their involvement with the College's development. They vary in length, depth, and breadth, but they all convey rich experiences. In some cases the Navajo text is presented, first followed by the English translation; in certain other cases, an English term is used with the corresponding Navajo term in parentheses. Some of the responses corroborated or verified one another yielding consistencies. Conversely, inconsistencies were revealed, as well, albeit minimally throughout the narratives.

In attempting to present an accurate and authentic narrative of each interview within an ethical framework, it was appropriate to utilize entire responses in the narrative transcripts rather than select only portions thereof. As an American Indian deeply and at times emotionally engaged in this study, the researcher acknowledges that this study became a shared experience with the respondents. Many of their accounts invoke sacred stories, songs, and ceremonies and to divulge them outright in this study would be inappropriate and disrespectful to the medicine people, and to the Navajo Nation's cultural and spiritual leaders. At the same time, the researcher made every effort to meet the academic goals of this dissertation while balancing the need to share key elements of the College's cultural history to help understand the challenges and triumphs of what

became the first tribal post-secondary educational institution. Dr. Aronilth declares this type of engagement as necessary and important, explaining that as American Indians:

“When we conduct research, we have to be careful that we also become a significant part of our research by ensuring information we gather has relevancy to us as Diné people. We should not isolate ourselves from the research itself. These information sources must reflect our cultural integrity in terms of knowledge, dignity, wisdom, spirituality, and uniqueness” (Aronilth, 1980, p. 34).

The idea of limiting the narratives to particular sections only as mere “sound bites” would have diminished the purpose of creating an authentic oral history. In the process of asking for a story to be shared by a traditional person it was appropriate to give an offering, typically mountain tobacco, corn pollen, or some other material good depending on the “value” of the story being sought. The researcher was requesting special narratives embedded in ceremonies or related to other matters, therefore he was obliged to respect the custom of making an offering (*yeel*) which was described in Section One of this chapter. Citing David Aberle, Frisbie explains that:

“The Navajo ceremonial system and its individual components, including the apprenticeship system are based on a chain of reciprocity...In such a system, one is required to make gifts or ‘offerings’ (*yeel*) to those whose service and assistance are desired. Once such gifts are accepted, the receiver is compelled to respond; the gifts simultaneously compel and insure the efficacy of the performance” (Frisbie, 1987, p. 89).

The storyteller may not immediately or readily delve into the story being sought, but will usually establish the context of the event before specifically sharing it (Denetdale, 2007). This exchange may require more than one sitting and it might not be expressed directly. Thus it was through this process of abiding by tribal custom and protocol when the researcher realized that this study transcended mere academic

investigation and became as much an inquiry with them as it was about them and their experience in founding Diné College.

Navajo historian, Dr. Jennifer Denetdale observes that, “For Native peoples, oral tradition encompasses personal experiences, pieces of information, events, incidents, and other phenomenon...As a person listens to the stories being relayed, she or he adopts the memories of the person who tells the narratives” (Denetdale, 2007, p. 40). The extraordinary and resilient commitment of each visionary leader who shared his story helped established a written record of Diné College’s origin the likes of which has not been fully documented prior to the undertaking of this study. As observed, the passages that follow are organized chronologically and in order of seniority beginning with Dr. Guy Gorman, followed by Mr. Mike Mitchell, Senator Jack C. Jackson, Sr., and then Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr.

Oral – Cultural History of Diné College

Dr. Guy Gorman’s involvement in the founding of Diné College was primarily as a Navajo Nation Council Delegate, legislator-policy maker, and member of the Navajo Nation Council’s Education Committee. At the beginning of his political career in the early 1960s, he served as a Council representative from the Chinle community, located 25 miles west of Tsaile, becoming a valuable member of the Education Committee. There he was instrumental in advocating and leading the movement for Native control of K-12 schools on the Navajo reservation in addition to lobbying for the establishment of Diné College. Turning to his commentary, he states:

I was nominated to run for the Tribal Council Delegate position. So they took me through that and I became a Tribal Council Delegate. This is how my work commenced. I served the Navajo people twenty years. At that time there was a lot of work on many initiatives. After I was elected as the Council Delegate there was a gathering in Window Rock. The delegates were placed in committees and I was placed in the Education Committee. The late Allen D. Yazzie, a Council Delegate then, was made the Chairman of the Education Committee. He appointed me as the Vice-Chairman of the Education Committee. This is how my work began.

Diné College and Rough Rock Demonstration School were founded by some of the same individuals identified in this study, including Dr. Bob Roessel, Dr. Ned Hatathli, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, and Dr. Guy Gorman. During the late 1960s Dr. Gorman, Dr. Hatathli, and Dr. Yazzie formed Demonstration in Navajo Education (DINE), a non-profit corporation developed to facilitate funds from the BIA to the newly formed community controlled Rough Rock Demonstration School, displaying the creative genius that led to the planning and actual creation of the College (Johnson, 1968). Dr. Gorman continues:

We wanted to make an agreement with BIA and develop a policy which will allow us to build our school which we will control and operate as a Navajo Tribal entity. There were extensive discussions about this effort. Even though BIA refused we approached the BIA. We went to Washington to get approval to control our own education system. Previous to this the late Allen D. Yazzie, the Chairman of Education Committee and myself as the Vice-Chairman said that there should be three of us working on these developments. A man known as Ned Hatathli joined us. Thus, Allen D. Yazzie, Ned Hatathli, and myself formed a separate group. We established a Diné board and based upon that the state recognized us. That is how we started this board.

Dr. Gorman goes on to describe the cooperation of Mr. Graham Holmes, BIA Area Director, towards the use of the newly built boarding school at Many Farms. He further identifies Yazzie Begay as one of the traditional practitioners who was also

instrumental in the establishment of the College. Yazzie Begay was a knowledgeable man wise in Navajo history and traditions. He was from Many Farms, Arizona, he served on the Rough Rock Demonstration School Board, and he participated in *Azee Bee Nahagha* peyote ceremonies. Dr. Gorman says of him and others:

At that time BIA built Many Farms High School. BIA said that 9th graders will be enrolled at the beginning. They will continue through their senior year while recruiting 9th graders each year and in this way they will reach full enrollment. That was another opportunity we had and so because of that we went to work on it. We said that we could use the unused facility. That was where we would initiate the college. So the three of us, Allen D. Yazzie, Ned Hatathli, and myself, were the main strategists, including Bob Roessel. We used several medicine men like Yazzie Begay who was from Many Farms and he was a school board member at Rough Rock Demonstration School. Practitioners like these helped us with their prayers and by means of that we did our work. Thus, BIA approved that for us.

The first resolution of the Navajo Nation Council was approved on July 17, 1968, formally establishing the Navajo Community College (CJY-87-68). Dr. Gorman worked actively and through his leadership as a tribal legislator helped to secure the Navajo Nation Council's support as he himself modestly testifies:

We launched our work to build a college even though we were lacking essential things. It was then that the Tribal Council gave us a strong support. They established the Board of Regents. We said to Ned Hatathli that he will be the President of the college. Allen D. Yazzie will be the Vice-President and I will head the board. We thought we were kind of joking when we began talking about the college but yet here it was. It became a reality. When the Board of Regents was established I was made the Chairman of the Board. I worked with them for several years. This was the early foundations of the college.

Mike Mitchell became involved through his clanship affiliation with Dr. Bob Roessel's wife, Ruth. Mr. Mitchell, originally from Tsale, Arizona, is married into the Charlie Benally family and is therefore familiar with the communication and meetings

regarding the transition from Rough Rock to Many Farms and the acquisition of the Tsaille tract of land which became the home of Diné College. He testifies:

It was a continuation of the discussion of the foundation at Rough Rock School including learning of ceremonies. As I observed the developments this was how these things happened. I was asked to help with the developments. I was given a tape recorder to help work on learning of ceremonies. My maternal uncle, Allen Harvey, who was a Council Delegate, asked me to do this so that that will be the basis for this endeavor. We went over all the traditional stories and knowledge. This work was under ONEO. We gathered the stories at Fort Defiance. The older men who had knowledge of the harmonious southerly directions, the east, the south, the west, and north told their stories. Other stories about *Hwééldi*, Fort Sumner, stories of animals, the role of education in punishment, the time when a leader was thrown out, Black Horse's activities, and the numerous times education became a controversy were told. The older men told many stories about so many experiences in many places.

At Many Farms, in the meantime, there were meetings about all the things that were happening. Some of the older men in leadership opposed the activities. Other natives were questioning our work. A college was/is in the news. People wanted to know about our approach and meetings were organized to study this. Ned Hatathli, Allen Yazzie, and Bob Roessel, the three of them, asked me to go to Phoenix with them. They said that they needed help with the driving. Ned Hatathli was my cousin and Allen Yazzie was my clan brother also an in-law. Bob Roessel, I greeted him as my brother and I said, "This is a great opportunity. Sure I will help you finish your meals." They always joked with me so that is why I said that.

Mr. Mitchell served as friend, confidant, cultural expert, and spiritual leader to Dr. Bob Roessel since the beginning of Diné College. He was involved in the initial and eventual creation of the Rough Rock curriculum and served as Cultural Instructor at the beginning of Diné College, as well as doing what was required to get Diné College operating. Here, for example, he tells:

I chauffeured the men planning the college. They were constantly talking and making a lot of noise. That was how it was during that time. In the

midst of all the work and activities, I was assigned some work and here where I reside many prayers were offered by practitioners in the area. It was then that all the funds became available.

As observed, Senator Jack C. Jackson, Sr., has been with Diné College two different times in different capacities. Together with his education credentials and interest in Navajo education, simply being at the right place at the right time allowed him to become a key individual in the College's founding, as he indicates here:

In 1969 I was offered the Division Director of Education's position within the Navajo Tribal Government under the Raymond Nakai-Nelson Damon administration. On the day I reported to work I was not recognized at the Chairman's office and so I sat there for two days that's when I decided to leave. On my way out the hall way I came across the late Dr. Robert A. Roessel, Jr., and the late Dr. Ned A. Hatathli and they asked me what I was doing. After explaining what happened they told me, "Let it be, let's go, we need you. Let's go to Many Farms and Navajo Community College." I was offered a \$16,000 a year position and after consulting my wife I began my work in the fall of 1969 at Navajo Community College. I was assigned to be the Athletic Director and PE teacher. I was told that "this was a Navajo school and the Navajos are going to run this school. Therefore everything we do it's going to be Navajo." I was then asked to serve as Chair of the newly established Curriculum Committee.

Mr. Jackson's employment with Diné College at the beginning of the Indian Education Self-Determination period enabled him to work with important Navajo educators, leaders, and cultural experts, which opened his eyes to a Navajo-centered education concept. In his own words:

Being a Ph.D. sounded good. A lot of people with doctorate degrees sounded very good at that time. I asked Dr. Hatathli for that grant to study education even though I really did not know what I was talking about. He said, "Son, I wish you would reconsider because you know you are at this school and you know we need help from the other side, the Navajo side." He said "what we are trying to do at this school is to combine Western education with Navajo education and we need someone that knows how to do this and I want you to reconsider this." I asked Dr. Hatathli where I can go for this and was told, "You find it."

For two years I was sent to begin learning about the Navajo way of education. In reflecting on how difficult it was to obtain the information on Navajo traditional education I realized how protective my parents, grandparents, and medicine people were in not sharing such information until you reached a certain age that's when they start training you to be a medicine man. I was being sent to school during this important age when I could have been learning about traditional ceremonies, songs, and prayers. I feel like I missed out on what was available at home, I missed that education there. I did not know much about our own culture and started learning all that by coming to Navajo Community College. All these ceremonies we have, *Yei be chai*, *Ndah*, small ones; I didn't know what they meant and the purpose until I took those two years to investigate what Dr. Hatathli wanted me to find. I began understanding the process and what they were doing.

Here, Dr. Aronilth describes acquiring his initial awareness of the College and the plans to build a campus in Tsaile, Arizona, explaining briefly how he was hired to care for the animals at the Many Farms campus:

During December 1968 I was at the Lukachukai, Arizona community chapter house when I heard that a college was being planned to be built in Tsaile, near where I live, in Wheatfields, Arizona. The plans for a college meant that there would be employment opportunities available. I found myself at Many Farms, Arizona, where the College shared facilities from the Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding School. Upon inquiring about the possibility of being hired, I was asked several questions and soon thereafter I was hired. I was hired as an assistant to Mr. Hasheem, Instructor of the Animal Science program. My main duties were to care for the animals (horses, cattle and sheep) that were used as part of the Animal Husbandry classes, but one day several students asked me to tell them traditional stories as it relates to horses. They recorded me as I told cultural stories about the horse.

I recalled that one late afternoon during the early part of the 1969 Spring semester, I received a memorandum from President Roessel to report to his office at 8:00 a.m. sharp and to be prompt. I did not know exactly why I was asked to appear. I arrived before 8:00 o'clock at the President's Office when I met Dr. Ned A. Hatathli, who said, "My gosh Mr. Aronilth you're a handsome man," and I was questioned about my knowledge of traditional stories and songs about culture. I was uncertain how to answer when Dr. Hatathli took a tape recorder out and asked me again about my knowledge of cultural traditions. I found out that he was my *Nali*

(paternal grandfather) and that one of the students who asked me questions about traditional stories about horses was one of his daughters. He then asked me to teach Navajo knowledge the way I was taught and he persuaded me to sign a contract knowing that I was not a professional. I was paired with Mr. Andrew Pete and my first class had 48 students. There was no course syllabus, content, or anything, except that I introduced myself and asked all students to introduce themselves. I then explained the four types of clan relationships, including: ceremonial (acknowledging the spiritual deities), social (acknowledging familial ties and relationships), common (relationship to one another, i.e., *shi ma* (my mother), *shi ma yazhi* (my aunt), etc.), and nature (earth, air, fire, water, etc.). It is from this that Chester Yellowhair and I developed the Navajo Clan Relationship Chart and also the Navajo calendar.

Dr. Aronilth's recollection of how he learned about Diné College as an employment opportunity illustrates the various opportunities that such a college would create on the Navajo Nation, particularly within the Many Farms and Tsaile, Arizona vicinity. The encounter outside the classroom with the students, where Dr. Aronilth shared his knowledge about horses, including the songs and stories, reflects an appropriate model for teaching Navajo students. Perhaps it could be regarded as an informal educational setting, but hands-on teaching creates a proper locale for the subject being taught, which actually serves as the most appropriate method for developing a Navajo curriculum. Also, establishing a clan relationship with Dr. Hatathli as his paternal grandfather, rather than through a hierarchical or bureaucratic relationship, provides proper culturally-appropriate interaction between Navajo staff members at Diné College. This type of relationship is referred to as *K'é'*, meaning clan solidarity. The interaction between President Hatathli and Dr. Aronilth, as well as that between Dr. Aronilth and his students, introduces the common practice within Navajo traditional families and communities and indicates one of the founding principles of the College.

The *K'é'* concept creates a respect for self and others as clan relations foremost, and only then as professional colleagues. The Navajo calendar (See APPENDIX M), according to Dr. Aronilth, “has been passed down by our great forefathers as well as our elders. Long ago these stories of Navajo months were told to young people so that there would be a direction for them...[so] they can understand the changing of times, generations, seasons, and months...to be aware of things that might come their way (good or bad) and they would be able to learn and understand how to cope with problems of life” (Aronilth, 1991, p. 38).

In describing the factors that led to the creation of Diné College, from his perspective, Dr. Guy Gorman’s role as a policy maker with the Navajo Nation Council enabled him to participate at various levels, where he learned of the different school policies and programs affecting Navajo communities. From the 1950s to the late 1960s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) maintained considerable control over federal boarding schools on the Navajo Nation. The Tribal Council established the Navajo Nation Council’s Education Committee, and more specifically, in 1961, the Navajo Nation Education Committee adopted policies for all schools on the reservation. In opposition, the BIA either likely balked at or ignored those measures (Iverson, 1978), as Dr. Gorman explains below. Through their collective leadership, Dr. Gorman, Dr. Allen Yazzie and Dr. Ned Hatathli, were able to facilitate the establishment of Rough Rock Demonstration School and Diné College, in coordination with the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, despite its initial resistance and opposition from Navajos and non-Navajos alike. Dr. Gorman here describes the BIA’s opposition to the Navajo attempt to seize control over

their own schools and identifies his role as a Council Delegate and member of the Education Committee toward that objective:

On Navajoland there were issues and concerns affecting schools. We met in various places to discuss these issues and concerns. At that time the federal government exercised their ownership over all the schools except Ganado Mission and Farmington Mission over there, I forget exactly what it was called. The federal government was the only one to speak about the schools. It (federal government) spoke of the Navajo education in its own way. However, the schools had problems affecting it and we knew that. The government did not inform the Navajo leaders and the communities. So this was the reason we felt something was not right. The BIA school officials held meetings and even though we are leaders, we had no access to the meetings. We found that the problem regarding schools was that BIA kept it away from us. Thus, what do we do? At that time there were no laws or policies. The essential laws or policies to address the things we needed to address were extremely lacking. What are all the parts to the schools here in the name of the Navajo? We, the Navajo, have our language, ceremonials, and stories of knowledge and we use these knowing that these are effective for us. I thought about these and wondered what should be done? We should learn them and carry them on. In our meetings with BIA we presented these needs and ideas. They put up strong arguments disapproving of our efforts. We asked the tribal attorney (Mr. Walter Wolf) to work on ways in which we can have control and speak for our schools. We had meetings with him on this strategy. He was traveling in Phoenix, there is an air base (Williams Air Field) and on that military property he saw a public school. He began to inquire how this development was possible. This had implications for what we were concerned about. Also at this time there were many BIA schools being constructed on the Navajo reservation. This was an opportunity for us.

The Navajo Tribe (tribal government) is over here. Separately the three of us (Dr. Gorman, Dr. Ned Hatathli, and Dr. Allen D. Yazzie) contracted Rough Rock Demonstration School and we established the first school this way. So that was the first step we went through. But from that point when we took over the school the whole community needed to get involved and be part of it. The community should talk about the operation of the school. How is the school going to be successful and what should the children learn? So our language was used during a war, a historical account. Something that was outstanding that was used like the Navajo code talkers. Our children should learn about our own teachings.

Dr. Gorman proposed Navajo control through Navajo representation on the Diné College Board of Regents, which would lead to the idea of a tribally-controlled community college model. A critical factor would be the type of curriculum, which Dr. Gorman explained derived from Navajo culture, language, stories, and ceremonies because of its relevance and application. He insisted that if the Navajo language was a vital tool the United States military used during World War II to achieve victory, it was certainly appropriate as an integral part of the Diné College curriculum. BIA officials opposed such an idea because of the length of time and the exhaustive financial resources already spent to achieve the federal government's policies of assimilation, which was obviously a failure. In his testimony, he refers to a visit to the Williams Airfield Base in Chandler, Arizona, which had been transferred from the federal government to the Gila River Indian Nation as the site of a BIA school. That, he observed, could serve as a model that would benefit Diné College. Turning over unused BIA or government facilities emplaced on their own lands to the tribes allowed the founders of Diné College to consider utilizing the new, but as yet unused portion of the Many Farms BIA School in the College's formative years. Such creative thinking permitted Dr. Gorman, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, and Dr. Ned Hatathli, to establish DINE, Inc. and thus apply BIA funds to likewise establish the Rough Rock Demonstration School and ultimately Diné College.

In the passage below, Mike Mitchell justifies the need to educate Navajo students in a culturally-relevant way with a curriculum based on daily Navajo everyday activities like feeding animals or weaving a rug, rather than on traveling by plane from Phoenix to New York or vacationing in Florida, which few Diné students would experience and

would provide less meaning. He then recognizes the leadership of Chairman Raymond Nakai as being instrumental in developing a Navajo-owned institute and further specifies the importance of learning from a traditional perspective by listening to elders tell stories in a Hogan setting rather than sitting exclusively in a classroom, stating:

Raymond Nakai reminded us that we, the Navajo, have our own practices and culture, the women have their cultural practices, and we have our ways of planning and thinking. He discussed these things with us. We followed him around in our vehicle and listened to him. He organized meetings and we followed him to attend the meetings.

He told us about times in which one observes a Navajo man making a hogan with nothing more than an axe. Then a Navajo man may be observed driving a vehicle in an isolated area and his vehicle quits running. The man lifts the hood and works to fix the problem and afterwards he is driving the vehicle again. He did not go to school to learn about these things. A woman is similar. She weaves arts and weavings. She makes beautiful designs and things and she did not go to school to do these things. A traditional healing practitioner teaches younger men how to make different kinds of sand paintings. He teaches songs and prayers. He teaches about prayer feathers and the designs and colors. He does not keep these things on paper. These are the basis for the beginnings of the founding of the college. Raymond Nakai further explained that the Navajo elders will also be the teachers at the new institution because they have effective ways of teaching.

Further justifying the concept of Navajo-control, Mr. Mitchell underscores the importance of Navajo elders and their teachings, simple as they may seem, about the various ceremonies, certain plants, songs, prayers, and cultural practices as essential to a Navajo education that further embraces Diné College's cultural history. He believed then, as did many others at that time, that traditional Navajo knowledge was of equal value if not more important than Western academic knowledge for Diné students, as he asserts this, stating:

The primary impetus behind the beginning of the College was the placement of Earth and Darkness Above. This is the foundation for a strong push for language, culture, and history as the knowledge for education. We said that this is what we are placing in the college. This became known as learning of established knowledge, *ínáhoo 'aah*.

Likewise, as his testimony goes on to demonstrate, he emphasizes that blending both Navajo and Western teachings into the curriculum would allow for a dual, Navajo-Western, course of study. The importance of developing a curriculum to teach Navajo students about their language, culture, and history would be critical in reinvigorating the Navajo lifeways based on the creation stories. From that vital source, as mentioned in the first section of this chapter, come duality and interdependence - based on the Diné concept of *atchi silah* - male and female, earth and sky, sun and moon, fire and water, and so forth. From those narratives and the teachings they contain, he indicates, he and the others were encouraged to think, plan, implement, and evaluate ideas and activities to infuse into all aspects of the college's development, including planning for the dedication of the college's permanent campus in Tsaile. In his words:

They told us it was up to us how we would go about our organization and what it will contain. We would have work with others and develop a process. This is how it happened. The things (concepts for a Navajo-owned college) in the campaign (Raymond Nakai's run for Tribal Chairman) were all reviewed. The meaning was discussed. This happened. This was how it was during that time. The planning to build the college was being organized by a Planning Committee composed by Navajo members and they worked at Many Farms. Several of us were asked to use a Navajo approach to planning to design the college and all the primary internal aspects from the Navajo perspectives. Jack (Jackson) was there, Andrew Pete, and the late Dr. Dean C. Jackson participated with us during that time. Thus, there were a number of us who did the work. A meeting was planned to take place in the fall and it was said that classes will commence after that and that was done. The plan was to continue the preparations for the college and hold classes beyond the new year and that

was done. Plans to achieve the establishment of the college were being laid out.

People went to work on these topics. People were designing and illustrating. It is the same today. Weaving and designs were studied and many other crafts were identified. When viewed from aside these things were actual unpretentious crafts. This is the history of the college.

Mr. Mitchell, like many traditional Navajos, is modest and believes that retaining awareness of the “old” ways of living based on weaving, storytelling, planting, and harvesting are essential to teaching Navajo students today how to live and survive in addition to learning how to read and write English, do math, master physics, or study constitutional government. These simple teachings would form the cultural, historical, and oral foundation for Diné College.

Jack Jackson, meanwhile, recognizes the influence that Western education has had on the Navajo mind and how it threatens to create imbalance within Navajo students as a result of federal policies of assimilation that taught Navajo students to reject Navajo ways as wrong and consider anything reflecting such a life as evil. He further acknowledges the reluctance of traditional Navajos to share their long-held knowledge as a basis for Navajo-centered education because it would mean exposing some of the sacred songs and stories meant to be utilized exclusively in ceremonial settings. The reluctance of many Navajos and the failure of non-Indians to comprehend and support a Navajo-centered College made the idea seem like a joke or something quite frankly laughable, as Senator Jackson here allows:

Many of us had no idea of what Navajo education meant, many of us came out of Western education and yet here we found out that we were brainwashed, so we decided to bring in tribal elders and traditional people to have them share what they thought and knew. Some were reluctant to

share their thoughts because what they knew was how they sustained their families and how they made a living and they wanted to protect their knowledge. There was also a question about the fear of giving this type of information to non-Navajos. Finally, one man, Mr. Edward Bahe-Harvey, he was the one that told us about the corn-stalk philosophy and we started working with it in many ways.

Senator Jackson goes on to recall how he was taught, or “brainwashed,” to believe that Navajo knowledge with its traditional stories, songs, and teachings were wrong. Through his involvement, however, he reflects how he and others, including those interviewed here, began to question what they were taught by non-Navajos. At the same time, he recognizes the reluctance of Navajo elders to integrate Navajo concepts into plans for building a college and developing a curriculum; Mr. Edward Bahe Harvey, and others, insisted that Navajo teachings from the symbolic cornstalk and its nurturing cornfield were indeed appropriate to teach Navajo students about their own history, their culture, and their language. These teachings allow students to understand who they are, where they come from, and where they are going. Instilling a strong sense of identity and pride within students, encouraging cultural pride and empowering students to reach personal, academic, and vocational goals. Part of the reluctance to share such sacred precepts by way of a college curriculum, however, was the length of time and the degree of commitment needed to learn such detailed stories and songs. Furthermore, federal prohibition against teaching tribal language and culture instilled added resistance among elders, many of whom had been severely punished for speaking Navajo during the times they attended off-reservation boarding schools. Although Senator Jackson mentions Mr. Harvey specifically, others thought similarly; if College officials didn’t agree to teach Navajo values to students at the College, then how would they ever know who they really

were, especially since many came from families not steeped in Navajo language or culture? Raised in Lukachukai, 10 miles north of Tsaile, Mr. Harvey is thus now remembered as the person selected to prepare the planting stick, or “*gish*,” used to dedicate the permanent Tsaile home of Diné College. As Senator Jackson recalls:

I was one of the first Navajos to get a scholarship from the Navajo Tribe. It was good. Some of us played around with it and some went too far with it. Flagstaff was near our backyard and I was able to visit with my family. Some went to Tucson and Phoenix and many of them got lonely and homesick and some came home and never went back to school. This kind of activity led to people thinking about the idea of having a school of our own. Also there was a study that was made by ASU [referred to by Dr. Aronilth and summarized in Chapter Three] saying that courses were not relevant and had no Navajo history or culture in the curriculum. This was foreign to students and so they dropped out. They were also told that there was only the *Bilaghana* [Caucasian] way. Once students introduced themselves as Navajo they seem to lose their pride among all the non-Indian students. A lot of funds were being wasted, and instead there was the idea of creating a school relevant to the Navajo way of life, and unique. When NCC was created, and being the first one there, it was a joke to alot of people. We were so brainwashed that the *Bilaghana* way was the only way and if you were Navajo then you were considered inferior. This was the attitude.

Those individuals who were there at the beginning were subject to being joked about and were being criticized. Some said, “What are you doing?” Then things began to change.

Senator Jackson and the other visionary leaders were met with criticism and ridicule by Navajos and non-Navajos alike who no longer believed that traditional customs were relevant as a result of the Federal government’s policy of assimilation. Many who converted to Christianity believed that to be accepted in the modern world one must talk, walk, and look like a non-Native American. It had become embarrassing for many traditional Navajos to be proud of their traditional upbringing, and wear clothes to be perceived as outdated, old, smelly, and unclean. To the contrary, however, the

founders maintained that the Navajo language with its culture, prayers, and songs, should and would remain real and genuine to what the old stories contained.

Dr. Aronilth conducted his own informal research on the establishment of Diné College and declared the 1966 Arizona State University feasibility study accurate. While himself not its author, he is able to show by virtue of anecdotal observation that the various social and cultural issues then threatening the identity of the Navajo people resulted from an education program imposed from outside (Personal Communication, January 15, 2009). He himself can reiterate what Jack Jackson experienced as a Navajo student leaving the reservation to pursue a college education, including the denial of his identity and a lack of direction which he now attributes to be the result of federal boarding schools. Also, in accord with Jack Jackson's story, Dr. Aronilth speaks of the lack of confidence that the Navajo and non-Indians alike originally voiced considering a Navajo-centered College, and the ridicule its leaders faced at the onset, as he recalls:

I conducted research regarding the first problem and the reason for the establishment of Navajo Community College was the tremendous drop-out rate from various Indian boarding schools. Specifically, the boarding schools from on and off the Navajo reservation like Brigham City, Riverside, Sherman, Ft. Apache, Ft. Wingate, St. Michaels, Toadlena, Shiprock, Tuba City, Lawrence (Kansas), and Anadarko (Oklahoma); the Navajo students did not have any clear sense of self-identity. They were ashamed to call themselves Diné which led to stress, anxiety, disappointment, heartache, vagueness and unclear vision about where they came from. As a result of the federal Indian boarding school policy, Navajo students had no direction which caused unbalanced growth and development and this led to early marriage, divorce, single-parents, alcohol, and other negative habits, sexual, mental and emotional abuse; as well as abortion, miscarriage, adoption,...this all started from the various Indian schools.

Dr. Aronilth goes on to observe the many social, cultural, and economic maladies that confronted the Navajo Nation and its students who attended federal boarding schools.

Although he credits Dr. Roessel with participating in the Arizona State University study, the study was in fact conducted by Dr. Ashe and his colleagues from ASU's Bureau of Educational Research and Services:

Prior to the establishment of the College, there was a research study conducted by Arizona State University (ASU) led by Robert A. Roessel, Jr. In my research I came to the same findings. The ASU research made recommendations and they were presented to the Navajo Tribal Council in the 1960s which identified loss of language and dimmed lives of our students. Essentially the findings identified that the education system was geared to the dominant society and nothing exists for Navajo students. There was no philosophical knowledge and this is where we got involved in bilingual/bicultural education. Chairman Raymond Nakai and Vice Chairman Nelson Damon who had defeated Chairman Paul Jones and Vice Chairman Scott Preston during this period, late 1960s, warned us to not just play with it but let's do it! They were committed to the idea of a community college controlled by the Navajo Tribe. People, our own people, laughed about Navajo culture, knowledge, history, arts and crafts, especially at the different Catholic schools like St. Michaels and Lukachukai, spoke negatively of this idea. The idea of an Indian-control school, not to mention a college being run by Navajos was unheard of and was met with jokes and shame. The Rough Rock Demonstration School was being laughed about and it was just a demonstration and not a real school that's how bad it was. The *hatathlis* (medicine men) were to be the *ke' tlool* (roots/foundation), and to this day it still exists. Relearning of culture, storytelling, was to be the foundation of NCC.

Because of serious problems and issues that affect our generation's problems, that our own college, our research, bilingual and bicultural education, to assist our students were the main reasons for the creation of our school.

Dr. Aronilth goes on to account for the ridicule faced by pro-Navajo educators involved in the founding of the Rough Rock Demonstration School and Diné College. Much of it came from Navajo Christians who attended off Reservation missionary

schools as well as those on the Reservation, such as St. Michaels Catholic School located near Window Rock, Arizona, and the Lukachukai Boarding School located 10 miles north of Tsaile. As for the foundation for Rough Rock and Diné College, he points out that the medicine people, cultural leaders, and elders would serve as the “roots,” or foundation, of both schools. The ASU study identified over twenty reasons Navajo college students dropped out of college before completing their programs, such as: “(1) lack of effort, (2) inadequate academic preparation, (3) problems concerning alcohol, (4) desire to return to family and friends, (5) lack of sufficient funds, (6) marriage, (7) not socially accepted on campus, (8) lack of adjustment to college life, and (9) unsympathetic instructors,” to name a few of the major reasons (Ashe, et al., 1966, p. 27). The idea of a Navajo-controlled school was a bold step in reclaiming the past, present, and future for the Navajo people rather than leaving it up to outside “experts” trained at non-Navajo schools according Anglo-American educational precepts to operate Diné College or teach Navajo students. Establishing and operating a Navajo college would be an exercise of true sovereignty; it was up to the Diné themselves to succeed or fail.

Dr. Gorman emphasizes the loss of language and identity as the foremost concerns held by leaders such as Navajo Nation Chairman Raymond Nakai, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, Chairman of the Navajo Nation Council’s Education Committee, Dr. Ned Hatathli, Director of the Navajo Nation Resources Department and second president of Diné College, and Dr. Guy Gorman, Vice Chairman of the Navajo Nation Council’s Education Committee, to name a few. That in itself justified a college built by the Navajo people for the Navajo people. He describes envisioning the certain mainstream

requirements, such as college level courses which would allow students to earn legitimate college degrees, or to gain trade and vocational skills for employment. He agrees that the new college would have to maintain Western academic standards and relationships with other colleges and universities, which would eventually help Diné College become a four year college:

We had many ideas and thoughts in that area. The children, the small ones, at this time do not understand Navajo language. What will happen? I do not want to leave or get away from our language. That is what I think from my perspective. We are passing through time with it and it is our voice and language. It is part of our Navajo culture.

Colleges or education has its rules/requirements, in order to meet some of the requirements, and that is the way the educational process is established. You have to have a certain program to maintain college level education. There are policies and educational requirements. You have to meet those, qualify, that is the way it is. It is now a two-year college. We want it to be a four-year college. The thinking and ideas are about growth to be in competition with the rest of the colleges throughout the United States. That is a matter of fact.

Dr. Gorman's words and thoughts display a prophetic awareness, inasmuch as Diné College recently achieved accreditation to offer its first bachelor's degree program in November 2008, forty years after its founding. Ironically, the College achieved its four year status in elementary teacher education from a standard, non-American Indian accreditation entity for an accredited degree program that aims to prepare teachers to become bi-lingual and bi-cultural teachers, rather than for a bachelor's degree program in Diné Studies without outside endorsement as yet validating a purely Navajo-owned degree.

Mike Mitchell's prior experience with the Rough Rock Demonstration School as a janitor and dorm personnel enabled him to share ideas about what worked and what did

not work at Rough Rock in order for Diné College to become successful in launching its programs. For example, Mr. Mitchell observes how the Rough Rock Demonstration School's Board of Directors were the primary leaders of the school, insisting that Navajo teachings, Navajo elders, and Navajo knowledge would be the basis for the school's curriculum. He reveals how those individuals anticipated the challenge of succeeding as they undertook the enormous task of creating America's first tribally-controlled College, recognizing the importance of preparing students for gainful employment by way of a dual curriculum of Navajo and Western offerings. Under the guidance of that initial mission, the foundation of the College's curriculum would be transferrable to other colleges and universities, all of which is a reality today. As Mr. Mitchell explains:

These things were needed for the children so that they would have jobs and livelihood. They will be educated to do the jobs and have careers from that. All of these will become a reality. Some of the local people will be in leadership positions.

We were being observed externally at that time. The people were challenged with it at Rough Rock and they did a beautiful job. The same type of work continued here at the college. The work was done beautifully too. Then again about the contents (educational curriculum) of the college. This will be Navajo culture and practices. The White People's education is already prepared. Our curriculum will be placed here with nothing lacking in it. The cultural-focused curriculum was accepted (by the Curriculum Committee that Senator Jack Jackson was chairing during the early 1970s). Then the work resumed on secondary aspects to be added to the main curriculum. We would bring forth and place other native cultures and their practices in the college. Some native people live around us and others live in far-away places. This was planned in the discussions. An individual will be able to learn their culture here. This would bring in students from outside the Navajo land. Based upon this we would have a high enrollment and corresponding justification for high level of funding. These were the plans and things that were talked about at that time. Based upon the revenues dormitories for students and housing would be constructed. Married students would be able to live here and attend classes.

Under discussions was transferability of courses in Navajo culture, language, and history to institutions outside Navajo land. They were going to accept the history, culture, language credits. This would require an enormous amount of work. These areas were discussed.

Mr. Mitchell thus testifies on the importance of developing a curriculum based fundamentally on the Navajo creation stories. Accordingly he can tell how the greasewood plant was used during the creation of the four Navajo worlds. He also stresses the importance of the corn-stalk model, which Edward Bahe-Harvey declared to Jack Jackson was essential to a Navajo-centered curriculum. That model depicts twelve elements found in the key stories, songs, and ceremonies essential to the Diné. Those same elements are also evident in the tails of birds, the seasons, the months of the year, as well as within the Earth and throughout the Sky. Sharing the experience of applying the creation stories, using the greasewood cane, and telling why it was chosen to plant the College, he says:

Soil will be taken out of the Earth and something (seeds of corn as prayers) will be placed in the Earth and covered. Then there will be growth from that place. An individual (Diné Diyini) being's life was saved by greasewood. He thought that he could not fit into the place where greasewood grew. Blow on the greasewood four times he was instructed. Thus, he blew on it four times and a large opening enough for a person to enter was created. Then he was instructed by the Holy People to anchor the roots of greasewood and to never allow his attackers (Arrow People) at the surface of the ground to pull out the greasewood. When he went into the greasewood the Holy People replanted the greasewood and became its normal size again. His life was saved by hanging on and anchoring the roots of greasewood. This event that took place a long time ago somewhere but in recent times greasewood is used for planting things. When it was used to plant corn, white corn and various kinds of corn was able to produce 12 ears of corn on the sides of its stalk they say in stories. 12 ears of yellow corn, white corn, and corn with different names grew on the side of the stalk. According to this, songs are sung and prayers are said and according to this there are the months of the year and the years pass. According to this there is the number twelve. According to this the birds

have twelve tail feathers. There are twelve months. In the songs one refers to twelve things. In prayers there are twelve references. According to this there are twelve young women in puberty. According to this the number twelve is used in many areas. The Earth and Sky have twelve primary elements placed within. The Earth and Sky each have twelve elements placed within. There are twelve elements placed in water and twelve elements placed in air. Each of the twelve elements have different names and differences as elements, “*Naakí Tsaadá Biiníla.*”

Mr. Mitchell goes on to explain that twelve is a sacred number and describes how there are twelve elements, or parts, to the sacred songs and in the four sacred elements. Those same twelve elements are critical to the curriculum of Diné College, but it is apparent that they have yet to be developed into its overall framework due to faculty and staff who don't yet fully understand or appreciate the creation stories and how critically essential they are to a Navajo-centered college. Addressing that point, Mr. Mitchell underscores the importance of the succession of two Navajo worlds, with their mountains and their accompanying stories, songs, and ceremonies. He describes how the first Hogan was created for Navajo people, and how they were assigned different types and colors of greasewood canes, then goes on to reveal the purposes of the cane, including its use to dedicate the College, saying:

Things were suspended in the Sky, the Woman Mountain was implanted with things, Woman Water was implanted with things, Sun Light was placed within all, things were placed with the mountains, things that will be inside the mountains were created. He (a story teller) says Things were Placed Within. This refers to things that will be the power of movement, that which will be its means of breathing, and the means by which we are all alive and living today, these are things placed within. The older men said we will follow this creation model in the ground breaking. The question was how would we achieve this?

From the western universe the human form, Diné, was created. Four individual human beings were sent back here. They were given canes, gish, the white shell cane, turquoise cane, abalone shell cane, and black jet

cane. When they left the place where they were created in the west they were given canes so here we said we would simulate these in the ground breaking. Our grandfathers, *Yé'ii*, have canes. The stories about these were recounted. Hogan God has her cane, Hump Back God has his cane, and other gods have their canes. The primary people (clans) given the canes were: Towering-House, Walks-Around-You, Bitter Water, and Mud People. They were given white shell cane, turquoise cane, abalone shell cane, and black jet cane.

Remaining to be fully absorbed by the College's entire faculty and staff, Mr. Mitchell's understanding of those teachings, and the vast knowledge that they transmit have been basic to the growth of Diné College, both in its past and into its future. He, too, relates the process which the individuals involved in the College's dedication at Tsaile secured, identifying the individuals selected to cut and prepare the appropriate greasewood planting cane as well as the person chosen to conduct the ceremony for the ground blessing there. Charlie Benally was recommended based on his knowledge and ability to conduct the ceremony. He also represented the first Navajo clan, the *Kinya'aanii*. Furthermore, Mr. Mitchell cites two Native American Church, *Azee BeeNahagha*, ceremonies conducted to bless the greasewood cane before its use at the dedication. And in the following passage he highlights all of that with a comprehensive description of why the cane mattered at the groundbreaking on April 13, 1971, and why it was important to find the right person to cut and emplace it, saying:

Later the cane was discussed. What size? What is used to make a cane? Then it (referring to Crystal Light Ceremony) said greasewood. It said this will be used to do the ground breaking, use wood not metal.

The elements that make up the twelve primary and foremost things in the universe are Earth (planets), Sky (space), Sun (stars), Air (gases), and the mountains and from there it continues. There are twelve kinds of Holy People (referring to earth, sky, mountains, water, darkness, daylight, First Talking Spirit, Second Talking Spirit, White Corn Boy, Yellow Corn Girl,

Corn Pollen Boy, Corn Bettle Girl). In the past these are the things that they (elders) used to talk about. So these things will be the guide in the ground breaking. The principles and historical events would be our guide in the ground breaking. The tool, the greasewood planting cane, is also given to the women in the form of stirring sticks and weaving tools. And also the white shell cane given to the Towering House clan, turquoise cane, abalone shell cane, and black jet cane will be the elements in the ground breaking ceremony. This was decided. The Diné (Navajo) was placed and proliferated and thus we are living here today. A descendent of such creation, a Diné, shall be the one to do the ground breaking part. A ceremonial chanter who has the knowledge or someone who knows songs and prayers and performs the Harmony Way ceremony, one who knows about how things are placed within, things placed within the mountains, and things placed within all things will be the one to do the ground breaking. That was decided. There was a man named “Chaala Binaalf” whose land is withdrawn for the college, the land came from his *Kinyaa’aníí* ancestors, at the site called Grove-of -Pine Trees-Extending-Out.

So who will cut the greasewood cane? This will be a person whose clan is associated with water. Will it be Bitter-Water, Near-the-Water, or Edge-of-Water, and then there are Deer-Springs we said enthusiastically. But it said no. It will be the one taken from the place called Two-Waters-Coming-Together. Jack Jackson and I were sent out to make arrangements. Where do we find someone who knows about this? What will be the size of the cane? We got on the road and I said “There is a man over this way.” This man is Edward Harvey known as Son-of-His-Eyes-Are-Blue. He will make the cane. So we went to see him and he was at his home. I say to him, “Grandfather, we came for this purpose.” He and Jack did not know each other. I told him how the college is being established. I told him there was a time in history ground was broken and the planners said this will be the guide. I told him that he would be paid to cut the cane. He agreed to cut the greasewood cane. We reminded him that the men want to use the way from stories of the past. He asked when the cane was needed. He said he had questions and he wanted to ask two men he knew – one was His-Mule-Is-Bluish-Gray and the other was Neal Tohtsohnii of Where-The-Field-of-White-Bamboo-Reeds-Come-Out, who was an expert on Harmony Way. We described where the cane will be placed and told him that we would come to see him again.

The person to prepare the cane (*gish*) had to be a member of the water clan because it is through water that the greasewood plant used in the dedication would be

able to continue growing. Other clans whose names derive from plants were also mentioned, but because a person from the water clan was initially discussed, it had to be chosen. It is highly likely as well that because Mr. Edward Bahe Harvey was already identified among those considered for this method of blessing the ground, based on a Navajo concept, that he was singled out because of his clan membership. On the other hand, members of some clans whose names refer to red, such as Red House People (*Kinlachiini*) clan, Red Streak People (*Deeshchiini*), Red Cheek Bone People (*Tlaashchi'i*), Red Running into Water People (*Táchii'nii*) would not be appropriate because red signifies more of a warrior clan rather than a growth clan such as Mr. Harvey's Water That Flows Together (*Tó'áheedlínii*) clan, as Mr. Mitchell indicates here:

He (Edward Harvey) did that – he cut the greasewood somewhere. It was decided that a ceremony will take place at Lukachukai, Where-The-Field-of-White-Bamboo-Reeds-Come-Out. At this ceremony there will be discussions on the old knowledge and also for the establishment of the college. The person who is going to do the ground breaking will be the patient (Charlie Benally). But his children said no. They said his home, his home fire, his children, his land upon which the ground breaking will take place, are all here at this place. Thus, the ceremony will take place at Charlie Benally's place (which is located north west of the current Tsaile campus).

The greasewood planting cane will be in the ceremony but it was not being brought in. So he (Charlie Benally) went after the cane himself in the morning of April 12, 1971. He said I am going over to Edward Harvey to get the cane. So he Charlie Benally brought the cane back from Bahe Harvey to his homestead. Preparations for the ceremony were made. Then how should the ceremony be conducted it was asked. Is the Blessing Way used? Or is it the Enemy Way? Then it was decided that the Native American Church will be used. The Blessing/Harmony Way will not be used. That was decided. The prayer ceremony in NAC will be done at night and in the morning he will do the ground breaking ceremony before the Sun reaches its zenith.

Mr. Mitchell goes on to review the decision to include a Native American Church or *Azee BeeNahagha* ceremony in blessing the greasewood cane (*gish*) used to dedicate the Tsaile tract, as a spiritual expression of added respect for the interest that all Navajo people have for land. It is important to note that prior to Raymond Nakai becoming the Chairman of the Navajo Nation, the use of peyote in ceremonies was outlawed and those who participated in them were arrested because the Navajo Nation Council prohibited its use, sale, or transport (Iverson, 2002). Chairman Nakai, in addition to campaigning for a post-secondary institution on the Navajo Nation, assured those who participated in Native American Church ceremonies that under his leadership they would no longer be subject to harassment by Navajo police or mistreated for their religious belief. As a result of his promise, a large contingent of Navajos who believed in the use of peyote voted for Chairman Nakai. This gesture is mentioned because it may have influenced the decision to add the Native American Church service as the ceremony to bless the cane (*gish*) prior to its use in the dedication. Another factor might have been that a large number of Navajos involved in establishing Diné College were likewise active in the movement to formally establish the Native American Church of Navajoland on June 11, 1966. Dr. Aronilth notes that “Before we moved from Many Farms to Tsaile we continued to have our ceremonies at Yazzie Begay’s Hogan. It wasn’t until after the dedication of this campus on April 13, 1971 we started having ceremonies here” (Aronilth, 2005, p. 4). It was agreed to conduct the *Azee BeeNahagha* ceremony, but what is interesting is that rather than have one ceremony at Lukachukai or Tsaile there were two ceremonies held. A teepee ceremony was held at Lukachukai at Mr. Leo Harvey’s residence, while a

Hogan ceremony was held at Charlie Benally's residence in Tsaile. Prior to the dedication in 1971, several *Azee BeeNahagha* ceremonies were held in support of the idea of establishing a College on the Reservation. Dr. Aronilth confirms that "the first Native American Church prayer service was planned by the students of this institution on December of 1969" (Aronilth, 2005, p. 3). According to him, Mr. Billy Sam of Many Farms conducted the first prayer service for students at Mr. Yazzie Begay's residence in Many Farms, Arizona. Mr. Begay took care of the cedar, Thomas Bijoe took care of the fire, and Dr. Aronilth was the drummer (Aronilth, 2005). The planting cane (*gish*) was blessed at the Tsaile ceremony, and on the morning of April 13, 1971, it was wrapped in a white cloth and brought to the Tsaile site where it was used to dedicate the College's permanent home, as Mr. Mitchell explains here:

The next question was who will be the one to do the prayer ceremony? Charlie Benally said "It should be you since you are the ones here requesting this." But his cousin Bahe Harvey at Lukachukai is still going to do the ceremony. Over there, Robert Shorty conducted the NAC ceremony, the late Dean Jackson, Jack Jackson, and several other persons went over there.

We will do the prayer ceremony (for Charlie Benally) here in this hogan. According back to what Charlie Benally had stated, "Who's going to conduct the ceremony?" So I said Mike Mitchell conducted the prayer service for Charley Benally and the greasewood planting cane was placed near the altar. The drummer was Mr. Andrew Pete; Fire Chief-Phillip Sandoval; Cedar-Don't know and Morning Water-Priscilla Mitchell. This ceremony took place in a Hogan at Charlie Benally's family residence the night before the groundbreaking; April 12, 1971. So the ceremony began at sundown and proceeded to dawn. These events happened. We went out in the morning. The prayer ceremony was performed for Charlie Benally, and the planting cane.

We left for the ground breaking when the sun began to ascend. People were gathering when we arrived. He (Charlie Benally) sat among the dignitaries. He had the planting cane wrapped in white cloth. When it was

his turn, he turned the ground with the cane right at the site of the library. There was a wooden stake marker at the site and marker is missing today. There were only sage brushes there at the time.

A man called Wayne Aspinal from Washington, who was described as the one who held back funding, came to the ground breaking with his wife. It was said that he and his wife walked 500 yards on foot in the heat. There was a huge crowd there at the ground breaking. To feed these people two steers, two buffalo, and ten sheep were butchered. After the ground breaking and speeches food was served. This happened.

Mr. Mike Mitchell's contribution to the dedication activities of the Tsaile site thus becomes evident, as does how he and Jack Jackson accepted the responsibility of ensuring that it followed the Navajo traditions. His account testifies to his spiritual leadership in the Native American Church, *Azee BeeNahagha*, ceremony held on April 12, 1971. The Native American Church Association of Navajo Community College, now the *Azee BeeNahagha* Association of Diné College, was established in December 1969 (Aronilth, 2005, p.3).

Senator Jackson's testimony reaffirms the purpose and describes how the dedication of the Tsaile site would be conducted in concert with Mike Mitchell's account. Both Jack Jackson and Mike Mitchell were assigned by President Dr. Ned Hatathli to complete the dedication activities in accordance to Navajo tradition. Mr. Jackson confirms that the Native American Church, *Azee BeeNahagha*, ceremonies were conducted the night before the April 13, 1971 dedication. Senator Jackson's nephew, Elmer Clark, reports that the ceremony held in Lukachukai at the residence of Leo Harvey was conducted by Robert Shorty, with Mr. Leo Harvey taking care of the water drum, Mr. Allan Harvey praying with the cedar, and Mr. Lloyd Thompson taking care of fire. Mr. Shorty's wife brought in the morning water. Mr. Elmer Clark, former Council Delegate for Teesto, Arizona,

located approximately 35 miles north of Winslow, Arizona, sat between Senator Jackson who held the “main smoke,” and his twin brother, Dr. Dean C. Jackson. Mr. Clark also mentions that “they were dishing out 8 spoons per round x 4 equals 32 spoons!” (Elmer Clark, Personal Communication, January 12, 2009). Senator Jackson reports:

In 1970, Dr. Hatathli called me into his office and informed me that a piece of land was donated to the College and that a ground-breaking was going to be held in April of 1971. He said they wanted to use a genuine Navajo concept for the ground blessing ceremony. I went to the Curriculum Committee and they instructed me and Mike Mitchell to provide information to Dr. Hatathli about what a Navajo concept would mean and he immediately fell for the concept. He then inquired about the individual who provided this information and we shared with him that it was Mr. Edward Bahe Harvey. We were told to inquire with Mr. Harvey about the possibility of re-enacting that particular activity that we shared with him. We traveled to Lukachukai and talked to Mr. Harvey and at first he was hesitant until we explained the purpose. He mentioned that he needed to discuss the request with *Dzanez Dotliizhi Hástiin* (Blue Mule Man) and another person. The second time me and Mike Mitchell went to visit Mr. Harvey we took a check for \$200.00 or \$250.00 which he accepted as compensation for making the ceremonial cane. He then consulted with *Dzaanez Dotliizhi* and received instructions on how to cut the cane. He brought it back. On April 12, 1971, we had a ceremony at Lukachukai and Tsaile and the plan was to have a medicine man to use that cane to bless the ground. That man was Charlie Benally, a well-known medicine man who knew the nine-day ceremony, also known as the *Yei be chai* Ceremony, plus blessing way and protection way ceremonies. He was strict with his ceremonies-no drinking or any monkey business was allowed when he performed his ceremony.

Mr. Edward Bahe Harvey was not a medicine man but Senator Jackson and Mr. Mitchell were told that because of his membership in a particular water clan, rather than a clan whose name involved any type of red, he should be the one to find the greasewood plant, cut it out of the ground, and prepare it for the dedication of the Tsaile tract of land. Because he was not an ordained medicine man, however, he consulted Blue Mule Man, a

medicine man from the Round Rock, Arizona area, located 25 miles north of Tsaile, who was a traditional practitioner.

Senator Jackson also cites the monetary payment to Mr. Harvey for preparing the sacred cane, “*gish*,” explaining that he was to be compensated for his expert contribution consistent with Navajo traditional practices of making an offering, or “*yeel*” to a person who provides a cultural service such as a song or prayer. Again, Senator Jackson reflects in his testimony on the *Azee BeeNahagha* ceremony held at Lukachukai on the eve of the dedication. Mr. Charlie Benally from Tsaile was chosen to lead the traditional ground blessing songs to dedicate the land for the permanent campus. He was chosen primarily because he was from the Towering House (*Kin’ya’aani*) clan, which is one of four primary clans according to the creation story. He was also a traditional practitioner who conducted ceremonies to protect individuals from harm and to bring them into harmony with nature and the four elements. Some of the major Navajo chant way ceremonies include Hoofs Claws Chant (*Akeshgaanji*), Enemy Way (*Anaa’ji*), Eagle Way (*Atsáji*), Feather Chant (*Ats’oseeji*), Flint Way (*Bésheejí*), Deer Way (*Dinéheejí*), Navajo Wind Way (*Diné binilch’iji*), Mountain Top Way (*Dzit k’iji*), Evil Way (*Hóchxó’ji*), Snake Way (*Hoozhóneeji*), Blessing Way (*Hqzhóqjí*), Life Way (*Ináqjí*), Fire Dance (*Iizhniidááhji*), Monster Protection Way Chant (*Naajé’eeji*), Shooting Lightning Way Chant (*Na’at’oyeeji*), Night Chant (*Tlééji*), Water Way (*Tx’óyeeji*), Red Ant Way (*Wq láchííji*), and Bead Way Chant (*Yoo’eeji*), (Denny, July 8, 2008, p. 5-6). Mr. Benally conducted the Night Way (*Yei bi Chai*) which lasts nine nights and is considered to be the most complex of Navajo ceremonies (Jack C. Jackson, Sr., Personal Communication,

January 13, 2009). He also conducted the Puberty Way (*Kinaalda*) ceremony which consummates the transition of a young Navajo girl to womanhood. Senator Jackson's observation of Mr. Charlie Benally's strictness implies that there were, and continue to be some medicine men and women who consume alcohol and become corrupt by asking for more money as a "yeel," than is normally part of the traditional method. He alludes to the term "strict" in reference to medicine people who disallow certain distractions like entering a ceremony after it has started or leaving before it ends. There are various levels and methods of learning ceremonies, whether through actually attending and actively participating versus learning them by listening to recorded songs. It is convenient to learn songs on tape because of the changing conditions on the Navajo Reservation, which requires one to travel to maintain a job and make a decent living. On the other hand, it is important to learn songs in the context of a ceremony because that is where the teachings and stories are shared.

Dr. Wilson Aronilth's testimony adds information regarding the cultural components of the mission and the prayers that add to the cultural aspects of the mission, and discloses the reasoning behind the original name of Navajo Community College and its actual Diné name. He also expresses in the passage his views on the importance of teaching and learning Navajo history along with describing language, and elements that are found in the intricacies perceived in a full life-span contributing to the College's mission. The sequence consists of birth, adolescence, adulthood, and old age. He expresses his caution that conflict over the College's mission would occur but adds his assurance that the prayers and songs offered on its behalf would restore balance and

protect its growth. The conflict he alludes to is the opposing view of Navajo educators who believe that the purpose of education is to prepare students for academic and vocational jobs without any Navajo cultural, language, or philosophical teachings, versus those that believe that teaching both Western and Navajo knowledge would be the best way to prepare a “balanced” person. Thus he says:

The basic elements of the mission include *tsodizin dóó sin, oodlǫ́, ayóó'ó'ní* (prayer, song, belief, and love); we will be together even though we have different ways of prayer and belief, we will be one. The leaders would talk all day and night, for many hours they agreed that within our land and within the sacred mountains, since we are “Navajo” that would be first; and since we want to help address the needs, concerns and issues within our communities then “Community” will be included; and “College” is higher education, so the name Navajo Community College was made. *Ákondi íyisígíí éí kóolyé, Diné Bi'óhoo'aah Wódahgo Bidziilgo Siláhígíí éí íyisíí wolyé* (In actuality, the Diné College's real name is the highest and strongest place of learning).

Then what would be the plan, it would be stated as, *bikétt'óól, binidii'ááh, bá siléí, bitsisiléí aadóó t'óó ahayóí* (the underlying roots, foundation, and philosophy are many).

Íyisíí mission yigíí éí Diné biizaad, Diné bi'óhoo'aah, bina'nitin, bi'éé'deetjìh, dóó be'e'ool'jìt, yik'ehgo yikahǫ́q, Nihitsílkéí, ch'ikéí, niha'átchiní, bini', bintsékees, bijéí, bits'íís, biìh nidoolyéét. Éí ts'idá alǫ́qjì' dooleet.

Medicinemen (no records exists on who they might have been) sat for hours discussing what would be in the college mission, its path, its vision and mission, the main purpose would be: To re-instill language philosophy, culture knowledge, history, arts and crafts, what made our people unique and one of a kind that would be the mission; Our great forefathers wisdom and teachings; the unique knowledge that is organized in sequential order; don't allow someone to manipulate, delete or add to how it was organized by the holy people. Let's go by these standards, principles and ethics. We know we are going to have conflict but let's do it, let set our foot down and believe that's going to be our mission.

Dr. Guy Gorman agrees that being the first tribal college established by an American Indian tribe required an appropriate philosophy reflective of the tribe's culture. As the Chairman of the first Board of Regents of Diné College, he acknowledges that the cultural experts, referring to Yazzie Begay, Dr. Dean C. Jackson, Jack C. Jackson, Sr., and individuals like Mike Mitchell, Dr. Wilson Aronilth, and others, were the ones who proposed the unique philosophy found in songs and prayers of Navajo ceremonies. He calls that unique philosophy "outstanding," and acceptable to Navajos and non-Indians alike, including the first president of Diné College, Dr. Bob Roessel, even though he was a non-Navajo. Dr. Roessel was emphatic that the College should be Navajo in as many ways as possible, from the Board of Regents, to the president, the faculty, the staff, and of course, the students, to reflect its "tribally-controlled" status. Mr. Gorman reaffirms:

Along the way a phrase *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón*, which is in the prayers, was accepted. The ceremonial chanters deliberated on the use of the phrase for the college and they said it was entirely appropriate and effective so we accepted the phrase. There is not another college like this. It is very difficult to find, almost non-existent. Thus, *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón* came here and it was accepted. At the time I was the Chairman of the Board of Regents.

Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón is God. His plan is to be a harmonious outcome/reality. This is my understanding and that is how I think of it. This is the underlying philosophy of the college now. I firmly and strongly feel that there is no other language for a college no matter how they are established they fall short. From where I stand that is what I think. One of the outstanding philosophy.

Dr. Gorman believes that the philosophy embraced by the Board of Regents was appropriate because it reflects the Navajo people's belief, culture, and language, which gives meaning to the College's mission. He worries, however, that the phrase, *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón*, repeated ceremonially in Navajo songs and prayers, loses its

meaning when enunciated in English. While he equates the entire phrase with God, *Sa'ah* can be translated as “old age,” and *Naaghai* could mean “walking into,” while *Bik'eh* means “resulting,” and *Hozhoon* becomes “in harmony.” Therefore a more literal translation of *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* can be phrased as, “Walking into old age resulting in harmony.” The College’s conception of *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* is expressed this way:

*“Ni' Asdzáán dóó Yádiłhił biyi'dóó Biká'ii dóó Bi'áadii atch'í
naazláago dabiilzı́ díí bee át'é hwiindzin. Díí bik'ehgo na'nitin dóó
óhoo'aah silá.”*

“The duality of knowledge in form of male and female are present in mother earth and father sky. These are the foundations of teaching and learning” (Diné College Board of Regents Resolution, DC-FEB-1900-08, February 9, 2008).

The words contained in Navajo prayers and songs invoke the spirits by their unique Navajo names, although addressing them in English would diminish the power to communicate with them. To offer prayers in Navajo, rather than in English, summons them properly and therefore serves its intended purpose, as Dr. Gorman implies in saying this about Dr. Roessel’s awareness:

The person that helped us the most was Bob Roessel. He found his way here to Navajoland after he got his degree. What was on his mind? He began to live among us. He was committed to the Navajo all the way to the time he passed on. I think about that usually. He thought about the Navajo people unwaveringly. He had his stories and peculiarities. He used to pray and he carried a corn pollen pouch and that is how we knew him.

Dr. Gorman understands that although Dr. Roessel, the College’s first president, was a non-Navajo, he understood unequivocally that “being” Navajo was more than just being born as one, and that being able to speak Navajo becomes a way of life -- practicing the

traditional ceremonies, helping one another, and practicing the Navajo culture. The level of respect and admiration Dr. Roessel had for Navajo traditional cultural practices, manifest in his having a corn-pollen pouch (*ta'di'diin*) to offer a prayer, serves to portray him accurately as a non-Indian educator who came to the Navajo reservation in the early 1950s and became one of the people. Dr. Roessel grew up in St. Louis, Missouri. He first came to Navajoland as a teacher with the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Crownpoint, New Mexico, in 1951. He was not at all happy about being excluded from the Navajo communities during his stint at Crownpoint, so he requested, and was approved for a transfer to Round Rock Community School, located 20 miles north of Tsaile, where he became director from 1952 to 1955. He met Ruth Wheeler in Round Rock. He and Ruth then moved to Low Mountain School where he spent three years during which time he married her. They left Low Mountain, Arizona in 1958 for Arizona State University (ASU) where he got to know Dr. G.D. McGrath, Dean of the College of Education, and Dr. Robert Ashe, lead investigator for the 1966 Navajo Community College feasibility study and one of Bob's professors. He received his Ed.D. degree in educational leadership in 1960 from ASU. He previously received his bachelor's and master's degree from Washington University at St. Louis, Missouri. He worked at Rough Rock Demonstration School from 1966 to 1968, then, soon thereafter became the first president of Navajo Community College in 1968. He left Navajo Community College in 1973. From 1974 to 1976 he served as superintendent of the Chinle Unified School District, and from 1976-80 he was director at Rough Rock Demonstration School. From 1980 to 1983 he worked at Navajo Academy, and then from 1985 to 1987 at Cedar public school. He

returned to Navajo Community College as Vice President of Development from 1995 to 1996, and thereafter returned to Rough Rock once more (Roessel, 2002).

Mr. Mike Mitchell correlates the philosophy of Diné College, which Dr. Roessel accepted, with the songs and prayers found in Navajo traditional ceremonies. He, too, connects that philosophy to the mission of the College and again reiterates the importance of the planting as the embodiment of a spiritual ritual rooted in Navajo oral traditions. Here he concludes that observation with a discussion of the dedication of the College and its conception as a living “being” which breathes, feels, hears, thinks, smells, tastes, and sees:

Well, there is our oral history about things that occurred in the past. It is said that this was in the Holy Creation way. It is told that everything was placed in the Holy Creation way. Things were created in a holy way and the Holy People performed these things. We, the humans, did not do these things. So it is told like that.

The Planning Committee and medicine men (referring to Senator Jackson, Yazzie Begay, Edward Bahe Harvey, and others) wanted the groundbreaking to be very sacred; meaning how the Holy People did the planting of the seed (which is translated into Navajo as) “*Diyin Kego Ki'doolya*’.” An example of how the corn was planted by the Holy People. They may also be expecting to do the ground breaking (meaning the Board of Regents will take a shovel and dig a portion of dirt out which is what typically is done during a ground-breaking activity). We did not want to do it that way we said (referring to the Planning Committee). The ceremony that will take place here will be consistent with the story of the way planting of the Earth. From this planting things grew and today those things are here. Things were implanted (referring to the earth, air, water, and fire-the natural elements). They are mother earth; water to give the mother earth for moisture and this is where life comes; Air which makes all living things to breathe and grow; Sunlight to have all living things to have warmth in order to grow. This is still part of every life on mother earth which we have today. The four elements; earth, water, air, and sunlight, they contact and is in balance to make a life grow. This is what we call “*Bii Da'ahya*” (meaning how things came down, or came to exist). Not only the four elements; nature colors plays a major role in

every life (meaning that all colors represent the sacred colors of white, blue, yellow, and black, including all colors of plants, rocks, and landscapes. Based on this prayers and songs comes from the supernatural (the spiritual energy-entities of sacred deities). Moreover, every living thing, they breathe, hear, feel, think, smell, taste, and see things as they are, their surroundings . . . “*Nabinítin*.” Again the song “*Nashinítin*.”

Mr. Mitchell refers to the supernatural as the “holy spirits” that represent the four cardinal directions, the nadir, the zenith, and the center. The earth is like a person and therefore its elements make up the various materials used in buildings. After the College’s buildings were erected, songs and prayers were offered assisted by the sacred planting cane, “*gish*,” to activate its growth, similar to pressing the power button to turn on a cell phone. The process of activating the College with songs and prayers, many traditional Navajos believe, engendered a female spirit within the College. That spirit makes it a living entity, thus it can see, feel, taste, smell, and breathe, and must be respected and cared for by everyone. The College is considered a female entity because through a diverse curriculum she teaches her many children (students) many lessons to enable them to live a proper life. Those teachings emerge from deep within the sacred songs and stories first taught to the twin warriors during their exploits in the Fourth World, which are renewed by re-enacting those lessons through the ongoing offerings of the same songs, prayers, and the ceremonies that contain them. *Nabinítin* means “Someone will/is teach(ing),” and *Nashinítin* means “I am being taught.” This pair of phrases suggests that no one knows everything, but there is always something yet to be learned.

Accordingly, Jack Jackson expresses his concern about incorporating the unique Diné philosophy into an institutional setting. He explains the ambivalent feelings that his

twin brother had, while president of the College, about bringing a sacred phrase found in ceremonial songs and prayers into the College setting for fear that it might harm him or his family. A corresponding fear exist that using a sacred word or artifact, such as the cane *gish*, could bring physical or spiritual harm to a person if such an act is not properly requested and received. That misstep explains why the Coyote Trickster-Child of Dawn, returned Water Monster's baby during the Fourth World interlude of the creation story, and then offered a white shell basket to the rising water to cause it to recede once the offering (a *yeel*) was made. In making an offering, a qualified person (medicine man) is protected from any harm in sharing his song or prayer. The sense of caution justifies the concern Navajo educators have, yet the founding philosophy of Diné College prevails. Mr. Jackson ultimately endorses the idea, however, and he recognizes the importance of maintaining the philosophy because of its relevance to the Navajo way of life rather than issuing from a religious construct. The capacity to transfer the sacred teachings found in the Creation stories into a modern educational setting provides an opportunity to teach Navajo language, culture, and history to young Navajo students who would otherwise be lost, without a tribal identity. Thus a consensus has arisen among the various traditional leaders to incorporate those teachings into the curriculum. As for Senator Jackson himself, his concern over the declining Navajo ceremonies and his conviction that they remain the foundation of the Navajo health system underscores his support for maintaining and strengthening the College's unique philosophy. He even contends that traditional concepts and teachings found in the creation stories can be applied in the health professions along with other career fields. For example, he believes that cancer

can be cured through traditional healing practices and nature's plants, combined with Western science and healing methods. First, however, an offering must be made to seek permission and guidance, as he suggests here:

Diyin Dine'e' (Holy Spirit Beings) is where we came from. It came about from about what I talked about: *Noka Diyin Din'e* (Holy Spirit Beings that walked on Earth). *Hajinee dee* (From the place of Emergence); *doo nilei* (and towards the universe) when this universe was being formed (*nilyah, nilyah...It is Placed Down*) that song.

Dean (Senator Jackson's older twin brother) was here at that time when they came up with this philosophy. It was on his mind. Some thought it was too sacred. They tried different concepts. He brought medicinemen here and for two days when finally a vote was made to adopt the concept of *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón*. He said "I think we took too big of a bite." Maybe we should have used another concept. He was bothered that he was uncertain as to how it would be applied to education even though it is already the philosophy. We took the very essence of the philosophy and that's what *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón* is, he said to me.

The college's first and longest-serving president Dr. Dean C. Jackson (1979-1989), contended that a philosophy must guide the College's mission, which is why he and his brother Jack convened various medicine people. Senator Jackson was unable to recall exactly who they all were, but among them were Yazzie Begay, Mike Mitchell, and Edward Bahe Harvey. As mentioned earlier, President Jackson was perplexed by the idea of extracting a certain sacred phrase from sacred songs and placing it onto a paper because that particular sheet could be thrown into a trash bin or burnt, thus violating its very essence. The phrase *Sa'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hozhoon* for example, encompasses the whole universe and requires a life-time to master. Yet only a small portion of the vast knowledge contained within the universe can be learned in one's lifetime. It must have been a heavy burden to draw such a sacred phrase into the College's written mission

statement, especially since such a thing had never been done before in any setting on the Navajo Nation. Placing this phrase on paper and in a written description of the college's educational philosophy required President Jackson, the Board of Regents, and others, to acquire mental, spiritual, emotional, psychological, and physical power, and the strength to withstand any criticism to assure that they were doing the right thing. The Board of Regents adopted the *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* philosophy on November 13, 1982. To incorporate such a profound philosophy as the first tribal college must have been a tremendous challenge because it requires care, thought, and respect alike for the past, present, and future. Any mistake can be magnified all too easily, which creates more enemies than allies, or so President Jackson must have thought and felt. His wife, Stephanie, and their children had high expectations placed upon them as the spouse and children of a president embracing such a powerful philosophical statement. Dr. Jackson must be acknowledged for his courageous leadership in making *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* the philosophical centerpiece of Diné College with a decision that would bring challenges and triumphs, as Senator Jackson further here illustrates:

I was opposed to its use in an educational context. I was working for the Navajo Nation Division of Education at that time and my only experience with *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* was in traditional healing ceremonies. It was referred to as religion but the word religion was very harmful to the Navajos and other tribes (because the various Christian missionaries used their religious teachings to teach against tribal ceremonies and sacred deities). It's a way of life; it's different than Western society and they had no right telling us that it was religion. Also, at that time, 1990s, it was mentioned that traditional ceremonies were in decline. Mr. Raymond Jim, a traditional medicine man explained that there were over 300 ceremonies, after The Long Walk, and now there are only 20 to 30 ceremonies left. The question was posed, "what will happen after we lose these ceremonies? We should attempt to save it anyway we can." So we agreed to keep it (SNBH) into education because almost

every Navajo family is involved in education. After Dean left it seemed like things fell down. After a ceremony was held in Lukachukai and after I began to practice the ceremonies myself that that is when I embraced the concept and agreed it was appropriate.

Senator Jackson's explanation contains the implicit recognition that the American westward movement brought Christian bias against tribal ceremonies, accompanied by federal policies that divided "church and state" while at the same time rebuking a Navajo world view which considers all things being dynamically connected, inter-connected, and inter-related. Senator Jackson's belief, which many now accept, reconnects body, mind, and spirit, among all living things as well as things spiritual, rather than keeping them separate. Instead of going to church every Sunday to recite prayers and ask for forgiveness in public, Senator Jackson believes that praying every morning, afternoon, evening, and night can lead to a healthy mind, body, and spirit. He also repeats cultural and spiritual leader Raymond Jim's concern over the decline of medicine people who know how to conduct certain ceremonies. A military veteran, from TeecNosPos, 30 miles west of Shiprock, Mr. Jim received a bachelor's degree from Fort Lewis College in April 2008. He taught Navajo cultural classes at Diné College during the 1990s, where Senator Jackson became acquainted with him.

Likewise he shares a perspective from the cultural teachings that Mr. Dudley Yazzie relayed to him and his twin brother, Dean, regarding the threats from the United States government in opposition to the role education should play in safeguarding the Navajo way of life. From White Cone, Arizona, 45 miles north of Holbrook, Mr. Yazzie is a former Navajo Nation Council Delegate, one of the tribe's legislators during the 1980s, as well as a traditional medicine man who also conducts *Azee BeeNahagha*

ceremonies, and thereby a cultural and spiritual leader. He is from the Black Streak Wood People (*Tsinajini*) clan born for the Towering House (*Kinya'aani*) clan. Because Jack and Dean Jackson are of the Towering House (*Kinyaa'ani*) clan and also embody the significant role of the warrior twins in the creation stories, they are poised to maintain a uniquely powerful role at Diné College, which must be acknowledged and respected. The Towering House (*Kinya'aani*) clan was the first clan created by Changing Woman during the Fourth World of the Creation Story. Also known as White Shell Woman, Changing Woman gave birth to Monster Slayer and Born for Water, who went on to destroy the monsters threatening to kill all Navajos (refer to Creation Story-Fourth World). It is through these stories, then, that Senator Jackson and his brother, Dean, acquire their significance in participating in Diné College's founding and growth. In addition, his participation in the peyote ceremony of the *Azee BeeNahagha* or Native American Church undoubtedly adds importance to the *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* philosophy. That ceremony relies on the sacramental peyote – “*Azee*,” a plant drawn from the earth contrary to conventional belief that it is merely a drug. When ingested by eating it fresh, or dried, (either cut into chips or ground into powder), or taken as a tea, peyote – *Azee* is considered to be a divine sacred herb placed upon the earth by the Holy Spirit Beings (*Diyin Di'ne'e*), and at the same time *Azee*, or a healing medicine can help a person overcome obstacles and achieve impossible goals through faith and belief.

Senator Jackson continues:

Some individuals stayed with the school throughout its development including my family. From the beginning, to when my brother was president, then when I returned in 1998, there were always prayers, songs and ceremonies offered on behalf of the College by my family. Also, the

Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute and forced relocation took place which was devastating, contributed to Diné College's development by the need to have professional Navajo attorneys, leaders, and educators to stand up for and speak on behalf of the tribe. Mr. Dudley Yazzie, a well-known medicine man and a former Navajo Tribal Council Delegate from Whitecone, Arizona conducted ceremonies regarding these major political, educational, and social concerns and pointed to the fact that Dean and I, as educators who are involved in the development of Navajo Community College, were instrumental in affecting the way things are done. He described how the twin warriors were able to stand up to the great monsters and the "Great Gambler" (*Na' o' bi' hli*).

He talked about the stories and how the "Gambler" won everything from families when all of a sudden this small boy would be seen without a family yet he was wandering about daily. The people gave him food and he would disappear. Finally, he completely disappeared and that made everyone worried. They learned that he was placed there to be trained to stand up to the Great Gambler then he was placed to be among the wildlife and to live among them. The little boy was informed that he would be made into a beautiful little bird. The bird was instructed to steal the wife of the "Great Gambler" and to learn everything he can about how the great gambler lived and survived. She began to train the bird and taught him the language, emotions and everything about the Great Gambler when finally he learned all he could. He soon approached the Great Gambler and dueled him to a match. Match after match the little bird won until eventually he won everything everyone had lost back. That's when the great gambler challenged him, at the last match, that if the little bird was victorious that he (the Great Gambler) would return to the place he came from. Mr. Yazzie described the Great Gambler as being an albino who had blue eyes. After he lost the match to the little bird and as he was walking away he was heard muttering to himself that one day, "I shall return." He returned back to the Sun; the Sun was his father. He went back to his home located across the Pacific Ocean.

Mr. Yazzie explained that the Great Gambler has returned, referring to the Federal Government, and what they want is the land for its rich resources. He said that the only way to prevent this and other related attempts to take away Navajo resources was through education, for Navajo children to go to school and to have spirituality, songs, and prayers as their strength. *Bee whiyi' si' ziini halo do* (One will/should have a Spirit). Like the experience at Fort Sumner, including the prayers and songs. He spoke of these stories and related them to everyday life and also cautioned about the future. He rolled medicine (peyote) for Dean and I and blessed them as we took them and said let's see how this will help. It is evident that education and

ceremonies are two powers that work together to challenge obstacles and to secure a livelihood.

Hearing this story Senator Jackson and his brother, the late Dr. Dean C. Jackson, had Dudley Yazzie perform *Azee BeeNahagha* ceremonies for them at White Cone and Teesto, Arizona, 35 and 45 miles north of Holbrook, Arizona. The Great Gambler is sometimes identified as one of the Monsters in the Fourth World Creation Story which Monster Slayer first intended to kill but did not. Mr. Yazzie referred to the Navajo-Hopi Relocation as an example of the Great Gambler's capacity for harming because he believed that the federal government was itself a land-grabbing Monster, taking land, consuming water, and creating chaos among the Navajo and Hopi people who long lived amongst one another without borders or boundary lines. Due to the large quantities of coal in this particular region of north-central Arizona, many Navajo families were forced to relocate on or off the Navajo reservation per Public Law 93-531, the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act. Thus, what became known as the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute, a federally imposed boundary created a wedge between the Navajos and Hopis to clarify the surface and sub-surface "owners" of land allowing the Peabody Coal Company to strip mine. The Great Gambler also transfigures as the multiple social, cultural, economical, and political ailments in the forms of alcoholism, domestic violence, health diseases, and suicide. Thus Mr. Yazzie's reference to the Great Gambler and the role of the twins slaying the Monsters in the Fourth World interfaces with the role Jack and Dean would play at Diné College. Accordingly, through the *Azee BeeNahagha* peyote ceremony, Mr. Yazzie would offer prayers and songs, and administer powdered peyote, with small portions of water to both Dean and Jack to give them sufficient strength,

wisdom, and knowledge to continue as twin educational warriors. By analogy, education can be considered a medicine, an “*azee*” that allow students at Diné College to help themselves become cultural healers and professional leaders, warriors, who fight unemployment, diabetes, welfare, and other issues affecting Navajo communities.

Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr. further explains how as president, Dr. Ned Hatathli similarly guided Navajo staff to seek guidance from traditional Navajo teachings and practices in establishing the College’s philosophy. Dr. Aronilth cites lessons learned during the evolution of the Four Worlds where songs, stories, and ceremonies emerged. He explains the importance of mastering ceremonial knowledge from within by way of the stories and songs. Dr. Aronilth likewise describes the use of the Crystal Light Ceremony in particular for its importance in revealing the dualistic inter-relationship in the placement, purpose, and procedures of the College’s unique philosophy. Although it was first employed in the Fourth World at the sixth mountain called Gobernador Knob Mountain (*Ch’óol’í’í*) for use as a guide for the Navajo people on their journey, the first Crystal Light Ceremony was used during the First World by First Man. Dr. Aronilth mentions Hand Trembling as another method to gain guidance and direction. No written handbooks or publishing guides direct the Navajo people on how to develop certain things, like a dedication of a home (which is what the facilities at Diné College represent), or where to place certain knowledge within the College’s philosophy, other than through orally transmitted instructions conveyed in Creation Stories, songs, and ceremonies. He further relates how through the Crystal Light Ceremony the corn-stalk philosophy and its twelve integral elements became critical to Diné College’s *Sa’ah*

Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon philosophy, in full conjunction with Mike Mitchell's description of the "planting" story. As Dr. Aronilth puts it:

Ha'át'íish éí bá nidoolyéét? Nahasdzáán dóó yá dithit láq. Eí doodago hayookkáát, nohodoot'íizh, nohootsoii, chahaatheel láq, Sisnaajini, Tsoodził, Dook'o'oostliid, Dibé Ntsaa, Dzit Ná'ooditii, Ch'ool'í'í láni, díi dooleet.

What shall be placed down for life? Earth and Air, Dawn, Blue Twilight, Yellow Twilight, and Darkness. Blanca Peak, Mount Taylor, San Francisco Peak, Hesperus Peak, Banded Rock, and Gobernardo Knob Peak, these were identified. Obviously it would be the four parts of the day and the four sacred mountains, these would be in our philosophy but what else can we use. It was at this time when Dr. Ned Hatathli mentioned that in the Diné traditional ways that there are ceremonies that guide and inform people about the direction, purpose, songs, and prayers for protection and guidance, for example crystal gazing or hand-trembling.

That crystal spiritual ceremony was used and it spoke informing us that at the tip of *Ch'ool'í'í*, (Gobernardo Knob Peak) where, *Haashch'éélti'í* (First Talking Spirit) was given directions to plant abalone, turquoise, abalone, and jet obsidian, at that one place and they grew within the sacred mountains with holiness and reverence, based on '*lileh keh'ho*,' (In a Holy, Spiritual Way). Some say this occurred within four days, six days, and/or twelve days, based on the way we were told.

Áko álílee k'ehgo haniísáqá nit'éé' naadáqá' siljį'. Díi éí Haashch'éélti'í diyin dine'é binaadáqá', naakits'áadahgo bi'dii'á siljį'. Nishnáajigo éí naadá'átgai, nishtł'ajigo éí naadá'áttsoii. Éí shjį bik'ehgo niléi t'áá shá bik'ehgo atch'į' násdłá. Éí bik'ehgo adinidíinígíi biyi'déq'go, the uniqueness of philosophy was developed.

In a Holy, Spiritual way, a corn plant grew and this was First Talking Spirit's corn which had twelve (12) ears on it. On the left side were white corn ears and on the right side were yellow corn ears. In this way the process of life was decided to move from East, South, West, then North. It was through the Crystal Light Ceremony that the uniqueness of the philosophy of DC was developed.

Dr. Aronilth goes on to identify the four parts of the day as dawn, mid day, evening, and darkness, and the four sacred mountains as Blanca Peak (*Sisnaajini*), Mount

Taylor (*Tsoodzil*), San Francisco Peak (*Dook'o'oostliid*), and Hesperus Peak (*Dibé Ntsaa*). According to him, it is through the Crystal Light Ceremony that the *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon philosophy*, and its four corresponding components of Thinking (*Nitsahakees*), Planning (*Nahata*), Implementing (*Iina*), and Evaluating/Assurance (*Siih Hasin*) were incorporated into the College's philosophical concept (governance and operations) which continues today. Apparently, these traditional methods of planning for the future guided by the Crystal Light Ceremony are to be renewed every four years with Protection Way prayers and Blessing Way ceremonies. Renewal every four years is consistent with the Navajo tradition of renewing sacred ceremonial items, particularly the Mountain Bundle (*Dzil Leezh*) at four year intervals. This process of thinking, planning, implementing, and evaluating has been applied by the College in its operations and governance as a foundation that resonates in its uniqueness to guide a distinctly Navajo post-secondary educational institution. For example, it would be Navajo-appropriate to implement four (4) twelve (12) week semesters/quarters to correlate with the four natural seasons, the four cardinal directions, and the four phases of the life cycle (birth, adolescence, adulthood, and old age) rather than maintaining seventeen-week semesters plus two five-week summer sessions, following standard Western academic calendar, as Dr. Aronilth indicates this way:

At that particular Crystal Light Ceremony there were many leaders (referring to Dr. Dean C. Jackson, Senator Jack C. Jackson, Andrew Pete, and others) in attendance, including attorneys, educators, and medicine people, and it was agreed that the corn stalk would be the basis for the philosophy even though some people claim that they developed and designed the corn-stalk philosophy. We were instructed not to do this but it is what has occurred. The person that first drew the corn-stalk with the twelve ears of corn as we saw it through the ceremony was Hoke

Denetsooni from Tuba City, Arizona and he is an old man now. He worked here and at Rough Rock and he did a lot of art work. The uniqueness of the philosophy of the sacred corn stalk was the 12 corn cobs; *Nanitiin ei Bika-Nadaa Ligai tadoo ohoo'aah ei Bi'aad-Nadaa Litsoi* (Male is teaching and Female is learning); six principle ethics and standards are male and female.

It was understood from the Crystal Light Ceremony that in considering the elements of education, teaching would represent the male aspect and White Corn, while Learning would represent the female aspect and Yellow Corn. The reference that Hoke Denetsooni rendered the first corn stalk was not confirmed. However, during a visit at Rough Rock Demonstration School, the late Robert Roessel's wife, Ruth, shared the original painting of the corn stalk model (measuring approximately 4 feet in width and 9 feet in length) with the researcher, which dated 1967, and was signed by George Mitchell, the older brother of Mr. Mike Mitchell (Personal Communication, January 16, 2009). Dr. Aronilth continues:

Dii na' nitinigiit atch'iy' sila nihi'doo'niid, bika' doo bi'aad. There is duality, *ts'ida akot'eeego ei at'i,* there has to be male and female, *t'aa lahajigo ei dooda. Akot'eeego ei dii biniiye adohninigiit,* this knowledge *t'aa at'e yee hadit'ehigiit niha'atchini biih nidooléet. Iishjaa nanise' baa hozhoonii, ohoo'aah, na'nitin, ee'deetijh, ei at'e. Ako aadi anihidoo'niid naadqa naashchin, nanise, tsodizin, sin, oodla, ayoo'oni azee' at'e, taidiin at'e. Ako adinidin, nilch'i, to, nahasdzan ei at'e. Ei yee hadit'e. Ei bik'ehgo bit'adi bee'elyaa. Nahasdzanigiit doo tohigiit doo nilch'i doo adinidin,* these four divine elements of knowledge, *niha'atchini azee'go biih nidoohléet. Taidiinigiit bizanijijaa' ba atinijit'iid ba diih nijoodla k'ehgo ts'ida akot'eeego ei dii anahoot'i' dohninigiit Hasht'eedoo'niit, nihi'doo'niid*

In thinking and teaching there are connections and interconnectedness, there's duality; there has to be male and female and that we should place our children back into this type of teaching and this will be good for them. That is how the foundation was place at the center of the philosophy, these four divine elements (light, air, water, and earth) of knowledge is the medicine that we need to offer our children, like blessing a new-born child

with corn pollen, with songs and prayers, then these challenges can be addressed.

At that Crystal Light Ceremony it was told that the powder of corn, plants, songs, faith, and love are medicine and corn pollen. And the light, air, water, and earth are medicine and corn pollen. And these divine elements (natural elements and corn) became the foundation of life. This was the instruction from that ceremony and many did not really understand what the instructions meant and how it was applied to education and our college. It's still a challenge today yet I feel like we made some strides in this area.

Here Dr. Aronilth recognizes the interconnectedness of the sacred elements as inherent in life itself. The dual, essential properties of male and female, like sperm and egg, must attract, acknowledge, interact, and engage with one another, to create new life. The concept of duality requires a complimentary reaction, or counter-balance; every cause or action requires an effect or reaction. For example, the sun controls daylight, the moon controls darkness; the earth controls plants, while the sky controls clouds and rain, and so forth. This concept of duality reflects the Male - Protection Way Teaching (*Naaghaiji Keh'go Nanitin*) in harmony with the Female - Blessing Way Learning (*Hozhooji Keh'go O'ho'aah*) concepts deeply embedded in the College's *Sa'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóon* philosophy. This concept of duality, male and female, *Naaghaiji* and *Hozhooji* is thus fully represented both in *Sa'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hozhóon* and the corn stalk model. As Diné College instructor, Dr. Herbert Benally affirms:

“Jó sa'ah naaghái dóó bikeh hózhó éí díí chahatheet dóó hayootkaat, nahasdzáán dóó yádithi, dine dóó asdzání, atch'i' naazléii' yee hadadit'e dóó yee hahinánii at'é jin”i” (Benally, Diné College Report, December 13-14, 1990, p. 3-3).

Translated into English, what Dr. Benally asserts can be interpreted as, ‘It is said that *sa'ah naaghái bikeh hózhó* is comprised of night and day, earth and air, man and

woman, as complimentary elements that are being and that are living.’ This suggests that there is duality in the philosophy of *Sa’ah Naaghai Bik’eh Hozhoon* which is a beautiful concept and a philosophy of life.

Dr. Guy Gorman more briefly mentions the ceremonial items essential to the identity of Diné College as the first tribal college. As a leading participant in starting a tribal college, he reflects more on the beginning at the Many Farms BIA School, and its paramount symbolic fixtures. He refers to the College’s jish paraphernalia, including the greasewood cane (*gish*), as well as corn pollen pouch (*ta’ di’ diin*), mountain tobacco (*dzit natoh*), crystal rock (*tse’bigha’ dindini*), shield (*haaf*), arrowheads (*beshtsisto’gi*), and necklace (*yoo*), which are kept in a sacred Navajo traditional basket (*ts’aa*). These sacred items are critical to the College’s cultural and spiritual health. They safeguard the health, safety, well-being, and growth of the College. They protect all of its students, staff, faculty, administrators, Regents, facilities, and contingent resources. These items also represent the teachings that derive from the Creation Stories. They are kept in the President’s office to help in making wise decisions in guiding the College to keep it grounded in the Diné philosophy and in maintaining balance and harmony. Therefore it is important that all College leaders understand, respect, and appreciate them, but also to use them appropriately, which is why this study is important. It is also proper to suggest that leaders of the College know a song and prayer to help themselves in the important positions they hold. Dr. Benally maintains that, “In Traditional Navajo Society, not to possess a knowledge of stories, teachings, songs, or prayers is to be poor. This knowledge contains wisdom for a prosperous and happy life; moreover, it provides the

means of obtaining favors from the Holy People. Because of their value these songs, prayers, and teachings are held sacred. It would stand to reason that this is where one would find answers to some of life's basic questions" (Benally, Diné College Report, December 13-14, 1990, p. 3-3). As Dr. Gorman explains:

That was after the Many Farms beginnings (when Tsaile operations began). You see men should have some kind of paraphernalia (*jish*), things to perform ceremonial rituals and (the things in the question above) these things are considered as the *jish* used by the college.

Meanwhile, Mike Mitchell focuses on the design of the Tsaile campus as a reflection of the traditional Navajo basket and Hogan structure (See APPENDIX N) described in the Creation Story's Fourth World. The basket is used in Blessing Way ceremonies, including the traditional Navajo wedding. According to him, however, the Hogan is not just a simple architectural structure for living; it also contains stories, songs, prayers, and ceremonies whereby the doorway faces east because that is where life begins; movement in it should be cyclical - moving in a clockwise direction. As Mr. Mitchell describes it, the campus itself is consistent with the cyclical sequence maintained by the annual four seasons of life, an individual's four life stages, and the four original major clans of the Navajo. As he says:

The Navajo Community College buildings are primarily in circular shapes. Stories make up the design of homes. That was how the buildings were constructed. Exits go to the east and west. Songs of the hogans are sung like that. Prayers for hogans are stated like that. Talking God is in the east and Hogan God is in the west it is said. Dawn is in the east and Yellow Twilight is in the west it is said. They say these things in songs and prayers are clear and understandable. Thus, exits to the campus are made in the east and west. The campus was designed according to the stories and knowledge.

His description of the Hogan's analogous concept illustrates how the architectural uniqueness of Tsaile's campus buildings engenders a culturally appropriate learning facility. In support of Mr. Mitchells' story, "the medicinemen revealed the traditional Navajo architectural design as was received from Changing Woman in the West in the stories still known and told today by Navajo elders" (Navajo Times, 1973, p. B-8). The circular campus contains buildings which are located at each cardinal point, representing the four sacred directions, their colors (white, blue, yellow, and black), the four sacred clans aligned with the respective directions. To the east, for example, stands a seven-story building for Thinking - Teaching reflecting the Towering House (*Kinya'aani*) clan; A general classroom building for Planning - Learning to the south representing the Near the Water (*To'hani*) clan; Residential halls to the west for Implementing – Living standing for the Bitter Water (*To'dichiini*) clan; and at the north region of campus a gymnasium, Assurance - Exercising, to reflect the Mud Clan (*Hashtlishnii*) clan. A description is offered by the Navajo Times in 1971 stating:

“Design of the buildings and the campus layout at Tsaile reflects the strength and dignity of the Navajo culture and heritage and required the full participation of the Board of Regents, students, staff, and faculty...The whole campus faces east. The access road from the main highway connects the circle on the east side. The circle represents the Hogan and its main entrance is due east. This is because of Navajo belief that a Navajo begins each day by entering the early light of dawn in the eastern direction. The center of the Hogan is one of the most important in a Navajo home. The focal point of all activities of the Hogan is the first place. Here is where the warmth and light in the form of fire is located. Navajo education in stories, prayers and songs begins here at the center of our mother, the Hogan. Here is where growth, strength and knowledge are fed to the children in the form of food, because all meals are prepared here. The duties and responsibility of mothers lie here at the fire place. During a ceremony, the person for whom the ceremony is performed is located at the northwestern portion of the Hogan. This is where the ten

(10) dormitories are located. This is the center of the activities of student life. The person performing the ceremony is located at the southwestern portion of the circle. This is where all the instruction takes place. This is why the General classroom building and specialized classrooms are located here. The most prominent building which will reflect the stories, traditions, heritage, history and culture of the Navajo will be the Cultural Center which will be located at the entrance to the campus. This building may be compared with the Washington Monument or the Lincoln Memorial which represents the history and culture of the United States” (Navajo Times, 1973, p. B-2).

As indicated, Jack Jackson identifies the four elements that make up the unique *Sa’ah Naaghai Bik’eh Hozhoon* philosophy as *Nitsáhákees* - thinking, *Nahat’á* - planning, *Iiná* - living, and *Siih Hasin* – assurance. These elements are specified in four of the long series of Mountain Songs (*Dzil Biyiin*) within the Beauty Way (*Hozhooji*) ceremonies. For this particular reason the College’s traditional basket contain mountain tobacco (*Dzil Natoh*) and a pipe (*Natoh Tsé’*). When the sacred mountains were created it was believed they were first contemplated, (*Nit’sáhákees*). Next, they looked at, greeted, and acknowledged one another, and spoke to each other as leaders, or planners, (*Nahata*) of the various directions. Once created, and familiar with one another, they were activated with life, (*Iina*). Soon thereafter, however, a conflict arose among them. It was then that the star spoke, directing them to use the tobacco and pipe to restore their mind, body, and spirit, and the relationship, or *K’é’*, they should maintain as close relatives. After smoking, their proper relationships with one another were restored and they gained wisdom, harmony, and balance (*Siih Hasin*) (Jack C. Jackson, Personal Communication, January 23, 2009). Senator Jackson also aligns the tobacco with the Crystal Light Ceremony, the corn stalk model, and other stories such as that of the

traditional basket, which also contains twelve elements similar to the corn stalk, which

Dr. Aronilth and Mike Mitchell refers to as he suggests here:

Nitsáhákees, Nahat'á, Iiná and Siih Hasin came about through the ceremonies, for example the Tobacco ceremony that refers to thinking, speaking, planning, and activating. From the stories from a million years ago based on the creation stories. From the *Nahagha Desti*, from the corn stalk, from stories, songs, and ceremonies.

In further detail Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr. describes the four elements of the College's philosophical model as they emerged through the Crystal Holy Light ceremonies. He shows how each element is placed within the corn stalk model, which depicts six units on each side to represent the dual principles of male -- Protection Way (*Naaghaiji Keh'go*) and Female -- Beauty Way (*Hozhooji Keh'go*), thus with the various components of the philosophy are depicted in the corn stalk model below. The philosophy, its components, and the dual principles are grounded by the four natural elements critical to one's daily life because in order for life to exist one must walk upon the earth, breath air, absorb sunlight, maintain a beating heart, and drink water to keep the body and mind hydrated. Thus he says:

Áádóó ákóne' ánáánihi'doo'niid, níláahgi danót'í k'ad tséghá'dinídínii, that Crystal Holy Light, díi naadqá' íí'áhígíí biyaagi kwe'é átchíní yázhí naaki siké, ałnii'gi niléi atséládei dó' K'ad kqó átchíní yázhí síkéhígíí, Haashch'ééłti'í yiyíizhi', ni éi naadq'átgai ashkii yinilyée doo, naadq'áltsoii at'ééd yinilyée doo, hodoo'niid yéé diidí ntsáhákees á't'é. Díi nahasdzánígíí ts'ídá áłtsé ntsáhákees éi yee hadít'é. Nitsáhákees biyi'jji' óhoo'aah, éé'deetijh ts'ídá éi t'éiyá yee hadít'é. Kodéé' atch'í' siláhígíí éi yá diltit, áádéé' yaa já'hálnáago. Akót'éego óolyé, nihi'doo'niid.

Next, that Crystal Holy Light spoke and said that, at the bottom of the corn stalk were sitting two children in the center; and they were identified by First Talking Spirit as White Corn Pollen Boy and Yellow Corn Pollen Girl; that this will be thinking. Within the thinking domain that learning

and understanding would be placed; Air (or sky) will be the counterbalance to thinking. This is what we were told.

Kwe'é ts'idá díí naadqá' íí'áhígíí atnii'gi dah síkéhígíí tádííin ashkii dóó anítánii at'ééd, eii nahat'á át'é. Tádííin jildeitgo da éi shizaalátah hahóózhqod doo, bee nanisht'áa dooleet, bee yáshti' doo éi hanahat'a' éi át'é tádííin ashkii dóó anít'áanii at'ééd. Dóó t'óó ahayóigi át'éego jó áko nahat'á baa hózhóonii tádííin éi yee nidoogijl. Éi biniinaa tádííin éi ts'idá bá siltsooz. Nahat'á t'áá altsojì' bee si'ah naaghái bik'eh hózhóon náhoodleet. Áko hanahat'a' éi tádííin náádleet. Áko díí olta'ígíí éi óhoo'aah nahat'á tádííin saad bii' siláa dooleet, tsodizin, sin dó' lá.

Next, at the middle of the corn stalk were corn pollen boy (*tadidiin ashkii*) and corn beetle girl (*anittaani ateed*) which would be planning (*ei Na'hata a'te*). When you talk corn pollen words you say I will talk as a leader and speak like a leader and people will listen to my words. This is also to say that our leadership will include corn pollen words and our words will be used to restore harmony. Our thinking becomes Corn Pollen and *Sa'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hozhoon*. And, in this school, planning, reverence, prayers, and words will be held.

Niléi kodi dah síkéhígíí éi si'ah naaghái ashkii, bik'eh hózhóon at'ééd wolyé. Áko eii éi iiná at'é. Hat'éegi da áhá'níl teh, si'ah naaghái bik'eh hózhóon doo áté shinááh, doo tídlnéehii, doo nídnídáahii nishlǵigo naasháa dooleet. Sitsijj' hózhqó dóó shikéédéé' hózhqó, shiyaagi, shik'igi hózhqó doo, shinaadéé' t'áá altso hózhqó doo, sizaalátah hahóózhqod doo si'ah naaghái bik'eh hózhóon nishlǵigo naasháa dooleet. Eii óolyé iiná baa hózhóonii. Doo bąqah chinii, bits'ádi'níliidii, bee oodáatii, díí áát dohní. Eii tádííinii ashkii, inít'áanii éi át'é. Bikq' dóó bi'áadii, díí átdó' atch'ǵ' silá.

At the top of the corn stalk was male and female life. In prayers there are phrases that say “I will walk without fear, harm, being weary-before me, behind me, below me, above me, all around me will be beauty, from the tip of my tongue may I speak words of beauty, and may I walk into old age with beauty and harmony. This is what is known as a beautiful life. A life without hunger, a unique and distinct life and this is what was said by the Crystal Holy Light. Corn Pollen Boy and Corn Beetle Girl are life with male and female interdependence and duality.

Naadqá' bílátahdii éi ayáásh dootl'izhii, dólii, tsídii baa hózhóonii, áadi dah nánilǵǵh dóó áadi bit'a' yita'go nizhónigo dah nidzit'igo dah naat'a'. Eii éi siih hasin át'é. Aajì' kót'éego baa honit'i'. Eii siih dzidiniidzǵǵhdi éi adayéest'ǵǵ' dóó adahazhoon dóó adojishgęsh dóó nidahazhoon dóó ts'idá haashǵǵ, that's your vision. Siih hasin is your vision. Níléigi biniiyé

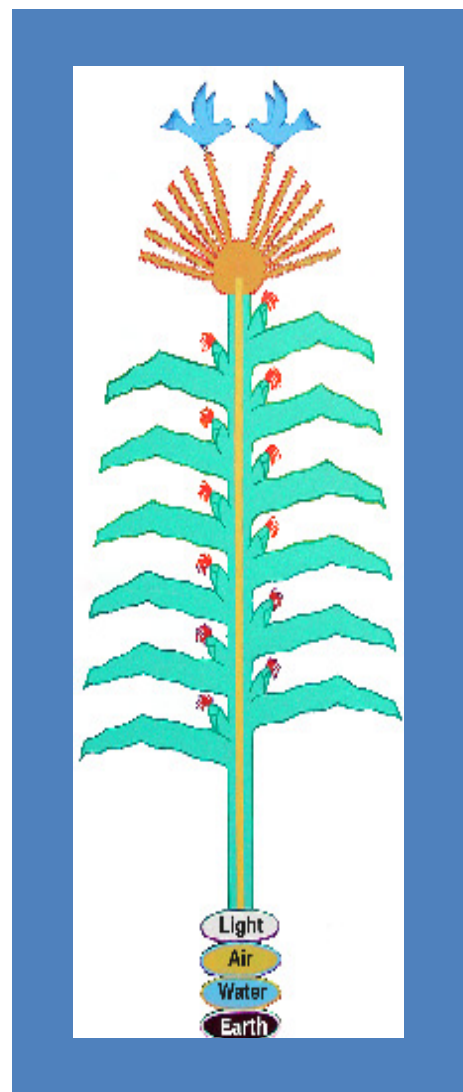
ádóhníni éi t'áá bááhóziní. Áadi ánihi'doo'niid, díi éi doo bína'idóotkid da ndi t'áá bee nihił hodoonih, tséghá'dinidínií áni. Yee hinánígíí shq'? What gives life to this cornstalk and all I described?, he said. *Si'ah naaghái bik'eh hózhóón yee hiná, SNBH éi hwii' sizíinií óolyé.* Like your spirit. *Bik'eh hózhóón éi hadiyin, hadiyíí' óolyé.* Like your soul.

At the tip of the corn stalk was a blue bird fluttering its wings. This is wisdom (*siih hasin*), assurance, and there is a process to gain this wisdom which is rare, beautiful, inter-related, and renewing toward your vision. Even though it was not asked, the Crystal Holy Light told that in order for *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón* to thrive these elements must exist and live.

A visual rendering of the *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón* philosophy requires a bottom-up perspective per the growth of a corn stalk rather than from a top-down approach. A bottom-up approach reflects that growth and likewise a person's life. It is presented here to demonstrate the directions offered by the Crystal Holy Light ceremonies in the development of the College's unique philosophy. Dr. Aronilth cites the elements of the philosophy and shows where the four domains of thinking, planning, living, and assurance are placed within the corn stalk philosophical model. The model's four domains within the *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón* paradigm are depicted in the following corn stalk illustration:

*Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon**Siih Hasin* – Wisdom/Assurance*Iina* - Living*Na'ha'ta* - Planning*Nitsahakees* - Thinking

A'dindiin - Light
Nilchi - Air
T'xo – Water
Nahasdzaan -Earth

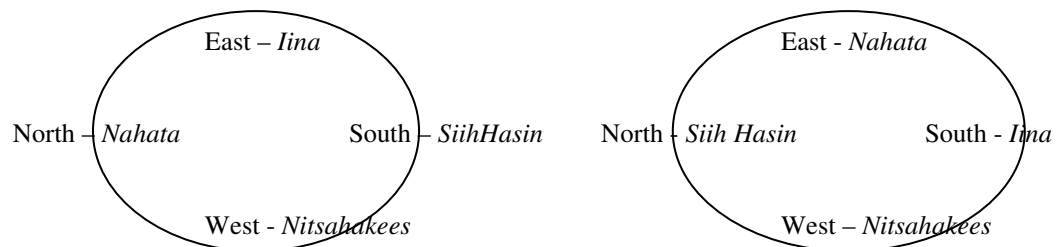


Dr. Aronilth mentions that there was disagreement regarding the placement of each element of the philosophy which can be expected in an oral tradition, which considers various levels of knowledge among those involved in the Crystal light ceremony. For example, individuals like Andrew Pete, Larry Etsitty, Jack Jackson, Dean Jackson, and Edward Bahe Harvey attended a Crystal Light Ceremony that showed the placement of

the elements within the corn stalk model. Every person, depending on what he or she has witnessed maintains his or her own perspective, experience, belief, and knowledge. He adds that certain powerful energies accrue within a unified cosmic order and according to a fixed sequence. No matter how an individual's own perspective may vary, however, it became apparent through the Crystal Light Ceremony that the thinking, planning, living, and assurance model remains consistent with the clock-wise order based on the movement of the sun and moon, progress from birth to old age to which the College's philosophy is appropriate. The cosmic law is a natural law established by the Holy Spirits (*Diyin Dine'e'*) during the Creation Story in which the Sun and Moon regulate day and night, life and death, and to give order to the seasons on activities of planting, and harvesting, which cannot be changed, or stopped. As he acknowledges:

You can't deny it; it's a natural, cosmic law which no human can question it, fool with it, joke about it or condemn it-this is what we were told that the *Diyin Dine'e'* (Holy Spirits) created these powers (life and death). These are not man made and we should not laugh about it or joke about it.

Some of the medicine people disagreed with the recommendations and findings from the Crystal ceremony saying that the order was not correct and that it should be either one of the two:



There was conflict and differences in understanding and implementing the philosophy that was explained at the Crystal Holy Light ceremony so another "*Nahagha Destii*" (Crystal Light Ceremony) was conducted at my residence in Wheatfields, Arizona in 1975. It was through the *destii* (searching for a vision) that the four elements of *Nitsahakees* (thinking),

Nahata (planning), *Iina* (living) and *Siih Hasin* (assurance or wisdom) were further explained and the information provided at the ceremony was shared.

Sisnaajini éi ntsáhákees bee hooghan át'é, éi Haashch'éélti'i bee hooghan, tsodizin hooghan, sin hooghan át'é. Biniinaa hanéilkáahkji' ntsáhákees bił hanéilkááh. Nááná áadi bił atch'ı' siláhígıı éi iináhígıı bił atch'ı' silá. Biniinaa át'éhígıı éi niléi Sisnaajini éi ntsáhákees hooghan, tsodizin, sin hooghan. K'ad éi t'áadoo hait'éego ntsáhákeesi kót'éego ádoolniıt.

At Blanca Peak, to the east, there would be a white mountain, made of white shell, and would be a house of thinking, prayers, First Talking Spirit, and a home of song. At dawn thinking is born and its counter-balance is life.

Tsoodził éi nahat'á hooghan, óhoo'aah, éideetiıh hooghan át'éé lá. Tsoodził éi nohodeetł'iizh bee hooghan éi nahat'á hooghan wolyé. Shádi'áahjigo éi nahat'á lá, e'e'aahjigo éi iiná lá.

To the south would be Mount Taylor, House of Turquoise, planning, leading, learning, blue twilight, and home of plans and leaders.

Dook'o'oosłııd éi iiná hooghan át'é. Áajı' éi Yoolgai Asdzáán, Asdzáán Nádleehé áajı' dashdiıyá. Éi biniinaa éi Diichiłi Bee Hooghan hoolyé. Nááná Dook'o'oosłııd éi iiná hooghan, éi ákwe'é ho'dizhchı dóo áádóo éi hats'éé' lee' sitá ha'nínígıı, éi éi iiná hooghan lá.

To the west would be San Francisco Peak, a house of life where White Shell Woman-Changing Woman walked away and resides. To the west is a place where abalone boy's home exists and where one's umbilical cord is planted.

Dibé Ntsaa siih hasin hooghan wolyé, éi chahatheet bee hooghan wolyé. Náhookqsjigo éi siih hasin lá. Dibé Ntsaa éi siih hasin hooghan éi táchééh át'éé lá. Naayéé' éi bik'ehgo éi beısisıt'ogii, k'aa', atııı', tsiidıtáán naagéé' dó' ách'ááh tsodizin dóo sin hólóq lá.

To the north, Hesperus Peak, a house of wisdom, representing knowledge, darkness, assurance, sweat lodge, Protection Way prayers and songs, arrowheads, arrows, and bow.

Dr. Aronilth went on to explain that because of the disagreement among those who attended the prior Crystal Light Ceremony, a second ceremony was held to clarify

the placement of the four sacred mountains, directions, other sacred elements, and the assignment of critical components on the corn stalk model, including their roles and responsibilities. He also identifies the complementarity and the degree of counter-balance within each, so that full harmony can be achieved. At Diné College, the Diné aspects of teaching and learning are represented on the left side of the corn stalk model, while the Western aspects of teaching and learning are represented on the right side, to demonstrate the vision of a fully balanced education for the College's students.

Appraising the underlying importance of the *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón* philosophy, Dr. Guy Gorman correlates it with the Christian conception of God where "His" refers to God, or the Christian Holy Spirit, and His plans may be said to include Diné culture for a Diné-centered tribal college. Dr. Gorman's wise, experienced knowledge offers insight into the idea that the cumulative Navajo Holy Spirits (*Diyin Dine'e'*) and God merge as one and the same. For example, the Christian belief that the Sacred Virgin Mary gave birth, through an immaculate conception, to God's only Son, Jesus Christ, is similar to the Sacred White Shell Woman - Changing Woman giving birth, through a Holy Spiritual way (*'lileh k'ehgo*), to the twin warriors. This is just one correlation between God and the *Diyin Din'e'e'* that Dr. Gorman alludes to below. He also recognizes such universality in the systematic process of life, including birth, youth, adulthood, and old age are truths contained alike in Navajo and non-Navajo views of life, as he shows here:

You see, it is important because He created everything and according to that creation the systemic processes are ongoing. How our plans would become a reality and things will be ongoing for us would be integrated with His plan. It seems that we were also doing this for Him.

Colleges or schools are operated in certain ways to be successful in what they are trying to do to teach the public. The important thing is there is never an action or plan to be taken to eliminate or delete the Navajoness of the college. We should maintain that and those who teach or maintain curricula should continue the Navajo cultural foundation and improve it. That is how I am thinking about that.

Dr. Gorman's insists that the Navajo culture, language, history, philosophy and related courses should not be diminished but increased as the College grows in years and enrollment. It is particularly by way of the Navajo, with their underlying philosophy and cultural foundation, that the College can claim its uniqueness as a tribal college rather than a typical community college. The constant challenge to balance western academic courses transferable to other institutions must be matched with the Navajo-based courses which meet Navajo needs by including Navajo elders as instructors. There must always be a place for teaching of stories, songs, and important cultural knowledge to sustain the Navajo way of life.

Mike Mitchell stresses the importance of establishing a tribal college governed and operated by Navajos. He believes that starting the College was an exercise in tribal sovereignty, and that to remain true to the Diné philosophy the curriculum must remain in Navajo hands. Tribal sovereignty means that the Navajo people should maintain control much the way their political, cultural, educational, and spiritual leaders discussed, envisioned, and most importantly acted on in the creation of Diné College. The collective actions undertaken by Navajo and non-Navajo leaders to improve the quality of life on the Navajo Nation was not readily accepted by outsiders, but it remained critical nonetheless for those within the Navajo Nation to take action to ensure that the Navajo

way of life was perpetuated. Although Dr. Bob Roessel himself was originally an “outsider,” his marriage to a Navajo woman made him a Navajo. Mike Mitchell agrees that if Navajos control their College, even with mistakes along the way, all obstacles would become part of learning – a view expressed by Dr. Roessel who regarded the opportunity to succeed and to fail as an ideal all tribally-controlled colleges can embrace (See Chapter Three). As Mr. Mitchell testifies:

This story is part of the establishment of the college. The Navajo and Native American traditional stories and crafts are placed within the college. The basis for these developments is Indian control (policies) and Indian rights. This was the authority for placing Indian culture in the college. However, Bob Roessel was the President. He reiterated and acknowledged Indian control. He reminded us that he was Caucasian and so he asked what about you? “You who are Navajo come in and take over. The Caucasian should not be in control. I will simply move over and assist you,” he said. He set up these plans at Many Farms. The late Yazzie Begay who never attended school was on the Board of Regents. He was also very persistent with his point of view on the board. Now I am going to mention briefly the Fort Sumner story. Washington, or “*Waashindon*,” agreed to education and schools for the Navajo people there and said that we are wards of the government. So that commitment and also many of our people, our brothers, went overseas during the war. They saw those people were sovereign and controlled their own affairs and language. They were Asians and Germans. What about us? We as Diné asked about the agreement to educate in the treaty. You *Waashindoon* demand school for us. Thus, we asked about this agreement. In 1968, Navajo Community College was established. Again, it’s all about “*Ínahóaaah*.”

It bears repeating: Indian control means the ability to understand and speak Navajo thereby knowing songs, prayers, and ceremonies. To control the Navajo world, one must be fluent in the language, which is what Mike Mitchell refers to in alluding to other peoples’ maintaining their respective languages and the distinctiveness of their respective lands and cultures. Moreover, converting Navajo to English diminishes the spirit and meaning of each word, denying not only its meaning, but its vitality. Senator

Jack Jackson declares that the Navajo language and its philosophy are inseparably interdependent. He considers the philosophy central to the natural elements of earth, air, light, and water and to the entire universe in spheres of spirituality that remain central to one's identity and role in life. He puts it this way:

It's so important because our way of life deals with relationship and communication with the total universe. Every natural element is placed into our natural order. If we are going to live a successful life we have to maintain the relationship with *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón*; it's taking us there to recognize it; to know where we are going to get knowledge and skills. The importance of language: the only way to obtain this knowledge is through our language. You can't get a shovel and dig it out. To speak in our language and to make offerings and prayers and somewhere it will come to you; to your thoughts, then you have skill, then you will make a life for yourself.

Senator Jackson's ideal of living a successful life requires a relationship with *Sq'ah Naaghái Bik'eh Hózhóón*, or in other words, knowing one's culture and language. That could be interpreted as knowing how to address the Holy Spirits (*Diyin Dine'e*) in the Diné language to ask for guidance in one's life. It is thus up to each individual to seek and achieve his/her goal without harming other people, the four natural elements, or the Holy Spirits.

Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr. likes to share the importance of the Diné College philosophy with individuals who enter the College whether as employees or students. He invokes the four clans (Towering House, Near the Water, Bitter Water, and Mud clans); he cites the story of the signing of the Treaty of 1868 as a critical time in Navajo history; and he stresses the importance of the ceremonies conducted to achieve peace and harmony. In that context, the use of the Navajo language remains an essential component in the relationship that one must maintain with others and with the natural environment,

making communication and that link with nature immediate and effective for a Diné person requesting guidance and blessings. Thus he declares:

Diné ánályaa ha'ní, Yootgai Asdzáán, Asdzáán Nádleehé ánánihiidlaa. Yootgai bee kin tátkáá' dah naa'eit' hoolyéedi, yootgai haaz'ái hoolyé, Kinyaa'áanii Dine'é dóó Tó'áhaní Dine'é, Tódíich'íi'nii Dine'é, Hashtl'ishnii Dine'é, t'áá' éí Tótsohnii Dine'é át'éego díí'go ánályaadéé' yootgai gish, dootl'izhii gish, diichilí gish, bááshzhinii gish, dóó k'eit'áán yálti'i dóó ádóone'é niidlí dooleet dóó nihizaad, áádóó nihizhi', Diné k'ehgo nihizhi', dóó nihichaha'oh dóó nihikék'ehashchíin, dóó nihitsodizin, nihiyiin, nihe'oodlq', nihintsáhákees, nihinahat'a', nihi'óhoo'aah, nihe'éédeetííh, nihe'iina', bee nihidziil bee sihdiniiziin dooígíí bit' nihé' ilnii'.

To challenge the problem our generation had; it's still here, these problems exist today and gives more reason for perpetuating the College. We must recall where these four tenets of purpose, reason, responsibility, and respect are important to our philosophy. This is why we must respect White Shell Woman – Changing Woman from where the White House That Floats Atop the Sacred Water, at the place where White Emerges, the four clans of Towering House, Near the Water, Bitter Water, and One Who Walks Around who were given four canes of white shell, turquoise, abalone, and black jet-obsidian. As prayer feather stick people, our words, language, Navajo name, our shade, our footprints, our prayers, songs, belief, thoughts, plans, learning, understanding, life, being strong, wise and understanding describe who we are as distinct. Twelve generations have folded over, over thousands of years; the thinking, planning, living, and wisdom, belief, love, prayers, songs are part of the natural, traditional, customary, and common law that regulated our forefathers all these many thousands of years until the contact of the Europeans. The Mexicans, Spaniards and English, their histories, songs, prayers, policies corrupted us (mentally, physically, emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually), but still we have these laws and principles here.

Naakii góne' éí the peace Treaty of 1868, June first, 9 ó'clock in the morning at Hwéeldidi aha'deetq. Nihí'dis'náá ánihi'diilyaago áadi ánihi'doo'niid, diidí ólta' t'áadoo le'é bóhoo'aah bich'í' dah didoohkah nihi'doo'niid. Áadi Hastiin Ch'ilhaajiné, Chief Manuelito, naayéé' nahat'á ádeit'íinii, hashké nidanit'á, nahat'á ádeit'íí, iinda nahat'á nidanit'áii, tsodizin, sin, dahataatii danilí dóó doo nida'athaashii, hái shíí yee athada'deest'q. Biniinaa díí Bilagáana k'ehgo ana'i bi'óhoo'aah bich'í' dah didiikahígíí doo iidzaagóó éí niléi halgai hatéel háajigo shíí, Oklahoma, Kansas, Florida, ákqó nihit'á doolníit, t'óó nihinída'azt'i'go kéédahoht'íí doo ho'doo'niidgo shíí. Áadi shíí bee lá'i asdlíí'. Éi ákwe'é

éi t'óó ahayóí diné yee atgha'da'dit'ááh. Ákondi shí biniinaa t'áá áłch'idigo shít bááhózinígi át'éego shimásání nít'éé' éiyáhi Hastiin Bich'ah Láni wolyéé nít'éé', naayéé'gi na'abaah shíí t'óó ahayóí bich'ah, naakits'áadah bich'ah nít'éé', ákót'éego shíí óolyé. Éí Chief Narbona woosye'. Díí jį́dii Narbona Pass ha'ní. Éí Chief Narbona yęę, his youngest sister, that was my grandmother's mother. Ákóné'é éi Chief Manuelito, Ashkii K'aayélii wolyéé nít'éé' jini. Niléi Moab dóó Price, Utah, áadi kééhat'į́ nít'éé' jini. He immigrated to this region. Chief Manuelito, alqajį́' bitsi'go Íibaa' wolyéé nít'éé'. Juanita shíí woosye' Spanish jí k'ehgo. Ch'il Haajin hoolyéego naghái Ma'ii Tééhyittizhiji áąji shíí kéedahat'į́go. Chief Narbano yaadaané silįį'go, his wife, Íibaa', Juanita, wolyéé nít'éé' éi shimásání yęę bizeedí át'éé nít'éé' lá.

The importance of this philosophy has to be considered in the context of the historical events between the United States government and the Navajo people, specifically the events that led to the signing of the Treaty at Fort Sumner, New Mexico which was signed at approximately 8:45 a.m. on June 1, 1868. The main leaders *Hastiin Chilhagiini* (Chief Manuelito) and *Hastiin Bicha' lani* (Chief Narbona), and other war leaders who knew leadership and protection way prayers and songs, made an agreement before the signing of the treaty that they would make prayer so they were not sent to Oklahoma, Kansas, or Florida, but a ceremony that would lead them back to the original homeland within the four sacred mountains. Chief Narbona was known as a great warrior who had twelve war bonnets and his youngest sister was my grandmother's mother. Also Chief Manuelito was known as Arrow Maker and he was from Moab, Price, Utah area and he migrated to the Chuska Mountain region. His oldest daughter, named "*Iibaa*" also known as Juanita. Chief Manuelito was Chief Narbona's son-in-law because he was married to Chief Narbona's daughter who was my maternal grandmother's cousin sister.

Niléidi exactly 1868, June the first, between nine forty five and ten fifteen, thirty minutes *į́' bee lą́ azlį́'į́*. *Bilagáana, ana'í bi'óhoo'aah bich'į́' dah didiikah hodoo'niidgo ts'idí ákwe'é atnáda'dzoh jini. Hą́goshį́ t'áá áko bich'į́' dah didiikah. Biniinaaígíí Chief Manuelito yęę haadzí', kóhodoo'niid jini /no documentation/ Ákondi éi dísh jį́dii Wáashindoon t'óó nihił yáá'iiich'ąą' t'áadoo ye'iilaa da. Éi shíí biniinaa anáhóót'i' daazlį́'į́, tsilkéi, ch'íkéi dajinił teh ní'téé'. Áko Áadi áhodoo'niid, Chief Manuelito yęę adíiniid jini, Haalá áháné' héi, kóq ana'í Bi'digáanii, bi'óhoo'aah daats'í át'éego ha'át'iishį́ át'éego bich'į́' dah didiikah, nihi'doo'niid. Doo yiniikeed da ndi. T'áá ńdą́ą' éi nihintsáhákees, nihinahat'a', nihi'óhoo'aah, nihi'éé'deetįįh, nihitsodizin, nihiyiin, nihe'oodlą', nihi'ayóó'óo'ni', bik'ehgo nihééhózinígíí, éi t'áá ńdą́ą' niléidęę' Yootgai Asdzáan niheinilá, diyin dine'é, éi díshjį́góo bee yiikah ndi díidi dó' bich'į́' dah didoohkah nihi'doo'niid. Ákondi lą́q hólá, díi*

ana'í bi'óhoo'aah kóqdi bijéi daats'í hóló? bitsiighaq', bintsékees, binahat'a', oo'íj daats'í, adiits'a' daats'í, bitsodizin, biyiin daats'í hóló? Aháláa shinee' shimá, aháláashinee shizhé'é, shicheii, shimásáni, shináli, shik'éi, ákót'éhígii bee daats'í hóló? Jó nihíji éi hóló, nihe'óhoo'aah. Díi éi hólá. T'ahdoo niil'íj da, t'ahdoo diits'íj da, doo yiidlí da, ákondi ląq halei bee bich'í' dah didiikah, ní jini. Łahgo éi bee ádénótniih doo haalá ahánéhei. Díishjii k'ad yoołgai kin beetátkáá' dah naa'eit' hoolyéejji' dah nídidiiikah. Yoołgai bee ha'az'ái naakits'áadah kék'ehashchiin bikáa'jji' dah nídidiiikah. Dootł'izhii kin bee tátkáá' dah naa'eit' hoolyéejji' dah nídidiiikah. Yoołgai naakits'áadahgo bee ha'az'ái kék'ehashchiin bikáajji' háadiikah héi t'áa díish jji. Díi bik'ehgo éi nihibe'edziil át'éego bich'í' dah didiikah. Éi shíjii áát dajini, Chief Manuelito says, education is a step ladder, éi t'áayó doo shił ákót'éé da. Díi yee kék'ehashchiin yee ááh ha'ní. Tsodizin ááh ha'ní, sin ááh ha'ní, oodłá, ayóó ó'ó'ní éi yee' ááh ha'ní, atł'ádi. Éi bik'ehgo k'ad kojji' ana'í bi'óhoo'aah bich'í' dah diikáhígii, láa'ii: nihitsodizin dóó nihiyiin dóó nihinahagha', nihihatáál, t'áákáhiila' bé'éhodotyáá dóó nihit' altaa náokáahgo háadi da doo yiishdląq da ha'át'ishjii át'é doohne', ts'ídá díi bee ádaasohiti' dóó bėnótniih. Nihitsodizin hóló, nihiyiin hóló, biniiyé ádóhninígii bááhóziní.

Naakii góne': Nihizaad díidi bééhódotyáá dóó háadi da léi' doo shił bééhózin, doo yinishdląq da doohne' lágo. Nihizaadígii díidi naadq'átgai saad, naadq'átsoi saad, tádiidii saad, aniit'ánii saad, si'ah naaghái saad, bik'ehózhóon saad, hózhó saad, díi nihizaad. Ts'ídá díi éi bee t'áa sahdii ániit'é. Áadóó kojji' nihits'íis da, nihikági da, nihizaadígii éi bee t'áa sahdii ániit'é. Our language is the unique part of who we are, not the color of our skin, something like that, he said. Áadóó áni jini, díi nihitsodizinígii, nihiyiinígii dóó nihizaadígii éi bee aanídtijhi át'é. Dóó t'áa éi biyi'jji' óhoo'aah dóó na'nitin bee ná'oodzi' bee hadaalt'é ná'oodleet, éi ts'ídá bee ádénótniih, bé'éhodotyáá lágo, doo bee diyooohnah da. Díi bee doo, áadóó kodóó éi ayóó áhóhni, yá'át'éego ahaa ntsáhákees, ahálóo shinee', k'é, ádóone'é nohtínígii, nihikék'ehashchiin, díi t'áa bááhózinígo tó siká, nihihoneeshgish, ch'iyáán silá, nihit' hahodót'é, hooghan ha'a'aahjigo ch'ihool'á, nihich'éláyi', ch'éládei hóló, dził sinil, biyi'di áhoot'é díi, díidi baa yoohnééh. Díi bee daniildzilgo kojji' háadiikah dóó bich'í' dah didiikah. Akóhodoo'niid yéę shíjii biniinaa díi philosophy is important. Éi nináskáá', t'ahdoo ts'ídá yéęgo yit'ini ánálnééhgóó hoolzhish.

Chief Manuelito spoke, and what he said was not documented but through oral tradition, he said, “what are we going to do, *dii bidi'gaani* (meaning *bilahgaani*), *bii o'ohaah* (his education) we will have to accept it even though we are not asking for it. We already have our own thinking, planning, life, prayers, songs, belief, love and identity based on white shell woman which we have had since the beginning and now we are told to follow the white man's ways. Now, we don't know if the white man's

ways have a heart, thoughts, vision, hearing, prayers, songs, emotions, or has relationship as to our relationship with our mothers and relatives; we don't know if it has these. We haven't seen it, felt it, or tasted it, but with *Haleh* (heart, mind, spirit, and soul), we can accept it. But remember, we don't know what's going to happen. From this day on, in remembering the house that floats upon the sacred water we will return to the place where twelve turquoise and twelve white footprints have been made upon these sacred waters we will return. We will return to the sacred waters where turquoise houses are, and that Education is a step, but he was referring to footprints; our prayers, songs, belief, love, these were the reference. He mentioned that our prayers, songs, beliefs, and ceremonies shall not be forgotten or shall not be mixed or; that we shall not say we don't believe them, remember our songs and prayers for that purpose. Then also our language, don't forget it and don't say you don't believe it. Our language is made of white shell, turquoise, corn pollen (male and female), *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* language, this is what makes us distinct and unique. It is not the color of our skin or body that makes us unique but our language that makes us stand alone, separate, unique and distinct. It's our language, stories, songs, prayers that is the key to our learning, understanding, and addressing our own concerns and problems. Don't forget these things. Our love, our relationship and kinship, our footprint, our fireplace, our firepoker, food, and water, our home that faces the east, our mountains and our way of life is what is going to be our strength. This is why this philosophy is important and we haven't revisited it lately.

Haashíí yidzaa, nihi atchini yéé, dóó díishjįįdi bich'į' anáhóót'i', éi biniinaa nihi tsísilei éi nihi azee doo a'aandahti'hí niléido.

Next, our generation has become lost somewhat but our philosophy was going to be our medicine, a key, to correct a lot of problems of our generation.

Dįį' góne' éi díi k'ad attso hasht'éilyaa dóó the mission, vision, tsodizin, siih hasin, nihintsáhákees, nihinahat'a', bee bá a'didooldlat kodóo niléi fifty, one hundred, five hundred, a thousand years góo bee nináádiikahígú éi biká oolkił. Ei biniiyá éi díi, philosophy, ntsáhákees, nahat'á, iiná, siih hasin, oodlq, ayóo ó'ó'ni, bitsisilái ts'idá yéego éi dílzin dóó baa já'hónáá dóó baa hóchį'. Hái da t'óó nihits'ąą' yił nidoolnah dóó nihighai doodlétigú éi dooda. To not abuse it, to delete it, to add it, to keep it natural, nihi'doo'niid.

Fourth, songs, prayers, and ceremonies will be our vision for generations to come and this will be our philosophy and foundation. We shall be

responsible and protective of them to not allow others to take them from us. Not to abuse, delete it, or add to it but to keep it natural; that's why our philosophy is important.

Dr. Aronilth then accounts for the respect, reverence, and care that students, staff, faculty, administrators, Board of Regents, as well as parents and the Navajo people must maintain for our traditional Navajo world view in order to perpetuate it for future generations.

That admonition is one of the major purposes of Diné College and it should not be taken lightly.

Dr. Guy Gorman's contribution to the establishment of Diné College as Chairman of the Board of Regents is a particularly noteworthy accomplishment. His relationship with other Navajo leaders to facilitate a tribally-controlled college contributes significantly to American Indian higher education generally. His legacy of foresight and leadership will prevail, and he hopes his children and grandchildren will long remember the dedication he put forth in establishing Diné College. As he sees it:

This was the first Indian college built by the Navajo people. No one has done this. It is an open environment according to which all kinds of learning is welcome it seems. The Navajo ways of thinking learned here will fortify the maintenance of ceremonials too.

We thought we were kind of joking when we began talking about the college but yet here it is. It became a reality. When the Board of Regents was established I was made the Chairman of the Board. I worked with them for several years. This was early foundations of the college.

There are people who say they did this work and some of these are our leaders even though they did not come to the place where the work was taking place. They say "I was among those who built the college."

You are a thinker and you addressed needs in ways so they are still in place and operating today. It was a fortunate thing that you became a leader they say it seems and that is the way they take it.

Dr. Gorman speaks with pride when talking about what his children and grandchildren tell him in how his involvement in the College's founding and its continued growth makes them proud. His leadership on the Navajo Nation Council's Education Committee as Vice Chairman, and secretary of the Demonstration In Navajo Education (DINE), Inc., which led to the establishment of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, and as the first Chairman of the Navajo Community College Board of Regents, warrants the highest commendation. His long-term involvement in Navajo education is illustrious; he remains one of the most influential Navajo individuals in Navajo education. He is without a doubt one of the primary founders of Diné College, and he diplomatically refutes newcomers to Navajo education who claim direct involvement in the founding of the College. Its written record and oral testimony clearly identify those individuals who were involved in its founding; they alone deserve full recognition for their persistence, commitment, and strong belief in Navajo ways of thinking, planning, implementing, and creating assurance.

Jack Jackson, as a twin to brother, former Diné College president, Dr. Dean C. Jackson, specifies his participation as cultural and spiritual guide to the founding of Diné College. That role was important to the College's spiritual and philosophical well-being, not only because twins play an important role in the Creation Story, but also because his maternal clan, the Towering House (*Kinya'aanii*) clan, was the first one created by Changing Woman-White Shell Woman (*Yootgai Asdzaan*). His brother remains the longest serving president of Diné College (1988-1998) and was the leader who incorporated the *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* philosophy into the College, while he

fulfilled his traditional role as second twin who stayed home and prayed for his brother. Now, as one of the elders and an ordained medicine man who conducts the Female Wind Way (*Nitchi Bi'aad*) ceremony, and through his valuable advice and guidance in the College's growth, he as well has made tremendous contributions to the College. Furthermore, his leadership as an Arizona state representative and senator, as well as a tribal legislator and educator, contribute further to the College in terms of securing added financial support from the Navajo Nation, the State of Arizona, the State of New Mexico, the federal government, and private donors. With characteristic modesty, he credits prayers he has conducted in behalf of the future growth and viability of the College's purpose as grounded in Navajo cultural traditions as his contribution. As he puts it:

We were able to get appropriation from Congress for Navajo Community College and when our leaders were there during that time that's when other tribes asked for some of the appropriation too. Because our people were courageous and kind people they approved their request. Therefore other tribes received funding for their schools; the greatest development for the Navajo people I was apart of that. Plus the ceremonies and prayers, including the offerings of sacred stones so we can get help from Congress, Navajo Nation, State of Arizona and New Mexico. After all these many years, when my brother Dean was president I stayed at home. Based on the stories of the twins, when one was out there fighting to destroy the monsters that were killing the Navajo people, the other one stayed home and prayed. I took care of the fire and prayed for my brother's safety and courage. My father made sure we did that because that's the way we were raised. That's what I did.

The contribution of the entire Jackson family from Teestoh, Arizona, which includes the researcher's own Clark family, is historic. In keeping with events that occurred in the Fourth World (Summarized in Section A of this chapter), when the twin warriors worked together to kill the rampaging Monsters, the role of twin educational warriors, Dean and Jack Jackson, suggests a culturally inspiring miracle. The

contributions of Dean as virtual Monster Slayer, and Jack Jackson as Born for Water in the creation of Diné College, reaffirms its cultural history. In his knowledgeable, yet modest way, Senator Jackson confirms as much:

My major accomplishment has been *Txobajishchini* and *Nayeenezanyi, ei di bigha* (Monster Slayer and Born for Water makes things possible). We are on a war path. We are trying to save ourselves from the dominant society, western way. *Jo ei* Dean stuck with it for so many years until they removed him but still his heart was/is here. Me too, the prayers and songs that we said that became apart of the institution. The dedication-standing up for it and being here. People believe us now by me just being here. People say that the College is going the right direction. Me and you will have a lot of accomplishments which haven't really surfaced yet. By working on this curriculum development when it is developed and it's visible. That's going to be one of the greatest accomplishments. Next, the ceremony we did in Hawaii. Who else would do that! All these people, some are afraid even medicine people who know ceremonies have not done that. It doesn't come to them. I actually believe that even the simple knowledge, if you believe it, it will come to you. Even my nephew, Calvert Williams, who conducts Crystal ceremonies and that guides and gives him instruction. So through his effort we made these offerings and I believe it created the rain and snow we just received. It will help the Navajo Nation and somewhere it will come up when our grandchildren and children will realize that we made a major contribution. They will speak of it. They will go back to our traditional ceremonies-that's what they will do. This will be one of the biggest accomplishments we ever make as a Navajo Nation, Indian tribes, and now with global warming. Technology that is happening. That's what our grandparents told us about-the misuse of technology which was placed with the plants. When *Diné nalyah yei da* there was instruction on what not to do. They will destroy themselves so take it way from them. Place it with the earth, plants, water, air, and mountains, fire, to put technology. We only go there when we need it, just enough to survive. The White man uses it because there's no restriction on them. I was accused of not having any technology when I was at the State legislature, but now I know the reason why we don't have it. At some point they (Americans) will realize and recognize that the Indian people were right.

The ground blessing that was my greatest involvement-in that process. I left the College immediately after 1971. We need to teach the simple way of living-it's got to be here!

In the interim, Senator Jackson became a medicine man who conducts the Female Wind Way (*Nitchí Biiad*) ceremony which makes him caretaker of one of the most sacred and powerful natural elements in the universe - air. He knows the songs and prayers to conduct this ceremony, which he tells of conducting in Honolulu, Hawaii during the November 2007 National Indian Education Conference – a historic moment for him and the researcher, who sat on behalf of all American Indian educators trying to teach American Indian students to proudly maintain their tribal identity, language, and culture, in addition to being academic scholars. Following that ceremony, there appeared to be a seasonal change, replacing stark arid weather with moisture, rain, and snow. Senator Jackson considers it significant to conduct that particular ceremony because the Hawaiian Islands are believed to be where White Shell Woman – Changing Woman moved to after she left the four sacred mountains during the events that occurred in the Fourth World. There, it is believed, she instructed the Navajo people to make offerings to her when asking for her guidance and blessings.

The son of Senator Jackson's sister, Laura Williams, Mr. Calvert Williams, is also familiar with the songs and ceremonies which her brother was ordained to conduct. Mr. Williams sought guidance from the Holy Crystal Light ceremony which empowered Senator Jackson, as medicine man, to take his prayer bundle to Hawaii. There, as instructed, he made an offering of sacred stones, songs, and prayers for educational purposes, including the study of tribal language, culture, and history that safeguards Navajo traditional ways, particularly at Diné College. Senator Jackson had not heard of any Navajo medicine man making such an offering at such a beautiful place, so he

considers it a special honor to perform the Wind Way ceremony in so special a place. Furthermore, the prayer he conducted was intended to acknowledge earth, air, water, and fire in a sacred manner that would restore the natural elements and seasons to harmony with one another, something that concerns him since learning about the negative effects of global warming on the environment. He adds that the natural element of fire has become misused through modern technological advances, such as computers and other electronic devices. Senator Jackson believes that modern society has become so unevenly dependent on technology that the natural ways of living have become ignored, creating imbalance within nature. The simple method of living, such as praying and helping people, learning to plant and harvest, knowing one's language and identity, need to be taught at Diné College as well as at other Navajo schools. He proudly acknowledges that Diné College, with its wealth of traditional knowledge acquired with the College's founding and growth can serve such a purpose. And, under Diné College's leadership, thirty-five additional tribal colleges have formed the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, supported by the Tribally Controlled Colleges and Universities Assistance Act of 1978, the American Indian College Fund, as part of what is now recognized as the Tribal College movement.

Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr., likewise, can lay claim to considerable contribution towards the establishment of Diné College in different capacities, whether as staff, faculty, cultural and spiritual leader, or community advocate. His contribution to the Diné Studies curriculum and its impact on Navajo students remains noteworthy for touching the lives of many students personally and in their academic endeavors. Despite

antagonistic criticism he faced for advocating a Navajo-centered perspective in his teaching and leadership role, he continues to stand firm in his beliefs. He has contributed as well to the development of the College's distinctive symbolic logo and its framework for designating the philosophy and its essential elements. Dr. Aronilth reminisces that he began working at Diné College with Larry Etsitty and Martha Jackson, who were Navajo administrators and teachers at the College from the start. Mrs. Jackson continues to teach Navajo language and education courses at Diné College and is a noted silversmith. Mr. Etsitty is the nephew of the late Navajo Roadman, Billy Sam, from Many Farms, Arizona, where Diné College began offering classes in 1968. Mr. Sam was the Roadman who conducted the first *Azee BeeNahagha* Peyote Ceremony at Diné College there. Mr. Etsitty, now a counselor with the Indian Health Service, worked at the College during the 1970s and 1980s as a Dean of Student Services, instructor, and advisor to students who wanted to have a prayer service for the College and the students. In recounting such memories, Dr. Aronilth says:

It was amazing for me, my brother, it brings tears to my eyes. I became a head resident, worked with Larry Etsitty and Martha Jackson, worked as instructor and security, and spiritual leader with Native American Church and ceremonies. Four different perspectives of my involvement. One is that we designed the philosophy, mission and vision that is here today. I remember the elders that they said that the Navajo way of teaching and learning, its foundation and philosophy, would be placed here and that is the Foundation of Navajo Culture, NIS 111; designing the Navajo courses. The title, course ID number and all the content and how it was to be taught. We fought for that all these years to not have them be electives. Even our non-Navajos helped us. We accomplished that tremendous task and now they are transferable and they are being taught. History, culture, philosophy, language, arts and crafts courses a lot of Navajo students gained, revisited their identification to come back into their natural way of what it means to be a Navajo, a Diné. They put a lot of their negative habits aside and today we have

professional people. I remember five American Indian Movement (AIM) students, we changed their perspectives of being a student; they are now doctors, lawyers and administrators (names were not given). They took these courses and that challenge and we have a lot of beautiful people. It's 99% of our accomplishment. How Navajo knowledge and wisdom has worked, its process. Even Christians and different tribes benefitted, they got an idea from here on how we did it. They were able to see our philosophy was put in place in our educational setting and college-it woke them up to give them an opportunity for their generation.

The philosophy that Dr. Aronilth invokes, of course, is the *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* foundation, with its critical elements of thinking (*nitsáhákees*), planning (*nahata*), implementing (*iina*), and assurance (*siih hasin*). Within the Diné traditional living system, the philosophy places “human life in harmony with the natural world and the universe. This philosophy provides principles both for protection from the imperfections in life and for the development of well-being” (Diné College Catalog, 2008, p. vi). Dr. Aronilth asserts that the philosophy “is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of Divine Nature. The art of being taught is the art of discovery taking place. Take what you have learned and build upon it as you go out into the world” (Aronilth, 1992). Thus, the mission of Diné College “is to apply the *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* principles to advance quality student learning:

- Through *Nitsáhákees* (Thinking), *Nahatá* (Planning), *Iiná* (Living), and *Siih Hasin* (Assurance).
- In study of the Diné language, history, and culture.
- In preparation for further studies and employment in a multi-cultural and technological world.

- In fostering social responsibility, community service, and scholarly research that contribute to the social, economic, and cultural well-being of the Navajo Nation” (Diné College Catalog, 2008, p. vi).

The mission also makes a commitment “to instill the right ingredients of knowledge, wisdom, and skill in order to better understand their value to the Diné for survival, and for the students to gain self respect, self confidence, self identity, and self awareness” (Aronilth, 1992, p. 8). The College envisions itself as “a Diné-focused institution grounded in the philosophy and principles of *Sa’ah Naaghai Bik’eh Hozhoon*. Diné College prepares students academically so that they may approach any situation with confidence and competence. By 2009, Diné College intends to achieve four-year status so as to offer bachelor’s degrees” (Diné College Vision Statement, 2008). The College sustains that vision, together with its mission and philosophy. Dr. Aronilth continues to contribute his concerns, comments, and support for the College’s overall guiding philosophy, mission, and vision, as he affirms in this statement:

Next, when they built this institution there was a lot of drop-outs because of their records. Nobody wanted them-Navajo Community College opened their doors and said “we’ll help you.” They had negative attitudes, they were misbehaving, naughty, and were immature and we tamed them. Now, two are working within our CDS department and became Academic Vice Presidents. Many students who were denied opportunity off the reservation came here and were given that opportunity. A lot didn’t even finish 8th grade or GED, so they entered culture classes and got their GED. Some received degrees. It reached out to students that needed it, some type of survival. The college was their only and last chance.

Electronics, welding, mechanics, carpentry, silversmithing, alot (of people) came here and got recognized. There are so many more but these are a few accomplishments. Some took wholistic classes and learned

songs and prayers and now they are medicine people. To relearn ceremonies even though there was ignorance and jealousy and because of that some people criticized us but we done it. This is outstanding. 99% of the College is accomplished because of the success of our students. Even though there will continue to be negative remarks and criticism I feel we are successful.

Dr. Aronilth recognizes that “over 50 percent of all Navajo scholarship students did not survive their first year at college and that 90 percent never completed college” (Aronilth, 1991, p. 9). Regarding specific data on students who were not able to complete 8th grade or a General Education Diploma (GED), comments from Dr. Aronilth are based on his own observation and anecdotal information. He reached his conclusion by virtue of the high number of students who come to Diné College and entered his classes. With his obviously observant involvement after forty years of service to the College his knowledge can be considered as unassailable. Dr. Aronilth can confirm that some students have become medicine men after attending Diné College and taking the courses in Navajo culture, language, history, and philosophy that make it a unique institution. That he does not provide names of the individuals who became cultural and spiritual healers testifies to his respectful outlook.

In recalling his Diné College accomplishments Dr. Aronilth speaks modestly of his contribution to the College’s unique logo, which depicts a black male arrowhead surrounded by a male and female sunray and rainbow. In designing it, he collaborated with others, including the noteworthy William Morgan, Sr. who served as Navajo language instructor during the College’s early beginnings and became co-author of *The Navajo Language Dictionary* published in 1987 by the University of New Mexico Press with Dr. Robert W. Young. Of that achievement he says:

Another accomplishment that I made was taking part in the design and adoption of the logo for Navajo Community College/Diné College. During 1968/1969 I was called into Dr. Ned Hatathli's office and was asked to come up with a design for the College's logo (*Olta bee be adiidliidi*). There was also several other people that were asked to come up with a design including William Morgan, an instructor at the College.

I went back to my home in Wheatfields, Arizona and thought about the 1868 peace treaty. After much consideration, prayers, and songs, I meditated on the protection ceremony, *Naayeeji* ceremony, that was conducted and thought that the *bash tsistooghi* (arrowhead) should be a primary element within the logo. Then I thought about the four sacred mountains as the policies contained within ceremonies, songs and prayers. I incorporated the *Shabitloom* (sun ray) and the *Naatsiilid* (rainbow) as forms of sovereignty.

Typically, Navajo medicine people and other traditional Navajos will not themselves claim ownership of sacred symbols, stories, songs, or ceremonies because these items and "treasured gifts" continue to be generally bestowed upon the Diné through the Creation Stories and the Four Worlds that evolved, and more particularly by way of the various ceremonies. Dr. Aronilth's involvement in the concept and design of the logo of Diné College must thus be understood in that context: all the items and symbols existed long before the birth of Diné College. All the same, the guidance he received by that means in making his distinct contribution to the College's uniqueness must be recognized as a special accomplishment.

Summarizing his thoughts on the future viability, prosperity, and well-being of Diné College, Dr. Aronilth offers this advice:

One would be to go back to *nahasdzáán biyiin, hózhóǵí sinígíí dóó naayéé'ee sin, bee yeil ál'inée, jó éi ntsáhákees, nahat'á, iiná, siih hasin, si'ah naaghái bik'eh hózhóón, dóó si'ah naaghái binéhóǵí, díí hózhóǵí, naayéé'ee yee hadít'é. Nááná yá díłhíł bitsodizin dóó biyiin, t'áá ákónáát'é. Éidí. Nááná ákóné'é éi Haashch'ééłti'i bitsodizin dóó biyiin, Yoolgai Asdzáán, Asdzáán Nádleehi bitsodizin dóó biyiin, Naayéé'*

Neizghání, Tóbájishchíní, tsóínádleehé, teiyah neeyání, biyiin dóó bitsodizin, éidi. Nááná áadi éi e'e' aahdégé' diné bee ninályá, Yootgai Asdzáán, Asdzáán Nádleehé biyiin, diyin dine'é biyiin, éi kwe'é bee k'i'doolyá, bik'ehkgo gish ályaa. Éi ts'idá sin bee k'i'doolyáhéé, Yootgai Asdzáán Diné yee ánáyiidlaa yéé sin, éidi bá ninádít'aahgo nizhóni yee'. K'ad ninéileeh dóó k'ad áltah néidléih, naaki atkéé' silá. Éi ts'idá bóhólníih, éi gishígíí bee k'ei'doolyáá dóó díish jíidi nooséél dóó t'áá éi bik'ehgo tsodizinígíí dóó sinígíí éidi t'áá úyisíí bóhólníih. Éi díí ólta'ígíí doo bee bohodéélníi da, doo bąąh téeh da, yee chánah nilí. Áádóó éi t'áá údąą' naadąą' ú'á, ntsáhákees, nahat'á, iiná, siih hasin, si'ah naaghái bik'eh hózhón, éi yee nidoogijít dóó yee iinízin, dóó chánah nilí.

Also, for the safety and health of our institution, for our welfare and growth, for the Board of Regents and president, and the employees, the love and understanding, respect, and cooperating for the benefit of the College, for us to stand together as one, would be the way for us to progress. Plus through our prayers, songs, and beliefs we can progress. For us to listen to one another, to understand and to cooperate, for respectful understanding in our prayers and songs to be one, rather than being stubborn, then our College will sustain and be strong. Instead of being negative and risking our safety, to perpetuate our blood lines, our way of life, our future generations, these things we can further our college into the long future. The way I understand *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* and *Nitstahakees, Nahata, Iina* and *Siih Hasin* and what it is here for, for our understanding and to abide by it, even though that it is used in ceremonial ways but for the College it is applied in an educational way for teaching and learning then it will be good rather than mixing it up. The reason is that *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* is sacred and is holy and spiritual. *Sa'ah Naaghai* is First Talking Spirit (*Ashjeyalti*) and *Bik'eh Hozhoon* is Second Talking Spirit (*Ashjiwon*) therefore it is holy and our prayers, songs, beliefs, love, teaching and learning; our vision, mission, curriculum has to correspond with the *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* so it can be one perspective to instill into our generation.

Summary

The story of the founding of Diné College is rich in stories, songs, and ceremonies of the Diné people. The courage, visionary leadership, and seriousness of establishing a higher educational institution on the Navajo Nation was tempered with laughter, and friendship. What unfolds as the cultural history of Diné College's founding begins with

leadership and the idea of Indian control as a result of the federal government's failed education treaty provision. The study conducted by Arizona State University provided the necessary data and information which supported the need and interest to establish a community college on the Reservation. The exercise of sovereignty in appropriating financial and natural resources, namely a tract of land in Tsaile, Arizona, secured the commitment of the Navajo people to such an enormous task therein gaining permanent ownership. In developing a culturally-appropriate curriculum that would include Diné language, culture, history, and philosophy, balanced with American disciplines of education, a dual curriculum and mission evolved. Since no model existed elsewhere, and in charting its own course of action, the Diné political and educational leaders looked to the cultural and spiritual leaders to assist in the process of dedicating the land, the development of its curriculum, and its underlying philosophy. Despite ridicule, criticism, and enormous challenges, the founders sought guidance, as did Navajo leaders prior to the signing of the Treaty of 1868, and through other challenging times, from the ancient Creation Stories and the teachings therein. The guidance from the Crystal Light and *Azee BeeNahagha* ceremonies identified the planting cane – *gish* to dedicate the land. Likewise, the elements critical to its *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* philosophy: thinking – *nistahakees* , planning – *nahata*, implementing – *iina*, and evaluating – *siih hasin* through a corn stalk model instructed the founders in the placement of facilities based on the traditional Hogan and basket, *ts'aa*. A key to the founding of the College were the two prayers at the dedication where Congressman Aspinall was moved by holding the *gish*, and the one which Yazzie Begay offered at one of the congressional

hearings – both of which contribute to the College’s cultural history. The next chapter further discusses these findings which constitute the cultural history of Diné College.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DISCOVERY – THE CENTER EARTH

Diné College is a magical place because it is the center of the Navajo reservation. Surrounded by mountains, water, plants, and animals, the four seasons, academics and sports, we have learned how to weave, make moccasins, and become more aware of Diné values and culture – it's the only home we know.

Gwen and Damon Clark, Personal Communication, March 7, 2009.

Findings and Themes Overview

Diné College's cultural history as revealed through oral history narratives of four key Navajo individuals directly and indirectly involved in its founding reveals five themes. They include land, leadership, mission, philosophy, and curriculum. Why they are important and why they converge together as part of the cultural history of Diné College can be answered through the ceremonies, songs, prayers, and stories within the overall Diné creation cycle. The visionary commitment and persevering strength of leaders who acted in concert with the cultural, political, and educational traditions at the grass roots level throughout the broad Navajo community contributed to the establishment of Diné College. Overall its primary aim is to teach Navajo youth about their culture, history, and language to reinforce them with an understanding of their unique identity, and to prepare them for further academic studies, vocational and technical trade skills, and cultural competence. As a powerful exercise in sovereignty, the Navajo Nation hopes to perpetuate the Navajo way of life through its young people. Diné cultural and spiritual leader David Clark explains that the key to doing so resides in perpetuating the Diné language (Personal Communication, March 5, 2008). Through its

ongoing use, the forces of land, leadership, mission, philosophy, curriculum -- given the proper attention to those themes -- the full story of Diné College unfolds.

As the story of Diné College continues to unfold throughout the years, the prospect of moving simultaneously in four directions --“inward (inside self), outward (toward community), backward (in time), and forward (also in time)” -- provides another culturally appropriate model to understand Diné College (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994 as quoted in Shields, 2005, p. 180). That four-directional outlook is congruent with the following items applied to the dedication to reinforce the Diné worldview as an educational model: the cane, planting stick, or “*diwishiizhiin gish*” (See APPENDIX O) used at the ground blessing ceremony on April 13, 1971, to plant seeds of prayers and songs so that teaching and learning at Diné College can grow in a sacred manner, “*lileh kehgo;*” the cornstalk image (See APPENDIX P) with six ears of white corn representing the male, or *Sa’ah Naaghai Nanitin*, teaching, and six ears of yellow corn representing the female, or *Bik’eh Hozhoon O’ho’ah*, learning, drawn by George C. Mitchell in 1967, represents a universal model of education to promote the Diné way of life; and the cradleboard (*a’wee tsaal*) image (See APPENDIX Q), developed by Dr. Dean C. Jackson in accompaniment with the November 13, 1982, College resolution officially adopting the philosophy of “*Sa’annaaghái Bik’ ehózhó...Ohoo’aah Bindii’a ei Sa’annaaghái Bik’ ehózhó ei Diné Bintsekees at’eh, Sa’annaaghái Bik’ ehózhó ei Diné Binahat’a’at’eh, Sa’annaaghái Bik’ ehózhó ei Diné Be’ iina’ át’éh, Sa’annaaghái Bik’ ehózhó ei Diné Bisihasin át’éh, Sa’annaaghái Bik’ ehózhó ei Diné Bi’ ohoo’ aah bindii’a’at’eh*” (Board Resolution, NCC-Nov-676-82). The College resolution explained, “*Sa’ahnaaghi*

Bik'ehozho roughly translated means that one is pursuing a long, happy and contented life and is part of a society that emanates happiness to itself and to all others surrounding it. Through this, one becomes a fulfilled and contributing person” who can think, plan, implement, and achieve a foundation for education (Board Resolution, NCC-Nov-676-82).

Essentially the College officially adopted the *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* educational philosophy to encompass thinking, planning, implementing, and evaluating as its foundation. The Board of Regents identified the philosophy as “the essence of life encompassing a universe which is wholistic, ordered and according to Diné’s basic concept of *atch'i' naazláh* (Inter-dependent, or duality)...therefore it is the philosophy of Navajo Community College that the *Diné bi óhoo'aah* (education) will be best achieved through the *atch'i' naazláh* (duality) concept and that the purpose of education is to guide students in the pursuit of the knowledge, values and skills embodied in *Sa'annaaghái Bik' ehózhó'*” (Board Resolution, NCC-Nov-676-82). The circular Diné basket includes twelve elements, six male and six female, and is woven in a clockwise direction with the entrance to the east and the exit the same direction, symbolic of the Diné female Hogan (See APPENDIX R). With its four colors, the basket represents the four natural elements of land, air, fire, and water, as well as a person’s entire life cycle, including birth, adolescence, adulthood, and old age. Likewise, it includes the cycle of thinking, planning, implementing, and evaluating all aspects of the philosophy.

Another model that the researcher has found to be culturally relevant for education is the completed woven rug, or *Dayiistłó* (See APPENDIX S). This item, too,

includes all the four elements and is thus similar to the cornstalk in that it starts from the bottom and finishes at the top. Moreover, the plants, stories, songs, ceremonies, and teachings are subsumed in this model as well. It could also represent the Diné periodic table of elements, including water, fire, land, and air, combined with academic disciplines or areas of study, such as geology, geography, history, astronomy, chemistry, biology, and the various applications of math – addition, subtraction, division, multiplication, geometry, and calculus. A weaver does not typically draw a design, instead through high-order thinking and a synthesis of skills such as statistics and creative imagination, a perfectly balanced masterpiece will in effect tell a story in keeping with the cultural history of Diné College, as well as the entire creation cycle. With an ability to read each strand of a rug within the overall design one can discern what the storyteller/weaver is trying to convey. A story can fill many pages, or even a series of books, but the important thing to remember is that not all knowledge that is valuable and true is necessarily written down on paper, *naaltsos*, whether in English or Navajo, but can still remain part of our everyday Diné way of life. While the narrative assembled in the previous chapter reveal the themes in this chapter it is also important to understand that “a story remembered must be revisited and reconstructed using our own life experience across the intervening years” (Shields, 2005, p. 180). In that regard, Diné College today is an educational institution in its essence to allow Diné students to fully learn about their past in a setting appropriate for teaching and learning. Thereby they acquire the opportunity to reconstruct or renew timeless stories inherited from an ancient past to inform the present and assure a future. Today, Diné College embraces change and

respects the contribution of new knowledge founded on old traditions of Diné ‘truths’ to provide a new kind of post-secondary education unique to the Navajo world view. One example of this singular approach is found in, *Dayiistłó*, whereby an entire conceptual framework can be professed and taught by Diné weavers. A Diné weaving combines the four sacred elements, the four directions, and the stories, songs, and prayers found within the dual concept of male and female, *atchi silah*, and *the Sa’ah Naaghai Bik’eh Hozhoon* way of life applicable as a teaching and learning process within the Diné College philosophy and educational system.

Major Themes

Upon analysis and depiction of data through the narratives there appear patterns of consistent categories, or themes, which emerge as part of the cultural history, or tapestry, of Diné College. The themes include: Land (Where), Leadership (Who), Mission (Why), Curriculum (What), and Philosophy (How). A summary of the themes follows to further explain the antecedents that led to the establishment of Diné College and reveal the rich cultural history of Diné College. Land appropriated by the Navajo Nation, the Tsailé community, and the Charlie Benally, “*Kinya’aani*” family, for the main campus reinforced the Diné belief in having its own College and provided permanent ownership. Thus, complementary to the theme of leadership is tribal control of education exercised through sovereignty. The purpose of Diné College fed into the creation of its unique dual mission of developing the curriculum offerings in Diné teachings in conjunction with American teachings as interdependent components. Lastly,

the philosophy instructs the College in how to govern, operate, and assess its activities, guided by Diné creation stories to ensure its proper growth.

Leadership

Individual and collective leadership and vision offered by the individuals involved in Diné higher education led to the Navajo Nation's exercise of tribal sovereignty to create, on Navajoland, the first tribal college in the United States. Such an action requires a degree of risk-taking, which brings with it a potential to succeed or to fail, yet the mere opportunity to create an unprecedented tribal college without fear of failure exhibits the strong convictions of the founders in pushing forth their visionary idea. As the transcripts show, each individual interviewed for this study exercised a capacity for leadership at some level during the establishment of Diné College. Collectively, their leadership answers the question of who was involved in founding Diné College. At the same time, at an individual level, their cultural, political, and tribal initiatives combined to create a core theme to demonstrate that tribal Indian control of education is possible.

The educational leadership of Dr. Guy Gorman, Dr. Ned Hatathli, Dr. Robert A. Roessel, Dr. Ned A. Hatathli, along with Dr. Dillon Platero, Dr. Dean C. Jackson, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, Mr. Mike Mitchell, Mr. Yazzie Begay, Mr. Jack Jackson, and Dr. Wilson Aronitlh, to name a few of the major participants who actively participated in the establishment of Diné College, becomes evident through this study. The creation of Rough Rock Demonstration School, coupled with the establishment of the Navajo Nation Council's Education Committee to gain more control over schools (BIA, public,

missionary, and private) operating on the Navajo Reservation, would lead to the founding of Diné College.

Political and legislative leadership at the tribal, state, and national levels in terms of Diné College's founding was led by Navajo Nation Chairman, Raymond Nakai. Meanwhile, the advent of the federal government's period of self-determination in the 1960s, the Community Action Programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the initiation of U.S. President Johnson's War on Poverty, combined to facilitate community involvement and control of education programs, leadership opportunities, and other community initiatives. As mentioned earlier, U.S. Congressman, Wayne Aspinall was a key leader at the national level in the College's establishment. Among other things, he held hearings, made visits, and participated in the dedication of the permanent campus in Tsaile, thanks largely to the instigation of Ruth Roessel, along with that of her husband Bob, Dr. Gorman, Yazzie Begay, Carl Todacheenie, and others among the Diné College delegation who proved critical in securing passage of the Navajo Community College Act of 1971, and the initial funding of \$5.5 Million for facilities construction.

In the agreement to utilize the *gish*, planting stick, or cane, to dedicate the new tribal college in Tsaile, cultural and spiritual leadership from Yazzie Begay, Mike Mitchell, Jack Jackson, Sr., Charlie Benally, Edward Bahe Harvey, Billy Sam, Thomas Byjoe, Andrew Pete, Robert Short, Larry Etsitty, and others certainly contributed to the College's unique identity. The emphasis on Diné culture, history, and language also led to the cornstalk education model, reflecting the duality of Diné teaching and learning consistent with Diné creation stories, songs, prayers, and ceremonies. Eventually it led to

the adoption of the unique *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* philosophy by the Board of Regents in 1982. Boosted by the *Azee BeeNahagha* and Crystal Holy Light ceremonies, the College's spiritual health and identity achieved its distinctiveness. Through these ceremonies students and their parents, staff, faculty, and entire Board of Regents began to appreciate the cultural spirit of the College. Thanks to these ceremonies the *gish* had been dedicated; the cycle of *Nitsahakees*, *Nahata*, *Iina*, and *Siih Hasin*, was emplaced as part of the College's operations; thus the College continues its growth. A ceremonial basket containing all the contingent spiritual items -- corn pollen pouch, mountain tobacco, arrowheads, a shield, crystal, and a fire poker -- has assured the College's sacred renewal every four years with a Blessing Way prayer, preceded by a Protection Way prayer. Those same prayers were recited by tribal leaders throughout the encampment at *Hweeldi* during the Long Walk, and at the signing of the Treaty of 1868; they were repeated at the Congressional Hearing in Washington, D.C. by Yazzie Begay, and have been used appropriately throughout the College's growth, remains an enduring spirit of the College.

Thus, well coordinated leadership at the community, regional, and national levels facilitated the establishment and growth of Diné College. The four individuals who shared their knowledge, experience, and vision for this study voice the spirited commitment of all those involved in its inception and creation. It is virtually impossible to envision a fully detailed and accurate account of the history of Diné College without actually witnessing every event, but this study's review of the leadership involved permits a full appreciation of the effort and dedicated commitment to the entire process.

Mission

The mission of Diné College is to help Navajo students by educating them in the Navajo way. A full century after the Treaty of 1868, Diné leaders acknowledged that its provision to provide the children with an education was failing. In reality, the federal government was not upholding its treaty promises to provide adequate educational opportunities, since Navajo students were ill-prepared alike for employment and for further studies. Socially, economically, culturally, and health wise, Navajos throughout the entire Reservation were languishing during the 1950s and 60s, due largely to a watered down American style education, offering no recognition whatsoever to the richness of Navajo traditions defined in the creation stories and preserved by the Navajo language. This had become a matter of great concern to the leaders recognized herein. However, rather than blame the federal government and other non-Navajo institutions entirely, or ignore the responsibility of Navajo families, communities, and tribal government, those leaders chose to address the issue by devising a meaningful mission to be carried out at a tribally-controlled, open-enrollment college wherein the best features of mainstream American education would complement a distinctively Navajo curriculum.

Curriculum

The founders of Diné College envisioned a curriculum that would challenge Navajo students and prepare them to become contributing members of the Navajo Nation's own workforce. Formal academic course offerings and vocational-technical training were practical skills students needed to learn to gain employment. In addition to

the Western academic and vocational training programs, however, the founders insisted that a relevant curriculum should include opportunities for students to learn the Navajo language, culture, history, and philosophy so they could understand their tribal identity and maintain it proudly. The idea of providing Navajo teachings through a “foreign” process was laughable, not only to outsiders, but even to some Navajos themselves. They saw such a curriculum as going “backwards” while the Navajo world was becoming increasingly assimilated into mainstream America. Yet the tenacious determination of the founders to integrate Navajo language, history, culture, and philosophy into a viable college was powerfully visionary because there was no blueprint model to follow beyond the belief that doing so was possible. Although the Arizona State University conducted a feasibility study on the prospect of a community college on the Navajo Nation, its authors did not recommend a culturally relevant curriculum or foresee a mission devised by the Navajo people themselves. Looking at the example of Rough Rock Demonstration School, which aimed to incorporate culture, language, and history into its curriculum, Dr. Guy Gorman, Dr. Ned Hatathli, Dr. Allen D. Yazzie, and Dr. Bob Roessel, the original founders of the College, along with the initial Board of Regents, developed a dual curriculum. First, it would address the diminished tribal identity of students graduating from high school, as well as adult learners, and other Diné students who wanted an opportunity to learn about their own history, language, culture, philosophy, and traditional arts and crafts. As part of that curriculum, the College would offer a Diné course of study. Second, for students ill-prepared by the high school system in reading, writing, and math, but who aspired to take college-level courses and earn degrees, along

with those interested in technical and vocational training, the College could offer an American course of study as well. The Diné curriculum would represent the *Sa'ah Naaghai*-male, and *Naaghaiji*-Protection Way, while the American curriculum would comprise the *Bik'eh Hozhoon*-female, and *Hozhooji*-Blessing Way principles, in what would amount to a fully balanced dual mission.

Philosophy

The philosophy of Diné College emanates primarily from the Diné creation stories, identifying the four worlds and their specific representations, elements, applications, and attributes. Without recourse to that cycle of stories, there could be no philosophical model on which to establish the first tribal college. So the founders sought and received instructions from traditional ceremonies which assured that students would be guided throughout their education with songs, prayers, and the natural elements, in accordance with the traditional Diné ceremonial system. The ancient traditions of the Diné people established the foundation for the policy, procedures, and process to be maintained at the first tribal college. The blessing of the tract of land at Tsaile where Diné College was to be built accorded to Diné traditional ways and most particularly with the activities of the fourth world. It invoked as well second world exploits, where the twin brothers were sent on a journey to their father, the Sun, to retrieve weapons to slay the monsters that were killing the Diné people. Thus a precedent was secured for the dual curriculum to be included in the College's mission. Furthermore, the role of the late Dr. Dean C. Jackson, and now his brother, Jack C. Jackson, twins from the first clan

created by White Shell Woman, *Kinya'aani*, has underscored the cultural, spiritual, and legislative achievements of Diné College. It was largely through Dr. Dean C. Jackson's leadership that the *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* philosophy was accepted at Diné College despite concerns over its use in an educational setting. At the onset of the College's founding, there was an enduring conflict over the philosophy and the intended mission as Dr. Aronilth attests in his story, but because of the prayers and songs offered on their behalf by the founders and their relatives, there is a cultural history to write about. The ceremonial teachings from the corn-stalk model fully integrated into the Diné College philosophy led to the use of the greasewood cane in the April 13, 1971 dedication ceremony establishing the Diné philosophy of *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* as the health and spirit of the College, its growth sustained to this day by ceremonies -- not only those drawn from traditional Diné customs, but through the Native American Church, *Azee BeeNahagha*, as well. Both are essential to the well-being of Diné College and thus it can be considered to be a living female entity. Diné College, like the students who attend it, are equivalent to seeds of corn and as such require attention and care, inasmuch as corn can only grow with time, air, light, and water. When the corn plant matures there will be twelve ears with a tassel on top yielding pollen for nourishment, sustenance, and life. This process of growth has been adopted as the orderly cycle that embodies the sequence of *Nitsahakees*, *Nahata*, *Iina*, and *Siih Hasin*. It is maintained at Diné College through individual courses as well as the overall College operations. Furthermore, like the corn that provides nourishment and sustenance, the College is seen as a nurturing female who in effect can smell, see, feel, taste, and hear the needs and

responsibilities of each student. The College, like a child, was born and has subsequently grown first to become an adolescent, then into a woman. She will continue to grow thanks to the power of the *gish*, the traditionally woven basket, and the ceremonial items it contains which are essential to a long and happy life, *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon*.

Diné College's philosophy is defined as:

“Ni' Asdzáán dóó Yádiłhił biyi'dóó Biką'ii dóó Bi'áadii atch'i' naazláago dabiilzı́ díí bee át'é hwiindzin. Díí bik'ehgo na'nitin dóó óhoo'aah silá,” or as rendered in English: “The duality of knowledge in form of male and female are present in mother earth and father sky. These are the foundations of teaching and learning” (Diné College Board of Regents Resolution, DC-FEB-1900-08, February 9, 2008).

Land

Land, which we walk upon every day, is one of the sacred elements, and is mentioned first in any Diné prayer, because like our mothers and grandmothers, it sustains us and gives us life. Diné College's cultural history and sacred artifacts all derive from the land and thus are plants. Some plants draw restrictions due to their dangerous powers, while there are also those that are used for ceremonies, for healing, and for restoring harmony. The land that was officially withdrawn by the Navajo Nation and dedicated for the establishment of Diné College at Tsaile, reflects, as a consequence, the commitment of the Navajo people to establish and maintain the first tribally-controlled post-secondary educational institution in North America. The families and the clan relatives from the Charlie Benally, Kinyaa'ani, family deserve recognition and appreciation for their generous respect, and unequivocal dedication to higher learning by sharing land they had used for their livelihood with those seeking higher education,

including all that come with attending college. The use of the *gish* from the greasewood plant from nearby Lukachukai, and the use of the divine herb peyote in ceremonies held first at Many Farms and subsequently at the Tsaile site; the use of water from nearby Tsaile lake, its tributary streams, its nourishing aquifers; and the use of the first Hogan at Rough Rock, must also be acknowledged in this study, for together they represent a connection to the Diné people. The land provides a deep and strong sense of ownership and pride in the College. The people of Tsaile in particular can claim the College, while without question its overall ownership lies with the entire Navajo Nation because it is located in the middle of the Reservation, among the Chuska mountains, adjoining Tsaile lake and its contributing streams, nearby historic Canyon De Chelly with its deep red canyons and high bluffs, at an elevation of 7,000 feet, each of the four seasons abide by Mother Earth's everlasting cycle of change and renewal. Thus, Diné College is well protected and cared for as a treasure of the Diné people.

Summary

The cultural history of Diné College has engendered leadership and vision, mission and purpose, curriculum within duality, philosophy in the context of creation stories, and land ownership universally shared. Such are the intended antecedents that led to the establishment of Diné College. In addition to reviewing the five themes mentioned here, a discussion on the unique philosophy and its attendant conceptual models, including the cane, the cornstalk, the basket, and the Diné tapestry, this chapter acknowledges other relevant traditional

educational models that can be applied to all levels of education, and even beyond the milestone of graduation, where Navajo people can apply all they have learned in the pursuit of long life and happiness. The experiences shared in these pages by four distinguished individuals thus stand as testimony to the events that led to the dedication of Diné College as the first tribally-controlled college in the United States. In becoming first Navajo Community College and then Diné College, this ever youthful institution opens the door way of *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon*, with its lifelong challenge to continue learning in the Diné way. The duality of this philosophy found in principles of *Naaghaiji Kehgo Na'nitin* – Male Protection Way Teachings – and *Hozhoji Kehgo O'ho'ah* – Female Beauty Way Learning assure ongoing balance and harmony by way of accepting, and even requiring conflict and disagreement in the never-ending process of *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon*.

CHAPTER SIX

THE RENEWAL – THE CENTER UNIVERSE

*“Listen, watch, and learn,
speak your language,
know who you are,
where you come from
and be careful of your thoughts and words
because they are your prayers, songs, vision, and being”*
(Jimmie Clark, Personal Communication, October 25, 2008).

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations Overview

In the process of becoming the first tribally controlled college in the United States, Diné College represents an important achievement by American Indians in general and by the Navajo people more particularly. As the four narrative accounts recorded in the prior chapter demonstrate, corroborated by appropriate primary and secondary sources, the infusion of a distinctly native culture is what makes the history of Diné College an important benchmark. With its oral history methodology and its storytelling narrative, this study enables four important elders to testify directly to their leadership in distinguishing Diné College as a true tribally-controlled community college and historic milestone. From the design of the campus to its curriculum design and the dedication of the land, their role in making Navajo educational philosophy central to the College’s very existence cannot be over estimated, but celebrated.

Summary

In serving as the President of the oldest and largest tribal college in the United States, with its powerful history and rich cultural philosophy, and as the author of this

study, I have gained profound respect, knowledge, and a deeper appreciation for the sacrifice and vision that has gone into the making of the first tribal college in the United States. I discovered how prayers and songs endowed the College's founders with added strength. This process of inquiry has taught me that learning is everyone's responsibility at all levels. The poignancy of occupying both roles validates the purpose of being the College's President and a student of its history. True education occurs not alone in the classrooms; it comes as well from participating in the mission of the College. Returning to my people after receiving a call from the Board of Regents was a challenge and a profound honor to help my Diné people. It is an important reminder to American Indian professionals, as well as to students wishing to pursue their education beyond high school, to answer the call of our tribal people to return home to serve. Having the privilege of receiving an education unique to Navajo culture, whether funded through a tribal scholarship or through other means becomes not just an honor but an obligation to help fight the social, cultural, political, educational, health, and economic maladies that plague our tribal communities. Here, in *Diné Bikéyah*, a tribal education repeats the urgency first expressed in the prayers and songs offered by the leaders who made peace at *Hweeldi* over 100 years ago. This study thus stands as an expression of hope that the same prayers, songs and ceremonies observed by our leaders today will help the Navajo people to sustain their language and culture for generations to come, thanks to an education system tailored to their special needs and rich heritage.

In researching and writing this cultural history of Diné College, to record an expanded understanding of the factors that led to its establishment, I experienced several

personal and professional challenges. As difficult as it was to stay the course, to believe in the philosophy and prayers of the College's spirit, and persevere through it, I sometimes encountered criticism, ridicule, and non-support, but nevertheless the spirit of the College gave me strength and resolve. There were those who resisted the application of songs and prayers that comprise the essence of Diné College; those who overlooked the traditions that the founders wanted the College to maintain; those who believed that a Native American reservation was no place for a College; and those not only outside the Navajo Reservation but within it -- whether educators or political leaders -- who responded negatively because of ignorance, but nevertheless the spirit of the College gave me strength. To them let this account of the College's success demonstrate that the purpose of a tribal college remains valid today as it did 41 years ago. It is during difficult and challenging times that our spirit, leadership, patience, wisdom, strength, and prayers are tested. It is likewise during good and successful times that the spirit of our generosity and the value of our kinship -- *K'e'* are revealed, but that is also the time to acknowledge the Creator for the valuable teachings.

One must acknowledge and accept blame as a leader, no matter the magnitude of the issue, but also share the glory of success with those who helped to achieve it. My *Nali*, paternal grandfather, Jack Clark, once told me, "remember my grandson, in the early morning, the blue bird you see, and birds you hear, they will be me, don't forget our stories, songs, and prayers" as we greeted the new dawn after an all-night prayer ceremony. Today, it is the beauty of the early morning chirping of the bluebird that gives strength, courage, and hope to lead my people. Another teaching came from my uncle,

George Clark, a Vietnam Veteran and leader of our family, who said, “leadership does not mean standing with the popular group of the day because standing for what’s right often means standing alone, and your Diné name is your shield and your weapon, it is part of what makes you a leader.” In that spirit, the process of researching and writing this dissertation became all the more challenging and meaningful on the professional level and at the same time emotional and spiritual on a personal level, and gratifying on a cultural level for what I have learned and internalized. Given all of that, allow me to conclude this study by resorting to some well established Navajo songs and prayers to assemble the following comments and recommendations.

Conclusions

As I conclude this long project, it becomes all the more apparent to me that American Indian scholars at all levels and among all areas of discipline, need to continue to embrace the responsibilities of academic studies and professional development with due regard to tribal traditions. Formal Western education offers different theories and methods by way of specialization in the various disciplines and through interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary approaches. It is apparent through this study that the emerging American Indian Studies theory and methodology remain inter-dependent and wholistic, whatever the type of knowledge a student or an institution is seeking. American Indian Studies is organic, natural, and holistic; its structures must respect the established standards for research and writing, but must also adhere to traditional protocols of our tribal peoples, our creation stories, and our sacred procedures to ensure full adherence to

established life ways. The various methods that are used to research and study American Indians must reinforce the argument that the research methodologies peculiar to the dominant culture may not be adequate to understanding native communities or their ways of knowing and learning. Depending on the type of knowledge being sought it is critical that oral history and its narrative storytelling approach remain a core element in American Indian Studies programs. Studies undertaken in a tribal setting require the inclusion of the wisdom of our elders and what they reveal about the full array of our traditions, including our ceremonies, our songs and all the accompanying paraphernalia that enrich the lives of our people and allow the spiritual element to endure among them, is inherent.

It became increasingly apparent and important to me as I pursued this study that we (Diné – Navajo) need to begin listening to our elders and parents, and to intensify the effort to record their oral histories to overcome the barriers that separate us from our stories, songs, prayers, and all other teachings. We should all return to our hogans, our lodges, our kivas, and our tipis to relearn the old stories and songs so that we can restore and maintain our oral traditions, so as to overcome the many challenges that prevent us from learning more about ourselves in our own way. All of that can be done in a number of ways. Returning home and gaining meaningful employment is the first challenge. Second, the loss of our language and the cultural fluency prevents source-to-listener learning that would otherwise require an interpreter. Third, there are inter-tribal and intra-tribal conflicts which impose barriers for students seeking to learn old-ways that a non native system fails to recognize. Last and most important of all is the dwindling number

of elders who possess the full spectrum of knowledge that our people must retain if our culture is to survive in all its richness. I am finding that although there continue to be fluent speakers of our tribal languages, there is also a decline among our cultural bearers and spiritual healers, which should create a sense of urgency for American Indian scholars, researchers, and students in an attempt to reverse this trend. However, as my father and one of my brothers repeat, knowing the language is the key! It is one reason I advocate for the establishment of an Oral History – Archives Facility at tribal colleges, complete with all modern technology and equipment to begin recording stories. The intrusion of American lifestyles upon tribal lifeways and the advent of print and electronic technologies have disrupted traditional methods of gaining knowledge which allowed stories to be handed down from generation to generation without distorting their authenticity. Oral storytelling requires active listening, keen memory, and effective oratory skills to engage the listener. Some stories provide the basis of detailed songs that are sung during ceremonies that may last anywhere from one hour to several days, thus making it important to be compliant and deliberate in listening, watching, learning, understanding, and thinking, before acting or speaking.

Insofar as developing and following an American Indian Studies process which respects the established academy and American Indian traditional ways, this research has remained compatible to both, although reconciling them required more time than expected. As it was required to seek and secure informed consent agreements with university officials and American Indian governments for permission to talk to elders and other bearers of expert knowledge, it was also equally if not more important to talk in

advance with the subject of an interview and make an offering of tobacco or corn pollen, and perhaps a financial offering before arranging to ask questions. After securing consent it was essential to schedule a ceremony to make prayers and offer songs in order to acknowledge the sacred elements and supplicate deities regarding what was being embarked upon, or to clarify intentions, including creating new knowledge that would ultimately benefit students, especially by developing yet another story that would advance the future growth of Diné College.

I conclude further that the Tribal College movement, beginning with Diné College, continues to represent a remarkable and significant contribution that American Indians can make to their tribes and provide immeasurable cultural benefits. Tribal members who become interested in studying at or working at a tribal college, including board members and policy makers, must understand the full spectrum of the political and legislative history of American Indians, primarily the affects of colonization on tribal culture, language, and identity. They must understand the scope and power of sovereignty as it reaches beyond political affairs to grasp fully what it means to be a tribally-controlled college ranging from governance, operations, management, policies, and procedures. That broad awareness is what distinguishes Diné College from any other educational institution not only in the United States, but perhaps in the world. Finally, that awareness must take into account the wellspring of belief, faith, spirit, and resilience emanating from customs, traditions, and practices. It must also recognize a prevailing Diné traditional philosophy, with its attendant understanding even in the face of whatever ridicule, criticism, resistance, or ostracism that may greet any effort to fulfill the vision of

those leaders who undertake to establish and maintain a tribal college. Above all, such an effort should be acknowledged and remembered in behalf of their power, strength, foresight, and resolute determination.

Recommendations

- To establish guidelines for future Diné College presidents to learn the stories, songs, prayers, ethics, conduct, process, procedures, *k'e'* relationships required of a cultural, educational, and professional leader/caretaker of a tribally controlled post-secondary institution.
- To understand and appreciate all implications of the ceremonial cane, “*gish*,” and the sacred items contained within the College’s ceremonial basket as the absolute paragon of the College. A president must believe unequivocally that the College lives, thinks, feels, tastes, touches, hears, sees and even smells. That the College has a spiritual and cultural identity that demands the necessary time to process purposefully the various ceremonies, prayers, and songs integral to its spirit and growth in accordance with the full cycle of creation stories. That activity should include both the Navajo traditional ceremonies and the Native American Church, *Azee BeeNahagha*, ceremonies as a complimentary way of healing and blessing in as much as they were jointly utilized during the dedication of the College as a tribally-controlled post-secondary educational institution.
- To understand the concept of *Atchi Silah* – duality, an inextricably integrated union of complimentary elements which remain inter-dependent and mutually essential to

achieving balance and harmony or a state of *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon* in a life-long process that can restore clarity, strength, peace, and harmony when conflict arises at any level. For example, the duality should unite plans and budget, instructor, student, parent, the College and its employees, the Board of Regents and the president -- all dually inter-related and inter-dependent components of a vibrant institution; all standing in harmonious counter-balance; all counter-acting in a single purpose; all of equal value in sharing a single purpose and in meeting a common responsibility.

- To provide training for tribal college governing board members, presidents, administrators, and staff who seek to understand and perpetuate the historical activities, purpose, and philosophy that led to the establishment of Diné College, in as much as tribal colleges are intended to be unique in meeting the needs customized to fit a specific tribal nation.
- To provide training for tribal legislators and policy-makers regarding the ongoing leadership and exercise of tribal sovereignty established by former political, educational, and cultural leaders who came to appreciate the importance of tribally-appropriate higher learning.
- To serve as a guide for tribal governments and their leaders without their own college as they contemplate the idea of establishing one of their own. The Diné College story can serve as a model to ensure a post-secondary education relevant to their history, culture, language, and philosophy.

- To expand the use of oral history and storytelling as relevant, authentic, and essential in teaching and learning about American Indians, in research, pedagogy, and methodology.
- To serve as a guide for future educators at Diné College on the importance, purpose, and process that ceremonies provide in maintaining its inextricably linked spiritual health, growth, and well-being.
- To guarantee that future Diné College presidents will understand the importance of the Corn-Stalk model and the development of Thinking (*Nitsahakees*), Planning (*Nahata*), Living (*Iina*), and Assurance, (*Siih Hasin*) as tenets grounded in Navajo traditional teachings and ceremonies and then as an ongoing curriculum foundation.
- To educate Indian and non-Indian students and researchers at all levels on how a tribal college incorporates spirituality, songs, prayers, culture, language, history, and philosophy into an educational setting, including the respect that should be accorded the resilience, fortitude, and will of a given original institutions' founders.
- To contribute to other emerging American Indian Studies methodologies, which are described as multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary, and tend to be holistic and inter-related.
- To remind tribal colleges, which are relatively young institutions within the larger higher education family, that both American Indian and American curricula can be incorporated in governance, management, and teaching, but that doing so requires time and careful leadership, especially when it comes to documenting oral history to record the political and legislative history of a given institution. Such a history can

thus be seen as an integral part of a tribe's cultural history, and can facilitate further growth and sustainability.

- To create research opportunities for Native American engineering/architectural students in planning, designing, and constructing facilities (educational, health, governmental, and cultural) relevant to and respectful of tribal history, especially when pertaining to creation stories.
- To understand the negative effects of American-based education with its heavy influence as a result of Euro-American policies toward American Indian communities in order to compensate for those effects with a culturally-relevant curriculum, with appropriate governance and operating structure, and with facilities that can impart to students at a tribal institution a proud identity.
- To serve as a guide for the development of relevant text books and other resources useful to members of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. A broader appreciation is called for throughout that group's membership of the vision, leadership, actions, and cultural significance of the activities that brought about the establishment of the first tribal college in the United States. It is important for other tribally controlled postsecondary institutions to recognize that to be a true tribal college the mission, governance, curriculum, and operations must emanate from tribal land, history, culture, language, and philosophy. A true tribal college must be the creation of the tribal government in question, located on tribal lands where the student population should represent the tribal community itself. Boards of Regents of tribal colleges should be cognizant of and maintain respect for the traditions and practices

of all Native American communities, and should assign to them an importance equal to that of non-Indian policies, procedures, and practices (See the advice from Dr. Roessel about “being” culturally Native rather than biological and linguistically Native). Appointment guidelines for Board of Regents, presidents, faculty, and staff should be based first on American Indian then non-Indian criteria and guidelines.

Recommendations for Diné College

It is essential to the future of Diné College, and to its vitality and viability to develop and maintain capacities in the following areas in order to meet the current and future needs of the Navajo Nation:

- Revisit the original vision and mission, and renew the commitment of everyone, from the Board of Regents, the president, the executive and academic administration, staff, and the faculty, to re-dedicate themselves to achieving the vision and its attendant mission.
- Tribal control means shared governance, shared administration, shared management, shared responsibility, and shared ownership of mistakes and achievements alike – all based on the creation stories of the Diné people, whereby the curriculum reflects four twelve week sessions, with respect to the four times of the day, the four natural seasons, the four natural elements, and the four principles of *Nitsahakees, Nahata, Iina, doo Siih Hasin*. This model would be consistent with the twelve principles of each sacred element, the twelve feathers of a bird’s tail, the twelve ears on a corn stalk, and the traditional basket’s twelve teachings.

- To establish an endowment fund by drawing from gaming revenues to increase annual appropriations from the Navajo Nation, including a lottery-based scholarship fund to support student scholarships that could include subsidies for per-college courses and programs into which seventy-five to ninety-five percent of the College's incoming students test into.
- Further expand and strengthen the College's strategic reflecting the fiscal resources and vast needs of the Navajo Nation. Maintain a clear, measurable, and practical vision, with a mission and set of goals and objectives grounded on the College's special philosophy and its capacity to nourish enthusiasm for a meaningful higher education experience on the Navajo Nation.
- Within the grasp of Diné College is the realistic opportunity to develop an array of bachelor degree programs in six major areas that meet the challenges and needs of the Navajo Nation. It has taken forty years to achieve ten-year accreditation status of the two-year associate degree programs, as well as approval for the first bachelor's degree program at Diné College. The next forty years must begin by re-visioning a future through a culturally-appropriate framework (See APPENDIX T) that achieves the following institutional goals:
 1. Distinguish the Diné Studies degree program as uniquely Navajo by having it based on Diné epistemology, cosmology, and traditions. A solid Diné Studies degree program on that basis validates the original vision of the College's founders. It would be appropriate to engage the elders and respected traditional, cultural, and spiritual experts as faculty. The parallel establishment of the Diné

Policy Institute (DPI) is intended to generate policy recommendations based on natural, traditional, customary, and common laws and principles. Consequently the DPI would expand research capacity of the overall Diné Studies degree program along with individual courses.

2. Expand the current bachelor's degree in Education, now limited to elementary education, to include early childhood education and secondary education, with endorsements in bi-lingual and bi-cultural areas. With over 250 schools at the K-12 levels on the Navajo Nation, building partnerships with all major school districts will broaden the mission and purpose of Diné College to include teacher training at all levels.
3. Further develop the Environmental degree program which now allows the study of renewable and sustainable natural resources to include protecting and utilizing the natural environment and resources of the Navajo Nation in a respectful and eco-friendly manner. The development of an allied Diné Environmental Institute would strengthen the research arm of the math, science, and technology programs at the College. Furthermore, programs offered in partnership with other land-grant colleges and universities would create additional research opportunities and experiences for students.
4. Develop the Diné Health Institute which builds from courses currently leading to certification in mental, behavioral, physical, and spiritual health services. These programs should include courses in traditional healing practices of American Indian and Diné cultural and spiritual practitioners. Appropriately trained

counselors are needed at schools, juvenile centers, jails, health service units, and family shelters, to name a few beneficiaries. Further program expansion should include nursing, dental, and health occupation services.

5. Develop a Diné Business and Hospitality Institute and a bachelor's degree program that prepares students to become entrepreneurs, accountants, managers, controllers, hospitality specialists, and gaming/resort experts in improving the economy on the Navajo Nation through cultural tourism. Such career areas can bring employment opportunities not easily accessible to Navajo students in the past, or qualify them for professions they could not expect to fill.
6. Develop a Diné Arts Institute to study and advance Diné and western arts in the performing, literary, fine, and cultural arts. With its rich traditions in weaving, jewelry-making, dance, storytelling, drawing, and mural design, Navajo tradition endows young people with a propensity for the arts to start with. Thus, opportunities are endless in this important area, including the current initiative to build a public radio program within the Humanities and Fine Arts division as an expansion of a communications degree program while providing community education services in history, culture, language, music, and other media for spreading information, and enlightenment more widely throughout the Navajo community. Another component of cultural tourism and stimulus to the Navajo economy through the richness of Diné culture and history.
7. Establish a Comprehensive Transition Program for students requiring pre-college preparation courses. It must be understood that a bachelor's degree in the

aforementioned areas inherently demands adequate pre-college preparation and a strong foundation in general education. Recognize the importance of creating a bridge program for pre-college course preparations in math and literacy. For College-bound Navajo students, that must include reading, writing, and speaking Diné. The Navajo Nation needs to embrace an expanded vision of what Diné College should do to perpetuate our rich culture, including its stories, songs, performing and creative arts and philosophy. An open-door policy of building a bridge for young, pre-college students to make their way more easily to a post-secondary education and thus reach the potential their Navajo heritage offers them should be a top priority among all educators, parents, and leaders of the Navajo Nation.

8. Strengthen further an already strong Liberal Arts degree program which includes general education courses which are well articulated and transferable. A Diné liberal arts degree program must maintain a balance between Navajo and non-Navajo courses, taught by a committed and qualified faculty.
9. The Diné College Archival and Special Collections facility with its auxiliary programs, which includes the cultural museum and various special collections, needs strong leadership, steady advocacy, and financial backing from the Navajo Nation's governmental branches, its private sector, and its individual chapter communities. This study thus strongly recommends that the Navajo Nation fully invest in the building of an expanded Diné Archival and Special Collections facility at both the Tsaille and Shiprock campuses where libraries currently exist.

Funds are needed to purchase audio and visual equipment for recording the stories and songs of our elders and other tradition bearers. The preservation of such material for future generations is an important endeavor that the Navajo Nation must support unequivocally. Once these stories are recorded on tape or electronically digitized, they need to be transcribed, translated, and developed as curriculum, circulated as teachings external to the classroom, utilized in workshops, and appropriately stored and safeguarded, depending on the nature and scope of the content. Building a comprehensive Archival and Special Collections facility staffed by adequately trained specialists and properly equipped with temperature-controlled units, electronic hardware and software, and appropriate holding vaults, requires a strong commitment. Policies and procedures will be needed to assure access opportunities for students, researchers, cultural experts, and the general public regarding information and artifacts contained at both facilities. In addition to the maintenance and distribution of these significant cultural resources, there is a need for a sufficiently large facility to house and properly maintain important documents, photographs, and cultural artifacts of the Navajo people that in their totality represent the wide swath of an ancient and forever enduring Navajo identity and Diné intellectual “property.” Although the current Navajo Nation Museum and Library offers some of these areas of services, they are limited by their lack of vaults, temperature-controlled rooms and specialized equipment to safeguard the integrity of the resource items they contain. This initiative must be considered a priority; funds must be sought

to plan, design, secure, and build facilities, and to install services for this strategic project, which would stand as a lasting result of this oral history of Diné College.

We must act now or relinquish our responsibility to protect, perpetuate, and sustain our rich oral traditions with their lasting customs, and practices, and their enduring knowledge. Before we lose an important segment of our population - our elders - we must record their stories, songs, and perhaps our ceremonies, and preserve them for current application and future use in areas like language, culture, history, art, health, environment, energy, and education.

10. The Diné College Press must be rekindled and maintained as a resource center. It is an invaluable resource for demonstrating to readers the rich cultural diversity we Diné enjoy, and allows our scholars and writers to publish their works of art.
11. Diné College must continue to forge and maintain partnerships with other colleges and universities, community organizations, K-12 schools, health and fitness programs, and cultural and spiritual leaders in the ongoing pursuit of academic and non-academic education and training in a lifelong enterprise of continuing education and future prosperity.
12. Diné College must have a caring heart and invite our elders to teach and learn to take classes, for or without cost. Our students with disabilities also need to have their learning interest met in a meaningful way. Parents and grandparents should be able to take classes for half the cost or at no cost whatsoever.

In closing, I want to acknowledge in one final gesture the time, the energy, the prayers and the songs put forth by the original founders in creating the rich cultural history of Diné College – for the past, present, and the future (See APPENDIX U). Above all, I wish to recognize the ceremonies they perpetuated in hogans that continue to bellow smoke where our Diné way of life still prevails. From those early fires and the songs that nourished them the enduring spirit of our Diné way of life provides the sacred energy that sustains Diné College and will be sustained by it for many generations to come.

Dii bee, Shitsijí Hózhoo doo Dii bee, Shikéédéé Hozhoo doo

Dii bee, Shiyaagi Hózhoo doo Dii bee, Shikí'gi Hozhoo doo

Dii bee, Shinaaghi, taa altsó' Hozhoo doo

Dii bee, Shizaad ha'izhóqdo

Dii bee, Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon nishlį́į́dó

Hozhoo Ná'ásdlii

Hozhoo Ná'á'dlii

Hozhoo Ná'ásdlii

Hozhoo Ná'á'dlii

APPENDIX A

DINÉ COLLEGE BOARD OF REGENTS RESOLUTION



DINÉ COLLEGE

Office of the President

DC-JAN-1880-07

RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS
DINÉ COLLEGE

Approving the Request of President Ferlin Clark to Conduct Qualitative Research at Diné College for his Dissertation Entitled "In Becoming Si'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon: The Historical Challenges and Triumphs of Diné College."

WHEREAS:

1. The Diné College Board of Regents is empowered to exercise authority and control over Diné College and is responsible for the accomplishment of the Diné College purposes, 10 NNC § 2003 (1995 ed.); and
2. The Diné College is a non-profit post secondary educational institution chartered by the Navajo Nation Council in 1968 for the purposes of providing educational opportunities to the Navajo people and others in areas important to the economic and social development of the Navajo Nation and other purposes, 10 NNC § 2002; and
3. The Diné College Resolution, DC-JUN-1801-04, appointed Ferlin Clark as President of Diné College and authorized the President to continue activities related to his academic progress for which he is enrolled during his contracted employment period; and
4. President Ferlin Clark has advanced to candidacy in his doctoral academic program at the University of Arizona-American Indian Studies Program and he is required to abide by research ethics and codes of conduct as stipulated by the University of Arizona's Institutional Review Board and the Navajo Nation's Human Research Review Board's-Institutional Review Board (IRB) Research Protocol; and
5. Pursuant to the Navajo Nation's Human Research Review Board's Research Protocol, President Ferlin Clark must secure appropriate consent and approval from individuals and/or entities being research and studied, including Letters of Support and Resolutions from Agency Councils of the Navajo Nation, and in this particular case from the Board of Regents of Diné College; and
6. The Board of Regents, as a representative body of the five legislative agencies of the Navajo Nation and as the Higher Educational Institution of the Navajo Nation as authorized by Title 10, Chapter 19, of the Navajo Nation Code, is qualified and vested with the authority in areas related to Navajo education, history, culture, government, philosophy, policies, and other related areas of social, educational, historic, and cultural study and therefore is an appropriate entity as set forth within the guidelines of the IRB application; and
7. The comprehensive history of Diné College, formerly Navajo Community College, is a remarkable story that needs to be documented and shared for educational purposes and the Board

APPENDIX A**DINÉ COLLEGE BOARD OF REGENTS RESOLUTION**


of Regents supports and authorizes a qualitative study of the history of Diné College, including the interviewing of former and current Board of Regents, presidents, faculty, staff, students, and community leaders which will contribute to the academic scholarship and literature on Navajo Education as well as to the on-going development of Diné College (**Exhibit "A"**).

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

1. The Board of Regents of Diné College hereby authorizes and approves the request of President Ferlin Clark to conduct qualitative research at Diné College for his dissertation entitled "In Becoming Si'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon: The Historical Challenges and Triumphs of Diné College."
2. The Diné College Board of Regents hereby authorizes, empowers and directs the President to perform all actions deemed necessary and proper to effectuate the purpose of this resolution.

CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was duly considered by the Diné College Board of Regents at a duly called meeting held in Tsailé, (Navajo Nation) Arizona, at which a quorum was present and that same was passed by a vote of 5 in favor, 0 opposed and 0 abstained, this 25th day of January 2007.

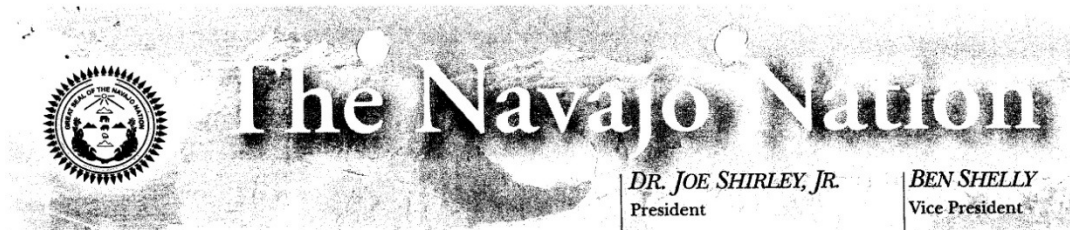


Clinton Jim, President
Diné College Board of Regents

MOTION: Dr. Bernadette Todacheene
SECOND: Evelyn M. Meadows

APPENDIX B

NAVAJO NATION IRB APPROVAL



November 5, 2007

Ferlin Clark Ph.D ©
P.O. Box 512
Navajo, NM 87328

Dear Dr. Clark:

This is to advise you that ~~Study #NNR-07-217~~ **"In Becoming Sa ah Naaghai Bik eh Hozhoon: The Historical Challenges and Triumphs of Dine College"** was presented to Navajo Nation Human Research Review Board on October 16, 2007, as initial submission and your protocol was approved effective October 16, 2007 through October 16, 2008.

The following are requirements that apply to all research studies:

1. The Navajo Nation retains ownership of all data obtained within its territorial boundaries. The Principal Investigator shall submit to the NNHRRB a plan and timeline on how and when the data/statistics will be turned over to the Navajo Nation;
2. Only the approved informed consent document(s) will be used in the study;
3. Any proposed future changes to the protocol or the consent form(s) must again be submitted to the Board for review and approval prior to implementation of the proposed change;
4. If the results of the study will be published or used for oral presentations at professional conferences, the proposed publication, abstract and/or presentation materials must be submitted to the Navajo Research Program for Board review and prior approval;
5. Upon Board approval, three (3) copies of the final publication must be submitted to the Navajo Research Program;
6. All manuscripts must be submitted to the Navajo Research Program for Board Review and prior approval;
7. The Principal Investigator must submit a dissemination plan on how the results of the study and how these results will be reported back to the Navajo Nation. The Principal Investigator must share specifically how these results will generally benefit or improve the health of the Navajo people. This can be completed by:
 - a. Conducting an educational in-service for the community people and health care providers on the Navajo Nation and present the findings. Provide documentation of these in-services presented.
 - b. Developing educational materials for use by the health care providers and the community people and providing the training on how to use the materials; and
 - c. Presenting and sharing the results of the study at a research conference sponsored by the Navajo Nation for its health care providers and the Navajo people.
8. The Principal Investigator is expected to submit documentation on 7a, b, & c.
9. The Principal Investigator must submit quarterly and annual reports as scheduled.

APPENDIX B

NAVAJO NATION IRB APPROVAL

This approval will automatically expire on **October 16, 2008** unless sooner suspended, revoked or terminated by action of the Board. A continuation of the research project may be requested by submitting a written request at least sixty (60) days prior to the expiration date to the:

Navajo Division of Health – Research Program
Post Office Box 1390
Window Rock, Arizona 86515

If you have any questions, please call the Navajo Research Program at (928) 871– 6650.

Sincerely yours,



Beverly Becenti-Pigman
Chairperson
Navajo Nation Human Research Review Board

Cc: ~~NNR-07:217~~
IRB Chrono

APPENDIX C**UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA IRB APPROVAL**

Arizona's First University – Since 1885
26 February 2008

Ferlin Clark, Student
Advisor: Manley Begay, PhD
American Indian Studies Program
PO Box 210483

RE: PROJECT NO 08-0009-02 IN BECOMING Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon: THE HISTORICAL CHALLENGES AND TRIUMPHS OF DINE COLLEGE

Dear Mr. Clark:

We received your research proposal as cited above. The procedures to be followed in this study pose no more than minimal risk to participating subjects and have been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) through an Expedited Review procedure as cited in the regulations issued by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [45 CFR Part 46.110(b)(1)] based on their inclusion under research categories 5 and 7. As this is not a treatment intervention study, the IRB has waived the statement of Alternative Treatments in the consent form as allowed by 45 CFR 46.116(d)(2). Please make copies of the attached IRB stamped consent documents to consent your subjects. Although full Committee review is not required, notification of the study is submitted to the Committee for their endorsement and/or comment, if any, after administrative approval is granted.

This project is approved with an expiration date of 26 February 2009. The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Arizona has a current Federalwide Assurance of compliance, FWA00004218, which is on file with the Department of Health and Human Services and covers this activity. Approval is granted with the understanding that no further changes or additions will be made to the procedures followed without the knowledge and approval of the Human Subjects Committee (IRB) and your College or Departmental Review Committee. Any research related physical or psychological harm to any subject must also be reported to each committee.

A university policy requires that all signed subject consent forms be kept in a permanent file in an area designated for that purpose by the Department Head or comparable authority. This will assure their accessibility in the event that university officials require the information and the principal investigator is unavailable for some reason.

Sincerely yours,
Elaine G. Jones, PhD, RN, FNAP
Chair, Social and Behavioral Sciences Human Subjects Committee
EGJ/mm

cc: Departmental/College Review Committee
Human Subjects Protection Program
1235 N. Mountain Ave.
P.O. Box 245137
Tucson, AZ 85724-5137
Tel: (520) 626-6721
<http://irb.arizona.edu>

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA IRB APPROVAL



Human Subjects
Protection Program

1235 N. Mountain Ave.
P.O. Box 245137
Tucson, AZ 85724-5137
Tel: (520) 626-6721
<http://irb.arizona.edu>

26 February 2008

Ferlin Clark, Student
Advisor: Manley Begay, PhD
American Indian Studies Program
PO Box 210483

RE: **PROJECT NO 08-0009-02** IN BECOMING Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoon: THE HISTORICAL CHALLENGES AND TRIUMPHS OF DINE COLLEGE

Dear Mr. Clark:

We received your research proposal as cited above. The procedures to be followed in this study pose no more than minimal risk to participating subjects and have been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) through an Expedited Review procedure as cited in the regulations issued by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [45 CFR Part 46.110(b)(1)] based on their inclusion under *research categories 5 and 7*. As this is not a treatment intervention study, the IRB has waived the statement of Alternative Treatments in the consent form as allowed by 45 CFR 46.116(d)(2). Please make copies of the attached IRB stamped consent documents to consent your subjects.

Although full Committee review is not required, notification of the study is submitted to the Committee for their endorsement and/or comment, if any, after administrative approval is granted. This project is approved with an **expiration date of 26 February 2009**.

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Arizona has a current *Federalwide Assurance* of compliance, *FWA00004218*, which is on file with the Department of Health and Human Services and covers this activity.

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A university policy requires that all signed subject consent forms be kept in a permanent file in an area designated for that purpose by the Department Head or comparable authority. This will assure their accessibility in the event that university officials require the information and the principal investigator is unavailable for some reason.

Sincerely yours,

Elaine G. Jones, PhD, RN, FNAP
Chair, Social and Behavioral Sciences Human Subjects Committee

EGJ/mm

cc: Departmental/College Review Committee



APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA IRB APPROVAL



Human Subjects
Protection Program

1618 E. Helen.
P.O. Box 245137
Tucson, AZ 85724-5137
Tel: (520) 626-6721
<http://irb.arizona.edu>

Continuing Review Determination

Investigator: Ferlin Clark
Project No. : 08-0009-02
Project Title: In Becoming Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hoshoon: The Historical Challenges and Triumphs of Dine College

Project Status	
<input type="checkbox"/> Enrollment in Progress or Still Planned	<input type="checkbox"/> Data Analysis Only
<input type="checkbox"/> Enrollment Closed: study procedure/intervention ongoing	<input type="checkbox"/> Concluded
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Enrollment Closed: follow-up only	<input type="checkbox"/> Study Not Begun

IRB Comments: N/A.

Documents Approved Concurrently:	Documents Reviewed Concurrently:
<input type="checkbox"/> N/A	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> N/A
<input type="checkbox"/> Consenting Instruments: Re-consent: <input type="checkbox"/> All <input type="checkbox"/> Current Only <input type="checkbox"/> Not Required	<input type="checkbox"/> Investigator's Brochure
<input type="checkbox"/> Protocol Amendments	<input type="checkbox"/> Progress Reports
<input type="checkbox"/> Protocol	<input type="checkbox"/> Study Related Problems
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> VOTF signed 2/24/09	<input type="checkbox"/> Protocol Deviation
<input type="checkbox"/> Other:	<input type="checkbox"/> Other

Period of Approval: 3/03/09—2/25/10

- Expedited Review
 Full Committee Review
 Facilitated Review



Elaine G. Jones, Ph.D., Chair
IRB2 Committee

Date Reviewed: 3/03/09

Arizona's First University – Since 1885



Reminder: Continuing Review materials should be submitted 30 – 45 days in advance of the current expiration date to obtain re-approval (projects may be concluded or withdrawn at any time using the forms available at www.irb.arizona.edu).

APPENDIX D**INFORMED CONSENT FORM****SUBJECT INFORMED CONSENT FORM*****In Becoming Sa'ah Naagháí Bik'eh Hózhóón : The Historical Challenges and Triumphs of Diné College*****Introduction**

You are being invited to take part in a research study. The information in this form is provided to help you decide whether or not to take part. The Principal Investigator will be available to answer your questions and provide additional information. If you decide to take part in the study, you will be asked to sign this consent form. A copy of this form will be given to you.

What is the purpose of this research study?

This study offers a critical examination of the history and contributions of Diné College to the Navajo Nation and to American Indian nations throughout the United States in preparing its students for professional and leadership positions that were held mostly by non-Indians in tribal government, health care, and industry on the reservation.

Why are you being asked to participate?

You are being invited because you were witness to the events, activities, and ceremonies regarding the historical developments of Diné College.

How many people will be asked to participate in this study?

Three to five people will be asked to participate in this study.

What will happen during this study?

The researcher will identify a location within the Diné College, Tsailé campus area and arrange for a comfortable area for the interview. Prior to the interview the you will be given ample time to read and ask any questions regarding this Informed Consent Form which explains the purpose and procedures of this interview. You will be informed verbally of the purpose and process of the study in Navajo and English so you understand clearly what is being asked of you. You will also be given a sheet which outlines the eight questions and each question will be explained in Navajo as well. At this point you

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

may decide to participate in the study by signing the Informed Consent Form or you can decide not to participate. You will be asked three questions within this form which you can answer yes or no in relation to being audio-taped, video-taped, to be identified in the study and also to authorize to have the study as part of the Diné College archives.

Upon signing the Informed Consent, a tape recorder and/or MP3-IPOD player with an attached microphone will be placed to record the interview session which should last approximately one hour. If you should need and request a break then a break will be provided. The interview questions will be asked sequentially. The researcher will take notes in addition to the recording.

Upon conclusion of the interview, the researcher will have the interview transcribed into Navajo and English, depending on this language is used most during the interview. Eventually the interview transcripts will be translated into English and the English version will be shared with you for your review and approval. The interview transcripts will then be analyzed, or coded, to reveal common themes, consistencies and inconsistencies, with the other interview transcripts to create a body of knowledge.

The study will be further developed within the writing of the dissertation, the dissertation defense, final recommendations, and will conclude with final approval from the researcher's committee and relevant university officials.

How long will I be in this study?

The interview will take at least one hour per informant and perhaps up to two hours depending on the answer(s) and time to clarify questions. *The interviews will be conducted in one day, one seating.*

Are there any risks to me?

The things that you will be doing have *no* risk. Although I have tried to avoid risks, you may feel that some questions I ask might be stressful or upsetting, but the information I am seeking is not intended to create stress or harm. If this occurs you can stop participating immediately. I can give you information about individuals who may be able to help you to remedy your concerns and/or feelings.

Are there any benefits to me?

You will not receive any direct benefit from taking part in this study; however you will be contributing to the historical record on Navajo Community College, now Diné College.

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

This study will fill a void in Navajo education materials. There needs to be an accurate and current publication that Navajo elementary, junior high, high school, and college students and teachers can refer to on Diné College. Of the over 240 schools operating on the Navajo Nation and the students that attend these schools, the information on tribal colleges as a powerful act of sovereignty should be mentioned as part of the history on Navajos, specifically in the area of education, culture, and history.

Will there be any costs to me?

A stipend will be provided for you to purchase gas for your vehicle; there is none to little cost for taking part in the study.

Will I be paid to participate in the study?

You will be paid an honorarium for your participation in this study.

Will video or audio recordings be made of me during the study?

Yes. Video and audio recordings will be made and transcripts from the audio will be provided to you for verification of information and data.

We will make an audio (video) recording during the study so that we can be certain that your responses are recorded accurately only if you check the box below:

I give my permission for audio/video recordings to be made of me during my participation in this research study.

I do NOT give my permission for audio/video recordings to be made of me during my participation in this research study.

Will the information that is obtained from me be kept confidential?

The information that you provide, after you are provided transcriptions of the interview, will be used as part of the research dissertation document, and for subsequent publications and presentations.

APPENDIX D**INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

I give my permission for my name to be used in this research study.

I do NOT give my permission for my name to be used in this research study.

What if I am harmed by the study procedures?

This study is not intended to harm you, but if there is any harm to you, the researcher will notify the Navajo Nation and University of Arizona Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the nature of harm. The researcher will communicate with you, and coordinate with you, a remedy that is relevant to the harm that may occur. The officials from the Navajo Nation and the University of Arizona IRB offices may also advise on how best to address the possible harm that may occur to you.

May I change my mind about participating?

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide at any time within the interview process not to participate in the study. Your refusing to participate will have no effect on *you, either personally or professionally*. You can discontinue your participation with no effect on your personal or professional status. Also any new information discovered about the research will be provided to you. This information could affect your willingness to continue your participation.

Whom can I contact for additional information?

You can obtain further information about the research or voice concerns or complaints about the research by calling the Principal Investigator, Ferlin Clark, at (928) 349-1020. If you have questions concerning your rights as a research participant, have general questions, concerns or complaints or would like to give input about the research and can't reach the Reseacher, or want to talk to someone other than the research team, you may contact the Navajo IRB Office, Ms. Beverly Becenti-Pigman, Board Chair, Navajo IRB Office. Navajo Division of Health, P.O. Box 1390, Window Rock, Arizona, 86515. Telephone number is (928) 871-6650. Fax number is (928) 871-6259; or call the University of Arizona Human Subjects Protection Program office at (520) 626-6721. (If out of state use the toll-free number 1-866-278-1455.) If you would like to contact the Human Subjects Protection Program by email, please use the following email address <http://www.irb.arizona.edu/suggestions.php>.

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Use of study for archival purposes?

I give my permission to have this research study that I am involved in to be archived at Diné College.

I do NOT give my permission that I am involved in to be archived at Diné College.

Your Signature

By signing this form, I affirm that I have read the information contained in the form, that the study has been explained to me, that my questions have been answered and that I agree to take part in this study. I do not give up any of my legal rights by signing this form.

Name (Printed)

Participant's Signature

Date signed

Statement by person obtaining consent

I certify that I have explained the research study to the person who has agreed to participate, and that he or she has been informed of the purpose, the procedures, the possible risks and potential benefits associated with participation in this study. Any questions raised have been answered to the participant's satisfaction.

Name of Study Personnel

Date signed

Study personnel Signature

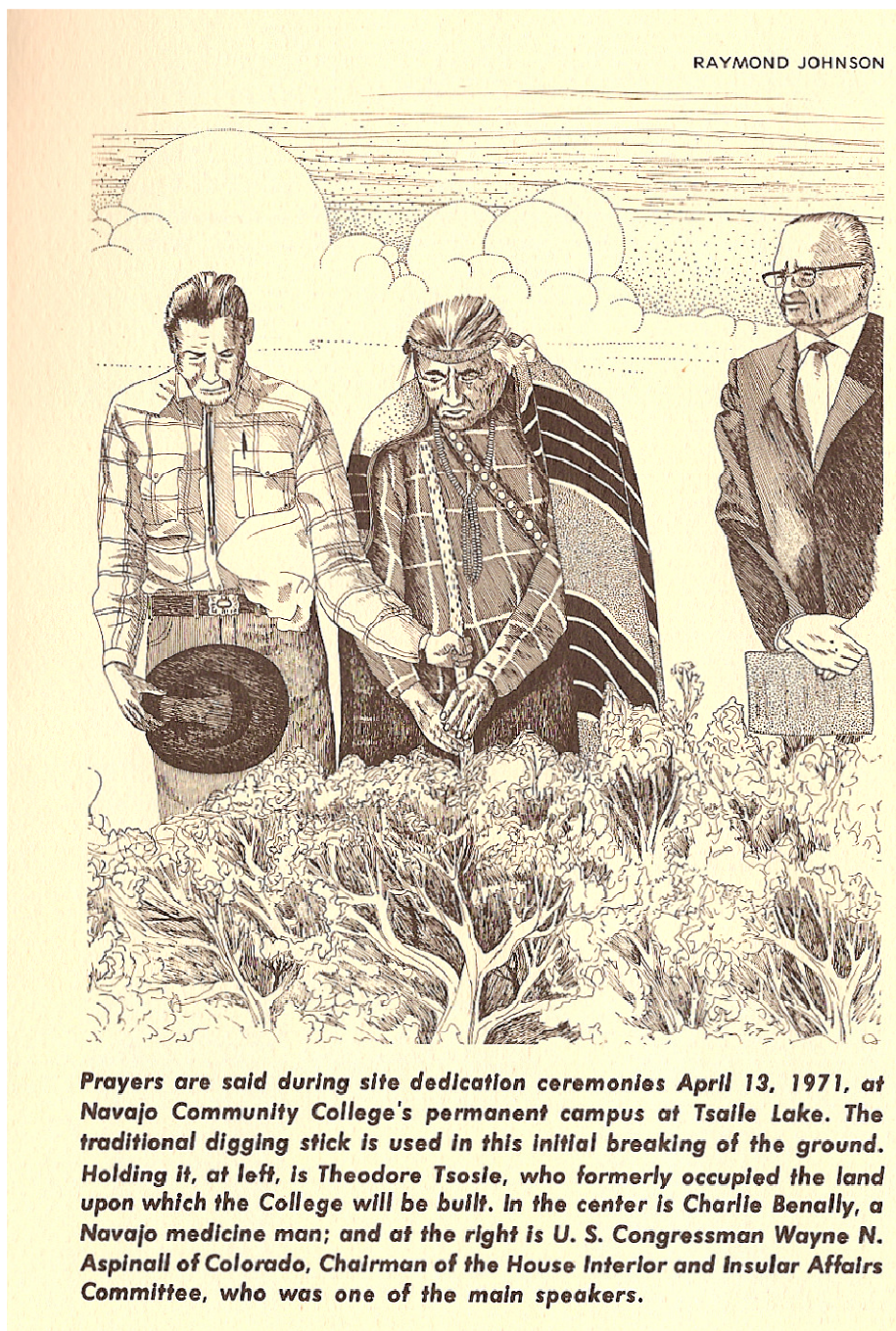
Date signed

APPENDIX F**GROUNDBREAKING PHOTO**

Site dedication of the new College.
Congressman Wayne N. Aspinall, of Colorado, and Charlie Benally
are standing at the right, with Medicine-Man Benally praying.

APPENDIX G

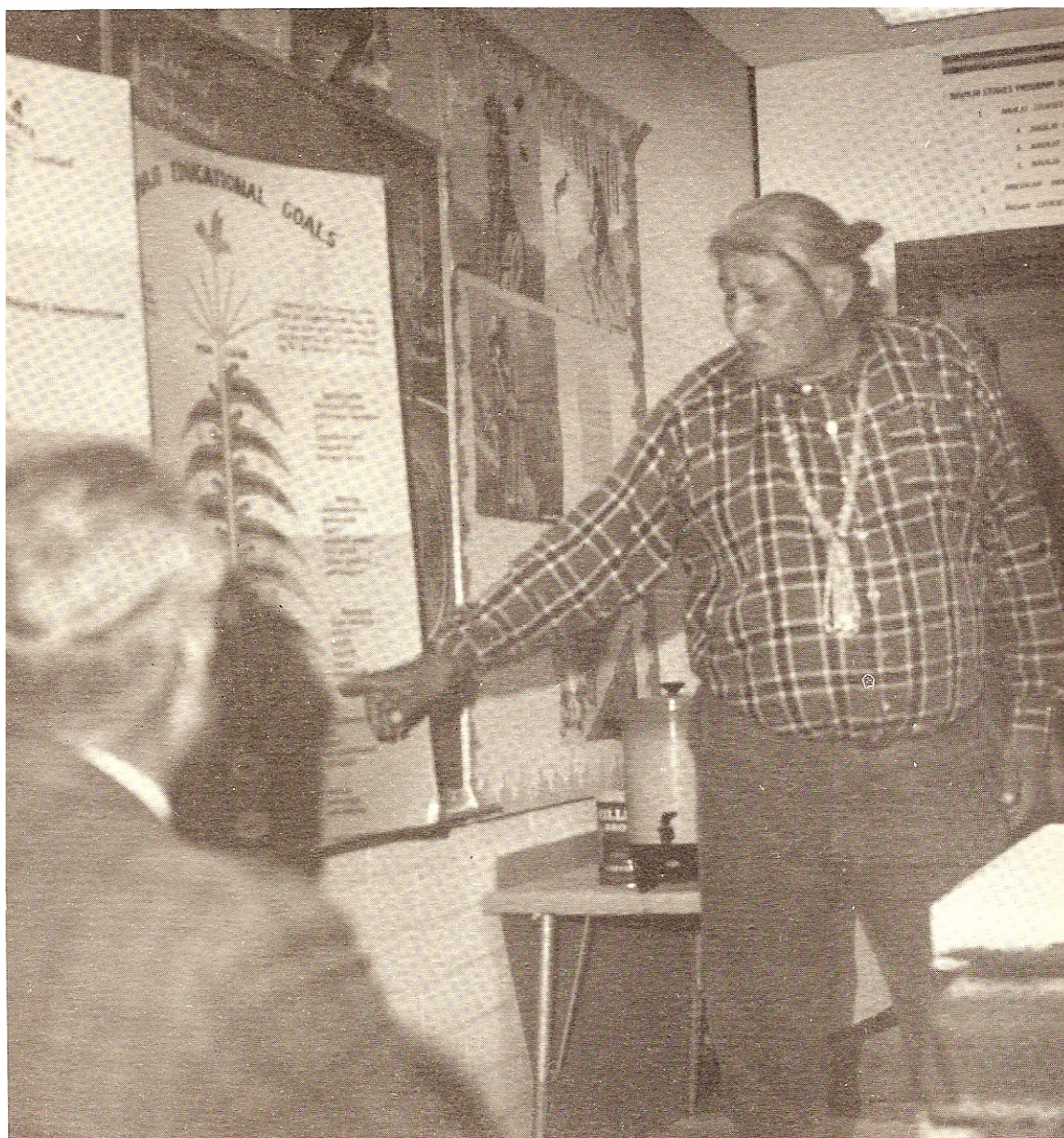
DEDICATION PHOTO



APPENDIX G**DEDICATION PHOTO**

Also at the College's dedication, with Regent member Yazzie Begay at the 1
Congressman and Mrs. Aspinall are at the right.
Charlie Benally is holding the sacred digging stick wrapped in cloth.

APPENDIX H
CORNSTALK MODEL PHOTO



Charlie Benally, medicine man, explains the "corn" symbol.

APPENDIX I

BEAUTY WAY TEACHINGS

2. Hózhóójik'ehgo Na'nitin Blessing Way Teachings

Há áhwiint'í.
Be generous and kind.

K'ézhnidzin.
Acknowledge and respect kinship and clanship.

Hane'zhindzin.
Seek traditional knowledge and traditions.

Hoí ílį.
Respect values.

Ádá hozhdíłzin.
Respect the sacred nature of the self.

Hazaad baa áhojilyá.
Have reverence and care of speech.

Hazhó'ó ajiists'áá'
Be a careful listener.

Ahééh jinįzin.
Be appreciative and thankful.

Hanitsékees k'ézdongo ájósın.
Have a balanced perspective and mind.

Há hózhó.
Show positive feelings toward others.

Dloh hodichí yá'át'éhígí hazhó'ó bee yáįilti'.
Expression of appropriate and proper sense of humor.

Ádił jidłį.
Maintain strong reverence of the self.

Hanaanish áįí'inił bízhneedłį.
Maintain enthusiasm and motivation for one's work.

Hanaanish baa hááh jinįzin.
Protect and care for one's work.

APPENDIX J

PROTECTION WAY TEACHINGS

Empowering Values of the Diné Individual

Edited by Rex Lee Jim of Diné College, 03/20/96

1. Naayée'ek'chgo Na'nitin Protection Way Teachings

Doo hoł hóyée' da.
Never be fearful.

Doo ádahozhdeeláa da.
Never be impatient.

Doo t'áadoo le'é bich'i' ni' jilji da.
Do not be hesitant.

Doo hánídziz'áa da.
Never be easily hurt.

Doo ák'e'jidlii da.
Never be overly emotional.

Doo ni' na'áhozhdiiltée da.
Do not be overly reluctant.

Doo adááh yájtiti' da.
Never be overly argumentative.

Dadilzinii jidísin.
Respect the sacred.

Doo t'áadoo le'é áde'ájilnéeh da.
Do not overburden the self.

Ázhdílt'is.
Have self discipline and be prepared for challenges.

Na'ádizhniitah.
Assert the potential.

Doo yázhnizin da.
Do not be shy.

Doo nijichxó' da.
Do not get mad.

Doo ách'i' ni'jódlii da.
Do not carry around expectations of negative circumstances.

APPENDIX K

COLLEGE ARROWHEAD LOGO



APPENDIX L

NAVAJO CLAN RELATIONSHIP CHART

How The Diné Clans are Related

Here are the first four main clans that were recreated by Changing Woman in the West.

1. Tó'áhaní.....Near The Water
2. Kinyaa'áanii..... Towering House
3. Tódích'iinii.....Bitter Water
4. Hasht'ishnii.....Mud

Organization of Clan Relationship:

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | Kinyaa'áanii
Dziít'aadii
Azeetsoh Dine'é
Tazhii Dine'é
Bit'áanii | Towering House
Near the Mountain
Big Medicine People
Turkey People
Leaf Clan |
| | <u>Adopted Clans:</u>
Halgai Dine'é
Shash Dine'é
Naadaá Dine'é | People of the Plains
Bear People
Corn People |
| 2. | Honághanii
Tó'áhaní
Ta'neeshahnii
Hashk'aahadzohí
Nihoobáanii
Ts'ahyisk'idnii
Dziít'ahnii
Dziłna'oodilnii | One Walks Around You
Near The Water
Tangle
Yucca Fruit Strung Out
Gray Streaked Ends
Sage Brush Hill
Mountain Cove
Return to the Mountain
People |
| 3. | Tódích'iinii
Tsinsikaanii
Biìh bitoonii
Tódik'ózhí | Bitter Water
Clamp Tree
Deer Spring Clan
Salt Water |

APPENDIX L

NAVAJO CLAN RELATIONSHIP CHART

	Tł'ógi	Hairy One or Weaver - Zia
	Tséikeehí	Two Rocks That Sit
	Yoo'ó Dine'é	The Bead People
	<u>Adopted Clans:</u>	
	Tóbaazhni'ázhí	Two Who Came To The Water
	K'aa' Dine'é	The Arrow People
	Naakétt'áhi	Flat Foot People - Pima
	K'aa'hináanii	The Living Arrow
	Biihyáázh Dine'é	Little Deer People
	Yoo'ó Dine'é Tódichii'nii	The Bead People of Bitter Water
4.	Tósohnii	Big Water
	Hooghanłani	Many Hogans
	Dzaaneezłani	Many Mules
	Tsedeeeshgiizh	Rock Gap
	Hashtł'ishnii	Mud
	Lok'aa' Dine'é	Reed People
	Bit'ahnii	Within His Cover
5.	Tábaahí	Water's Edge
	Naadáá' Dine'é Tábaahí	Water's Edge Corn Clan
	Naasht'ézhí Dine'é Tábaahí	Water's Edge Zuni Clan
	Haltsooi	Meadow People
	Tóbaazhni'ázhí	Two Who Came To Water
6.	Táchii'nii	Red Running Into Water People
	Ná't'oh Dine'é	Tobacco People
	Ye'ii Dine'é	Holy People
	Dólii Dine'é	Blue Bird People
	Nasht'ezhi Dine'é	Zuni Clan

APPENDIX L

NAVAJO CLAN RELATIONSHIP CHART

	Biih Dine'é Táchii'nii	Deer People of the Red Running Into The Water
	Gah Dine'é Táchii'nii	Rabbit People of the Red Running Into The Water
	<u>Adopted Clans:</u>	
	T'íizidaalchí'í	Red Goat People
7.	Tsénjikini	Cliff Dweller People
	Dibétizhini	Black Sheep
	Ashiihnii	Salt People (extinct)
	Ma'íideeshgiizhnii	Coyote Pass - Jemez
	Ashiihí	Salt People
	Kinítsonii	Yellow House People
	Dzi'na'oodi'nii	Return To The Mountain People
8.	Tó'áheedliinii	Water Flow Together
	Naakaii Dine'é	The Mexican Clan
9.	Tsi'naajii	Black Streaked Wood People
	Deeshchii'nii	Start Of The Red Streak People
	Kinlichii'nii	Red House
	T'íizitani	Many Goats
	T'aashchí'í	Red Bottom People
	<u>Adopted Clans:</u>	
	Shash Dine'é	The Bear People
	T'íisch'ébanii	Gray Cottonwood Extending Out
10.	Ats'os Dine'é	The Feather People
11.	Biihtsoh Dine'é	The Big Deer People
12.	'iich'ah Dine'é	The Moth People (extinct)

APPENDIX L

NAVAJO CLAN RELATIONSHIP CHART

13.	Jaa'yaaloolii	The Sticking Up Ears People
14.	Kéha'atiinii	The Foot Trails People
15.	Naashashí	Tewa Clan
16.	Naashgalí Dine'é	Mescalero Apache People
17.	Naayizí Dine'é	Squash People
18.	Nóoda'í Dine'é	Ute People
19.	Séibeehooghanií	The Sand Hogan People
20.	Tó'ászoli	The Light Water People
21.	Tsinyeena'alo'ii	Tree Stretcher



APPENDIX M

NAVAJO CALENDAR

were created. One was made to be the day and the other was made to be night, to control the months and seasons.

They were especially made to be used for these purposes. The sun was made to lighten the days and keep things warm. Also to give the earth, plants, human beings, animals and insects, in fact all creations, movement into the growth of life. In other words the sun was to make things grow and to give light for the day creatures.

The moon was made to change in cycles, from the new moon to the full moon. This was made to tell the months, so that the humans will live by this, thereafter. Also it was made to give light to the night for the night creatures. It was made too for the purpose of giving life to things that grow at night. They were placed far above us in the sky.

NAHIDIZIDI

months

Name of the Month:

a.	Yasniit'ees	January
b.	Atsa Biyaázh	February
c.	Wóózhch'íí'd	March
d.	T'áá'ch'il	April
e.	T'áá'tsoh	May
f.	Ya'iishjááshchilí	June
g.	Ya'iishjááshsoh	July
h.	Bini'ant'ááts'ózi	August
i.	Bini'ant'ááts'oh	September
j.	Ghąąjį'	October
k.	Ní'ch'its'ósi	November
l.	Ní'ch'itsoh	December

1. Yasniit'ees - Roasting of Snow - January

- Coyote made the name Yasniit'ees.
- Snow was a white powder-like substance.
- Coyote was thrifty. He took a handful of it and put it over a fire to melt it for water. The powder substance became a wet white substance.

APPENDIX N

NAVAJO BASKET/HOGAN STRUCTURE – AERIAL VIEW



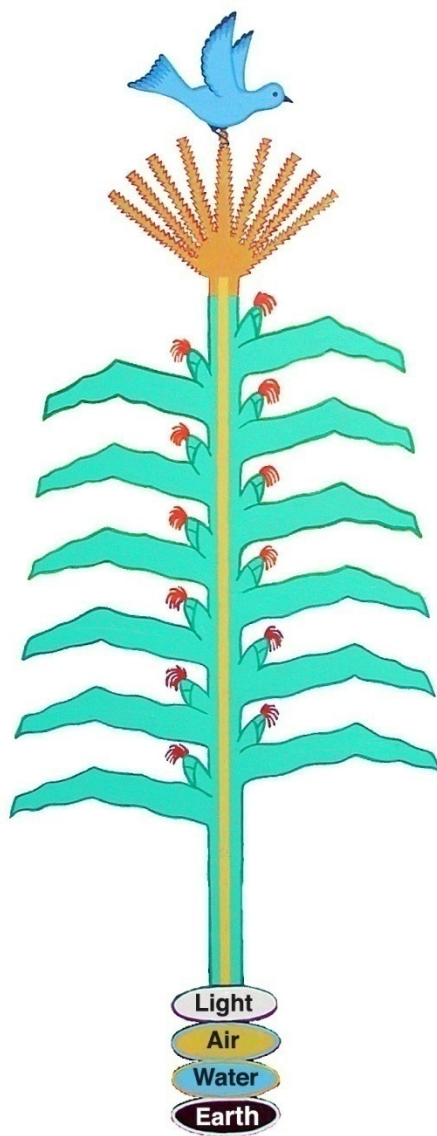
APPENDIX O

DIWIZHIISZHIIN GISH



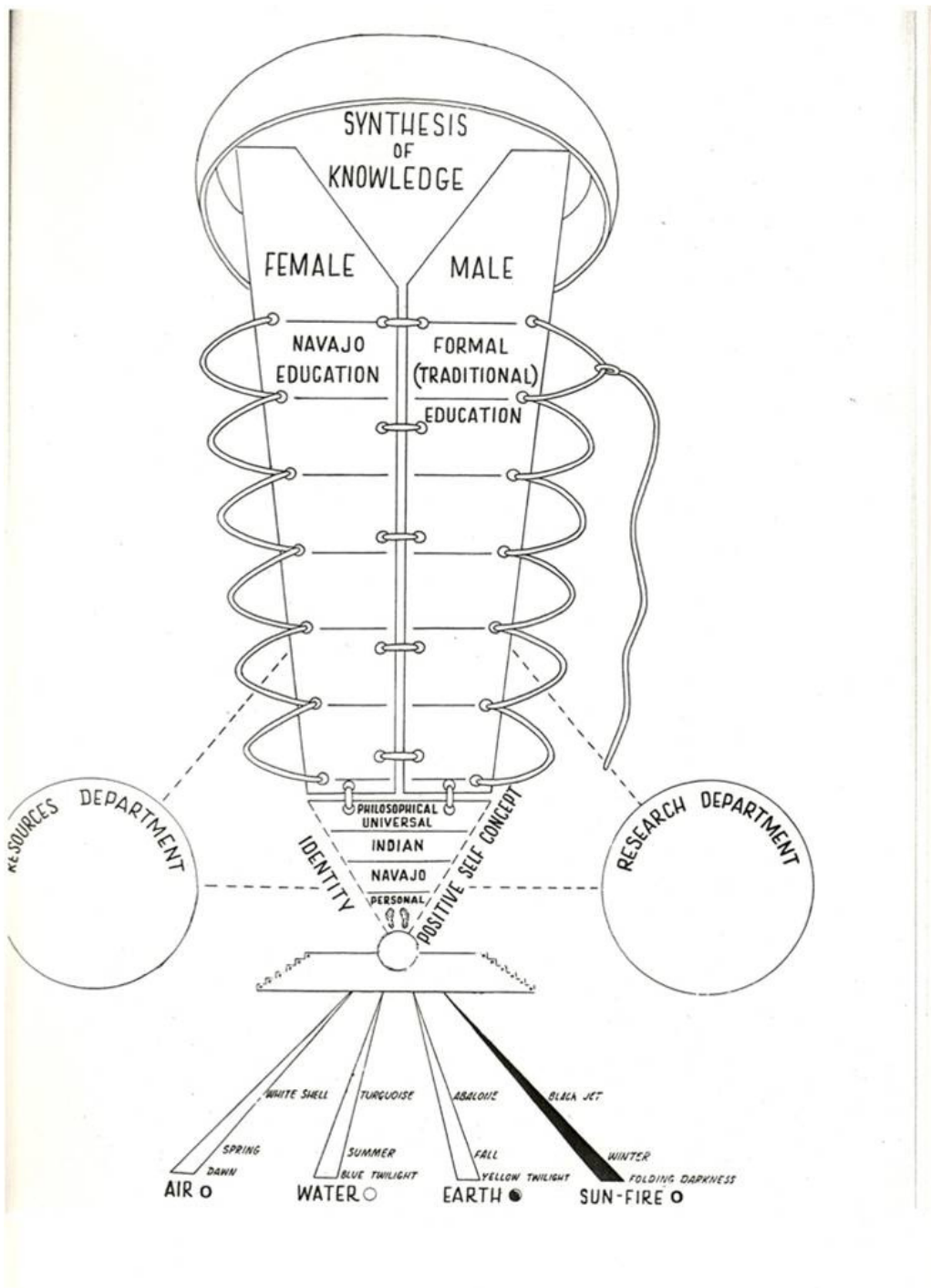
APPENDIX P

NA'DAA - CORNSTALK



APPENDIX Q

A'WEETSAAL - CRADLEBOARD



APPENDIX R

A'TSAA - BASKET

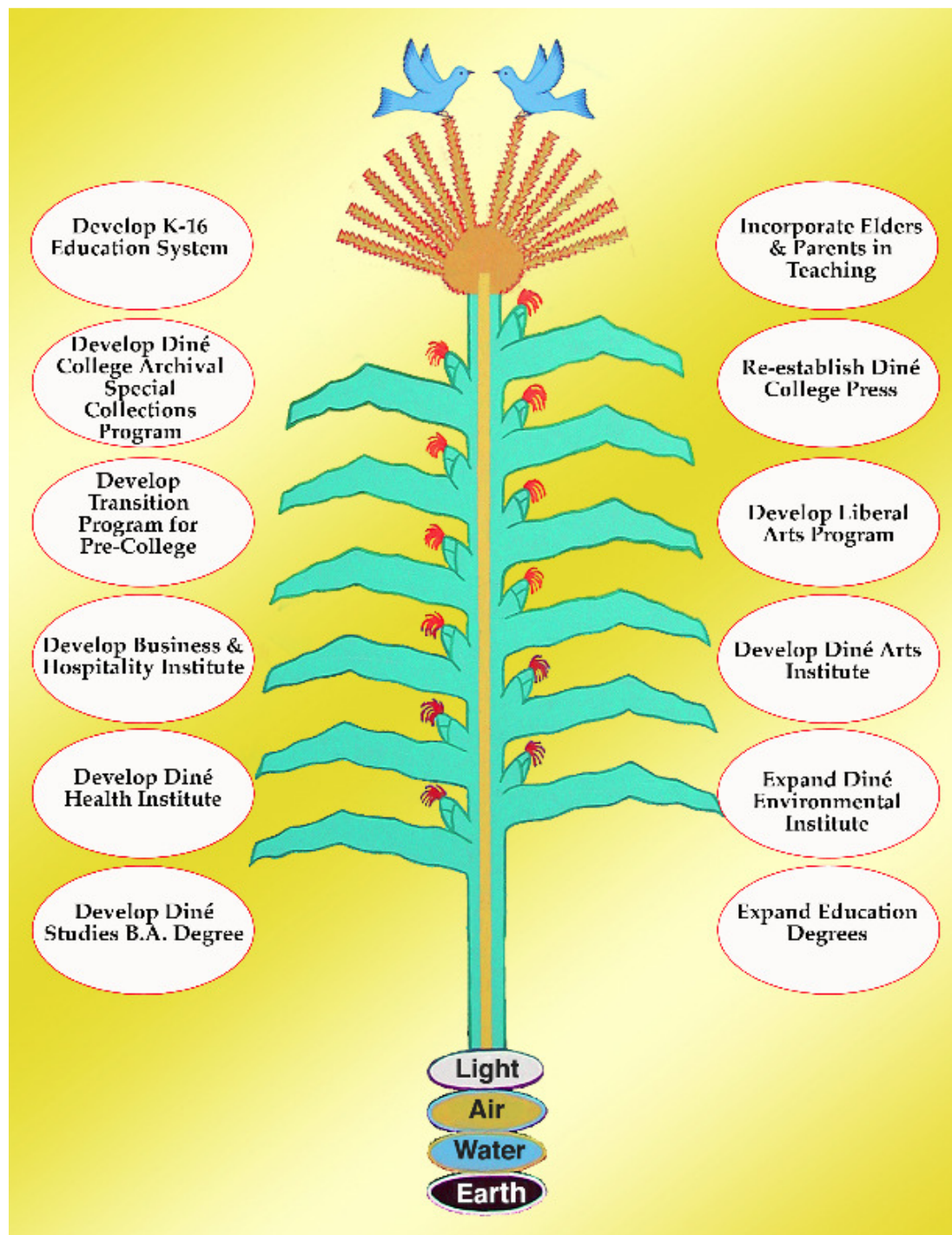


APPENDIX S

DA'AASTLO - TAPESTRY



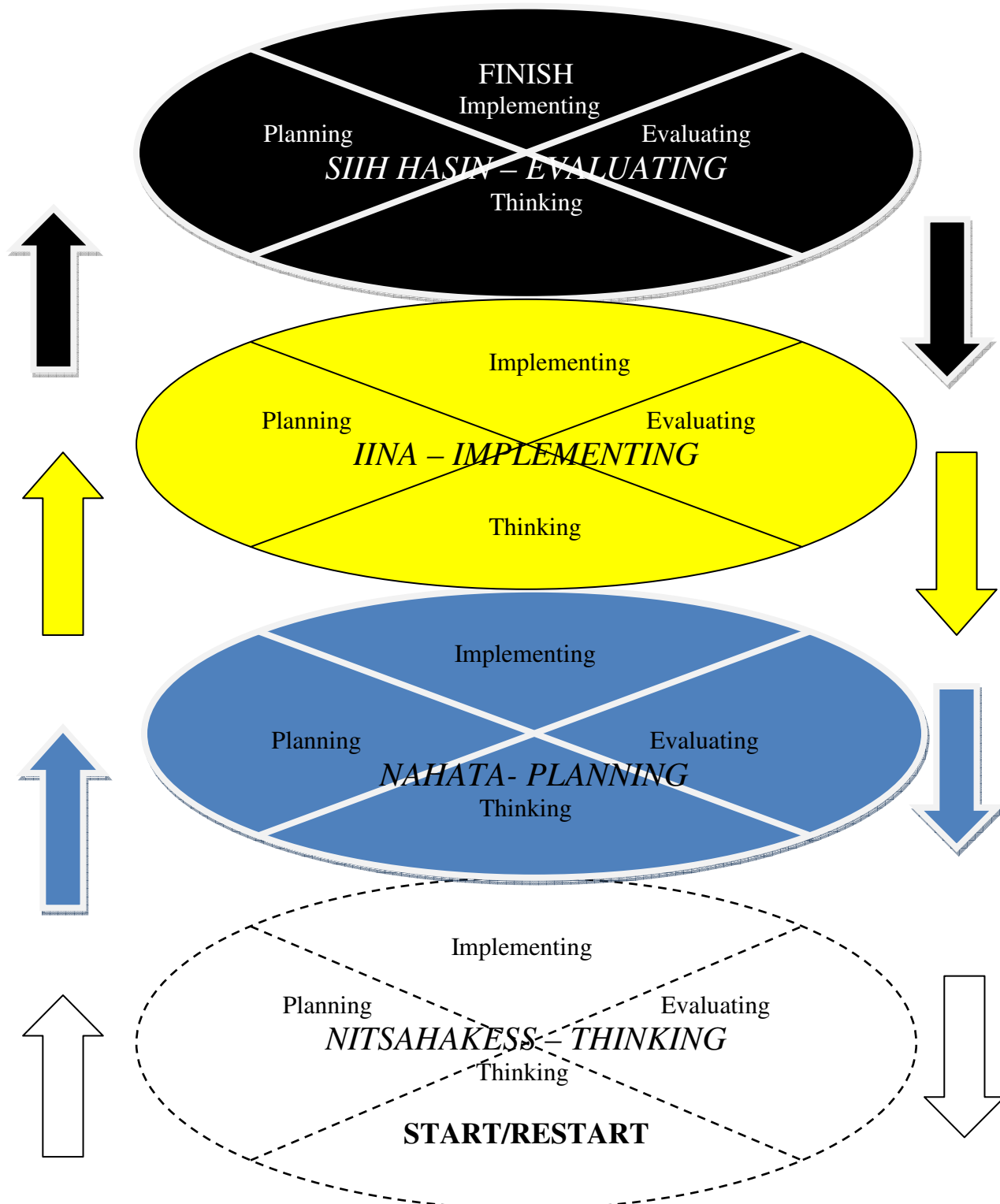
APPENDIX T
PLANNING FRAMEWORK



APPENDIX T

PLANNING FRAMEWORK

Cyclical Framework for Achieving Goals



APPENDIX U

THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE



APPENDIX U

THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE



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