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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MOTHER'S EDUCATION
AND EARLY CHILD REARING PRACTICES IN
A SOUTHWESTERN INDIAN PUEBLO

by

Sherry D. Remund

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Family and Child Development

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Sherry Douglas Remund

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ABSTRACT

A Comparative Study of Mother's Education

And Early Child Rearing Practices in

A Southwestern Indian Pueblo

by

Sherry D. Remund, Master of Science

Utah State University, 1975

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The problem on which this study focused was the need to determine the manner and degree to which pluralistic values of the greater American Society are influencing family life and child rearing patterns of a Southwestern Indian Pueblo. (The Southwestern Pueblo is not named for reasons of anonymity.) The intent of the study was to determine the degree to which Southwestern Pueblo mothers have been affected by their education in a non-Indian culture as related to child rearing practices in the pre-school years.

The study tests the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the early child rearing practices of mothers educated on the reservation and those mothers educated off the reservation in a non-Indian culture.

Methodologically, a sample of 30 mothers were interviewed by the researcher in the Fall of 1974. Fifteen mothers were representative of the non-reservation educated mothers and 15 mothers were educated on the reservation.

The instrument used in the interviews was adapted from Schroeder who did a similar study at Jemez Pueblo in 1960. Her study served as a comparative base for this research.

Out of 76 items, only five showed a significant difference in the responses of the two groups of mothers at the .05 level. Therefore the hypothesis was not rejected.

Generally, the reservation educated mothers were more permissive in areas of feeding than non-reservation educated mothers. This same permissiveness for the reservation educated mothers held true in regard to toilet training practices and in the areas of discipline, the reservation educated mothers leaned toward the traditional maternal extended family pattern. More of the children in the reservation-educated group lived in their maternal grandmother's home. All mothers in both groups realized change was occurring, but most hoped their child would preserve some of the Indian culture and feel proud to be an Indian.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Origin of the Problem

This research is an attempt to investigate child rearing practices in a Southwestern Indian Pueblo and help determine to what degree the traditional way of child rearing still prevails among two groups of Indian mothers. Child rearing is an important way of tapping rapid change in a society. Specifically, this research assessed child rearing as one part of the culture of the Pueblo Indian family to determine if the type of education of Indian Mothers has any effect on the culture, namely child rearing practices.

On the question of culture change among Indians, there are differing schools of thought. On the one end of the continuum is the idea that the Indians still hold strong to all of their culture and Indian ways of life. On the other end, it is believed that the Indian culture has been completely destroyed, and there is nothing left to do but abandon their Indian way of life. Langan says that ". . . the major problem with these approaches are that researchers who see it this way as traditional versus progressive are generally non-Indian and are looking into the Indian world rather than having the basic understanding or view from inside of the Indian." (p. 1) Realistically, there are many combinations and re-combinations of Indian adaptation and acculturation on a continuum such as this.

In the researcher's teaching experience at a Southwestern Indian Pueblo, it was apparent that the Indian people had become partly conditioned to new cultural patterns, especially in the most general aspects of American culture such as utilitarian items like cars, new home styles, and clothing. The younger children are quick to learn the most obvious aspects of the culture in school, on television and radio, and through occasional trips to Albuquerque, New Mexico and other larger cities in the Southwest. Linton (1945) cited by Schroeder (1960) says that

Cultures are continuums in a constant state of change and as such have their own processes of growth, of establishment of new response patterns and of elimination of old ones. These processes are dependent upon the ability of members of a society to develop new forms of behavior, to learn and to forget. However, cultural processes normally operate over time spans much longer than those comprised within the life cycle of any one member of society. (p. 1)

Therefore, even though there has been a somewhat expeditious acculturation in the past few years, it might be questioned whether the Pueblo Indians are adapting to new cultural patterns as rapidly as it appears. In concurrence with Linton's statement, they probably have changed mainly in the utilitarian aspects of culture rather than ideological.

Brophy and Aberle (1972) also discussed this and suggested that the adoption of White manners and customs or being familiar with the language does not necessarily mean that the White mans ethics are also adopted by Indians. "He may be aping the ways of a society alien to him." (p. 145) An example of this is the Indian student who imitates his non-Indian teachers in an effort to

please. Yet his real confusion is hidden until he attempts to pass an English test and fails.

This example suggests still another problem related to this study. Often people who have no training in cultural variations and who may not always understand Indian problems are teaching in Indian schools. Therefore, a conflict of culture often arises in the classroom. Burnette and Koster (1974) reported that "only one percent of Indian children in elementary schools today have Indian teachers or principals." (p. 69) It would seem beneficial, therefore, to further explore the methods of child rearing of Pueblo Indians to facilitate such understanding. This study has sought to provide a greater background for empathizing and understanding of Indian culture by non-Indian teachers, thus helping to resolve classroom conflict. Teachers of Indian children might become better educators as they more fully understand this parent-child transmission of the culture.

Statement of the Problem

There are many areas in which continued research on the cultural fusion of American Indians is needed. Assessment of child rearing practices constitutes one important way of determining cultural change. However, in some Southwestern Pueblo tribes there is a definite void of studies showing influences which culture exerts on the early developing Indian child. Most of the existing studies have been done on Pueblo groups such as the Hopi and Zuni tribes as opposed to the Pueblo Indians being focused in this study. The lack of research on child rearing practices of Pueblo Indians makes it difficult to determine the manner

and the degree to which pluralistic values of the greater American Society are influencing family life and child rearing pattern of the Pueblo Indians. This area could be important historically since there is very little written on early child rearing practices in New Mexico Pueblo tribes.

Some Pueblo tribes have no written language, thus most child rearing practices have simply been passed on by mouth from mother to daughter and so on. A study in child rearing practices may help young mothers today know more about child rearing practices of their Pueblo. Thus, this study can help in assessing and clarifying child rearing practices as mothers within the Pueblo experience variant forms of education.

Purpose of the Study

The intent of the present study was to determine the degree to which Southwestern Pueblo mothers have been affected by their education in a non-Indian culture as related to child rearing practices in the pre-school years. This focus helps to resolve the question of whether they persist in the beliefs and practices learned in their earlier years from their mothers and grandmothers.

Specifically, this study tests the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the early child rearing practices of mothers educated on the reservation and those mothers educated off the reservation in a non-Indian culture.

Definitions

Early childhood or early child rearing years. These two terms refer to children from the age of birth through seven years old. This age range is also referred to as the pre-school years.

Southwestern Pueblo Tribes. This term referred to in the study includes all of the Pueblo tribes which are distributed principally along the Rio Grande River in New Mexico, with a few found in Western New Mexico and Northern Arizona. These tribes are also referred to as New Mexico Pueblos. For reasons of anonymity, the Pueblo focused in this study is referred to as "a Southwestern Pueblo."

Permissive. This term is used in child rearing as allowing or permitting a child to do things at his own option. It should be noted here that although the word is used throughout this study, this author is in agreement with Wax and Thomas (1972) who believe that calling Indian child rearing practices "permissive" or "indulgent" is somewhat misleading.

It might be more accurate to say that it usually does not occur to Indian parents to permit or forbid their children to do anything, much less permit or forbid them to move their bowels. White parents, on the other hand, see themselves as "permitters" and "forbidders." Nevertheless, for the Indian point of view, they leave vast and very important areas of their children's behavior completely unstructured. Thus one might suggest that in both cultures parents and elders subject infants and children to an intensive and careful training, but that they use very different methods and emphasize very different skills. (p. 40)

Old Indian way. This is a reference to the culture and Indian religious practices of the past generations.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A review of this literature produced several studies that are pertinent to this research. The review of literature focuses on the following areas: a general background of American Indians, characteristics of Pueblo Indians, the importance of the early rearing years, and child rearing practices of Pueblo Indians.

General Background of American Indians

Since child rearing practices among Indians are being viewed here as only one measure of cultural change, it might be well to examine differing schools of thought on the total acculturation process of American Indians. Berry (1969) discusses some of these differing points of view in his report to the Special Committee on Indian Education. Berry suggested the belief that Indians still hold strong to their old civilization and are determined to preserve it from oblivion. This view says that although the white man has tried to destroy the Indian culture, he has failed to break through the resisting efforts of the Indian. Anthropologist Alexander Lesser (1961) seems to hold this view. He says, "Their endurance, with the deep sense of tradition and identity, is a remarkable phenomenon . . . They have survived despite the generations of national effort to force assimilation upon them." (p. 2)

Another school of interpretation believes that the old culture has been completely destroyed and can never be revived. Berry (1969) says this group believes that the culture which the Indian now possesses greatly differs from that of his ancestors. It is, instead, "the product of centuries of isolation, poverty, exploitation, and paternalism." (p. 50) They believe that the Indian must accept this fact and get into the mainstream of American life. Anthropologist such as Manners (1962) might choose this position.

The problem of Indian survival has been viewed by some as the problem of maintaining an "Indian way of life," whatever that may be. . . In order that most American Indian groups may grow or live at all, it may be necessary that they abandon their Indian "way of life". . . Most Indians talk longingly about the land and the old days. . . But virtually all the younger, and a good many of the older Indians as well, realize the dreamlike quality of the world they talk about. They know that they are overstating the case for the glories of the past. . . Most of them would not have it if it were handed to them on a platter. (pp. 25-38)

Langan notes that there has been too much of a tendency to place Indians on a continuum of Progressive vs. Traditional in defining the life styles of contemporary Indian people. He suggests that Indians are divided even further into four groups which he calls a Conceptual Model. These groups include Traditional-Urban, Traditional-Reservation, Progressive-Urban, and Progressive-Reservation. However, he purports that Indians fit into many areas and not just the four areas mentioned as people so often suggest.

This researcher is inclined toward the position that most Indians, or at least the Pueblo community being studied here, exhibit neither dominant Indian oriented nor totally assimilated ways of life. Indians are too often stereotyped

when, in fact, they do not fit into just one of these categories. There are many combinations and recombinations of the four Indian types mentioned by Langan within the Pueblo community.

General Characteristics of Pueblo Indians

The specific Pueblo being studied in this research cannot be mentioned by name for reasons of anonymity. However, a description of the general characteristics of Southwestern Pueblo Indian communities will be helpful to show differences and similarities in comparison to other Indian tribes.

McNickle (1973) describes the Pueblo tribes as being distributed mainly along the Rio Grande River in New Mexico, with a few located in the western part of New Mexico and Northern Arizona. They live in small villages and represent several dialect and linguistic groups including Tanoan, Keresan, Zuni, and Shoshonian. The total population of these Pueblos is 32,043.

Stubbs (1950) discusses the terrain of Pueblos as semi-arid to arid. In this climate where water is very important, the ceremonies include prayer for rain and other ceremonies to keep the "supernatural deities favorable toward them." (p. 7) Stubbs (1950) also suggests that because of the communal life being based around religious beliefs it was necessary to keep the Pueblo group close together. They also tried to live in areas easy to defend against intruders. For these reasons and others, they lived in the contiguous type villages that are still in existence today. Presently, many individual families in the Pueblos are now starting to build homes more scattered and away from the old village center.

However, many of the villagers still follow the Indian religion as a way of life and return to the village for various dances and ceremonies.

A governor is selected annually in each Pueblo except the Hopi communities. In some Pueblos, the caciques, who are in charge of all religion and ceremonialism, select the governor and other officials. All officials are confirmed by Pueblo members (Stubbs).

Stubbs (1950) reported that basically the Pueblo Indians have been farmers for generations. Many Pueblo Indians still farm, but have started raising livestock also. "An appreciable part of their income is also derived from the sale of handicraft products. Some villages are well known for their pottery, others for baskets and silverwork." (p. 6) Many other opportunities for occupations have developed in recent years, such as mines, plants, schools, and other such developments.

The Pueblo Indians of the Southwest all have some very similar customs, beliefs, and economy, but it should also be stressed that there are many differences. Smith (1969) made this clear by saying that "most non-Indians think of Indians as being alike and are not aware, for example, that Taos Pueblo differs from Zuni in language, social organization, and political system in as great a measure as the United States from France." (p. 3)

Berry (1969) says that "some groups, such as Zuni and the Hopi, have retained a great deal of their own culture while others such as Naragansetts, Nanticokes, and Lumbees have preserved very little except their convictions that they are Indians." (p. 51) It is hard to even look at a certain community

and make generalizations because there are differences within that community.

Rosenthal (1968) experienced many differences in one Indian community.

. . . these were not tribal, not racial, not even inter-cultural. In its own terms, this was one community experienced by its members as a cultural whole. . . who felt there are very few descriptions of Indian life in which the local community is taken into focus in its own right, to be examined as a going concern, including all its members, of whatever tradition. (p. 86)

Because it was not feasible to focus on all aspects of the Southwestern Pueblo observed in this study, child rearing practices are being considered here as only one part of the cultural whole. In addition there are many other areas of child rearing which could also be assessed which are not within the scope of this study.

Pueblo Indian Child Rearing Practices

Before Pueblo Indian child rearing practices are discussed, it would be well to note the general importance of the child rearing years. Ansbacher (1956) outlined the notion of Adler who believes that a child is not changed by his environment after he is four years old. Adler believes that a child's behavior pattern is formed by that time. Thereafter, the child alters his experiences to conform to his own cultural pattern. Erikson (1968) in positing his eight stages of development, recognized that failure to integrate the early child stages of development has a definite and sometimes negative affect on the other stages. (pp. 218-234)

Bruner (1956) maintains that with Indians, the most persistent elements of culture are those which are acquired in the early years. "That which is

learned and internalized in infancy and early childhood is most resistant to contact situations." (p. 197) In a study of five cultures, including the Zuni Pueblo Indians, Whiting et al., (1970) also expresses this belief. They suggest that some aspects of child rearing practices play an important part in strengthening values of that culture. Eggan (1956) also suggests that strong emotional conditioning during the early learning process plays an important part in cultural continuity. She discusses the Hopi Indians of the Southwestern United States who have been successful in maintaining most aspects of their culture despite centuries of attempts by outsiders to bring about assimilation. Thus, these studies which are representative of many, show the importance of the early childhood years. It is with this in mind that we examine child rearing practices of Pueblo Indians. Dozier (1970) explained that even though there are differences in child rearing practices among Pueblo Indians, that the similarities outweigh the differences. He viewed the first two years of a Pueblo child's life as highly permissive. Children were weaned and toilet trained gradually. The cradle board was used in every village and was looked upon as a convenience and for training the child. Thus, when the child became difficult to manage, it was put on the cradle board.

The review of literature on Pueblos yielded the most information about the Hopi and Zuni children. Simpson (1953) also discussed the traditional child rearing practices of Hopis as permissive. The children could come and go when they wanted from the time they were able to walk. They ate at any time they

wished, and were not restricted to any certain foods. They went to bed whenever they wished and stayed overnight at a friends home in the village if they desired.

The maternal extended household is an important part of the Hopi social system. The sisters and their husbands often remain in the maternal household, thus a child has access to a number of "mothers." In her study of Hopi children, Eggan (1956) recognized that permissiveness in a Hopi child's life was extended well into his formative years. She contrasted their training toward interdependence with the group as to the non-Indian practice of training a child toward independence.

Dennis (1940) focused on the Hopi child rearing practices 35 years ago. In his book, The Hopi Child he discussed these findings. The Hopi infant was breast fed and nursed whenever he expressed the desire as opposed to the white American pattern at that time of a rigid feeding schedule. Breast feeding was frequent and long continued, with very few children weaned before the end of the first year. The methods used to wean were putting red chile on the breast, or leaving the child at a grandmothers for several days.

Toilet training did not begin until after the child started walking. Nocturnal enuresis was rare, but if it persisted the child was taken to a woman of the Corn-Water Clan to receive a treatment that was supposed to help cure the one afflicted.

The child could eat whenever he wished, and did not need to be there at mealtime if he did not want to. However, he usually ate with the family. All foods could be eaten by the child including green chili.

After a child was able to walk, he could go to sleep at night when he wished. Dennis (1940) found that Hopi infants learned to walk about six weeks later than American infants. However, there was no significant relationship to this and whether or not the child was kept on the cradle board. By four years of age, the child could go about alone in the village at will. At seven years of age the child is usually given his first initiation, which is a "landmark to maturity." (p. 84) The initiation is a ceremony which is a part of the Indian religion.

A means of disciplining children was to summon the kachinas of dreadful appearance, or threaten to send for them if the child was not good. Scolding was most often used as punishment as well as withholding favors, teasing, and ridicule. The maternal uncle was the disciplinarian, but the child also owed obedience to his father and mother. Although Dennis (1940) reported much permissiveness in the Hopi child rearing practices, he suggested that it was erroneous to conclude that Hopi children had no prohibitions. The Hopi child was warned not to go near the edge of a cliff or near fire, not to steal or talk back to adults, and several other prohibitions. The one area most warned about was for a child who had been initiated to keep the secret from younger children that the kachinas who appeared in the dances were only men.

Zuni Pueblo child rearing practices have been reviewed by several authors. Josephy (1969) reported that Zuni, which is located in Western New Mexico, was the largest of the Pueblos. It is a five story communal structure.

Benedict (1934), Whiting et al., (1950), Spencer and Jennings (1965) and Eggan (1950), have all done research on child rearing practices at Zuni. Since many of their results were the same or similar, they are compiled and summarized here.

There are extensive rituals performed at the birth of a Zuni infant. Part of this ceremony includes the child being taken out and presented to the sun on the eighth day. Also, the Zuni infant often sleeps on a cradle board.

Whiting et al., (1950) found that 86 percent of Zuni children were entirely breast fed. They were weaned at a median age of two years, although 40 percent were weaned at 12 months, and a few Zuni mothers nursed considerably longer. In their study of Zuni, Whiting et al., (1950) also examined toilet training patterns. They found that the toilet training came late, starting at 18 months and completion of training at two or three years of age. This differed from the non-Indian mothers who typically started toilet training their children earlier.

The matrilineal and matrilocal household make the authority pattern more complex. The mother's brother is the male head of the household. However, Whiting et al., (1950) listed the "typical Zuni household hierarchy as follows: 1. The grandmother, 2. Her brother, 3. The grandfather, 4. The mother, 5. Her brother, 6. The father, 7. The child." (p. 86)

Spencer and Jennings (1965) stated that very little physical restraint is used with Zuni children, and physical punishment is rarely used. Benedict (1934) maintained that whipping was never used on a Zuni child as a corrective method. The scare kachinas or "bogey" kachinas were mentioned in most reports

on Pueblos as a common method of frightening children into conformity. This was a method of threat rather than punishment. The mother threatened that these masked gods would come and take them away, eat them, or other such things.

The grandparents were very instrumental in educating the Zuni child by telling the folklore and values of the tribe. The importance of the grandparents was stressed in most of the studies.

Dozier (1966) expressed the importance of his early childhood in his recollections of boyhood at Hano, a Tewa Pueblo. He mentioned the infant naming, initiation ceremony, matrilocal residence, punishment, and socialization within the family as being very similar to those of the Hopi which have been discussed previously. He also mentioned the system of authority as similar to that of Zuni in which "the husbands have little authority in the wife's home." (p. 40)

In other studies done on Pueblo Indians by Stevenson (1889), White (1939), Parsons (1918) and Eggan (1950), very few records were kept of the daily living patterns related to child rearing. Most of the writings simply discussed ceremonies relating to child bearing and the matrilineal organization of the Pueblo groups. The threat of the bogey kachina was again discussed as the usual disciplinary device. Eggan (1950) observed that the care and training of a child was shared among household members and relatives. The grandparents played an important role in the care of the child. He mentioned that a mother could spank a child, but the father was not supposed to. Even two decades ago when this report was given, it was noted that the dispersal of the Pueblo populations for

various reasons was starting to have an effect of disrupting household organizations. However, it was noted that even though households were dividing into smaller groups, the lineage ties were still strong and brought about mutual cooperation.

A more recent study on Pueblo life is Lange's (1968) study of Cochiti. He observed that although the Cochiti households have been traditionally matri-local, this tradition has not been as common in recent decades. In citing Starr's scrapbook of 1897, it was observed that Cochiti women were the "boss" and were very influential. Lange (1968) noted that the traditional role function of women and men at Cochiti is changing.

The typical present-day Cochiti family is characterized by a blend of four attributes, each becomes momentarily dominant in specific situations: father domination; equality of the father and mother; domination by the mother; and a rather consistent respect for any individual--old, middle-aged, or young. Throughout these interrelationships, there is a deference shown by younger individuals to those who are older, whether or not they are relatives. It would be misleading to single out any one attribute as "typical of the Cochiti family." (p. 369)

In observing disciplinary matters, Lange found that correctional means such as ridicule and threats concerning the cultural bogeys were often used. Whipping was used only in extreme cases.

The cradle board was still used at Cochiti to put the child in, although not as much as before. Lange also found that the child is often taken out of the cradle at an earlier age than formerly.

Schroeder (1960) did a study 15 years ago comparable to the present study on the child rearing practices of Jemez Pueblo Indians. That study was the inspiration and backdrop for this research, although the Pueblo tribe studied here is not the Jemez Pueblo. Her purpose was to analyze, within selected mothers, effects of additional education and contacts with non-Indian cultures on beliefs and practices regarding child rearing during the pre-school years. The findings of Schroeder's study showed that twenty of ninety-seven variables were significant at the .05 level. The items that she found to be significantly different in her study which relate to this research are as follows:

1. Babies in the non-reservation group were weaned from the breast and from the bottle at an earlier age than babies in the reservation group.
2. Toilet training was begun earlier with children in the non-reservation group.
3. More babies in the reservation group were cradled, and were cradled for more months than were the babies in the non-reservation group.
4. Children in the reservation group were almost always given food and/or drink on awakening at night, while children in the non-reservation group were usually patted or rocked back to sleep.
5. Children in the reservation group had no diet restrictions after the second birthday, but were permitted to eat anything they wanted of the available food. The non-reservation group was somewhat stricter in their diet.
6. Most of the reservation mothers took the major responsibility for the welfare and behavior of the children.
7. The non-reservation children were held responsible for their behavior at an earlier age than the reservation children.

8. More children in the reservation group were spanked or were scolded only as punishment, and more of the non-reservation children were deprived as punishment.

9. The non-reservation children walked alone at an earlier age than the reservation children.

10. More fathers in the non-reservation group than reservation fathers taught the Indian stories, songs, and dances to the children at this age.

Although the majority of Schroeder's items were not significantly different, the data indicates some strong trends of changes in child rearing practices related to educational backgrounds of the mothers. Generally, mothers included in this study did not have a single, pervasive philosophy governing all aspects of child rearing. They were permissive in some areas and severe in others.

Relationship of Indian Child Rearing To Education

There are histories available on the education of the American Indians. The problems of obtaining an education that meets their present day needs is an ever present one. The education of Indians is looked upon harshly by many. Koster (1974) talks about Indian education as the "Big Whitewash." Brophy and Aberle (1972) talk about the harm that can be done to the Indian child by trying to force him into an alien pattern.

The harm done. . . may not always be obvious. Because of cultural differences in explaining day to day occurrences, the Indian pupil's concepts may be such that he cannot understand what his teacher is trying to explain. Yet his development of imitative behavior may be so good and his quick, docile agreement so deceiving that his confusion is entirely hidden from his

teacher and his classmates until he attempts to pass a written English test. (p. 141)

Because teaching of Indian children is so often in the hands of people who have no training in cultural differences, and who may not understand Indian people, this study is an attempt to make these people more aware of the way Indian children are reared in the pre-school years.

Summary of Review

The review of literature emphasizes several significant areas pertinent to this research. First, an overall view of differing schools of thought on the acculturation of American Indians, found the Indian often stereotyped on a continuum between Progressive versus Traditional. However, Langan in discussing his Conceptual Model suggests that Indians cannot be placed on this kind of a continuum because there are many different combinations of Indian types within each community.

Some of the general similarities of Southwestern Pueblo tribes were reviewed in comparison to other Indian tribes. The literature showed these similarities, but also stressed the differences among the Pueblo Indian tribes.

The literature discussed the importance of the child rearing years. Eggan suggested that early childhood does play an important part in cultural continuity. Because child rearing practices are one way of assessing cultural change, the child rearing practices of Pueblo Indians were focused on. There is a void of studies showing influences which culture exerts on early developing

Pueblo Indian children. Most of these studies have been done among the Hopi and Zuni tribes.

Some trends and guidelines developed from these studies. The past research has described the Pueblo Indian traditional child rearing practices as very permissive in most areas with very little physical restraint put upon the Indian child. The traditional matrilineal family also has influenced the child rearing methods in authoritarian and disciplinarian areas. The mother and the maternal uncle were viewed as the main authorities over children. Most of the material available on early child rearing practices of New Mexico Pueblo Indians cover mainly the ceremonies related to childbirth and infancy. The researcher could find only one study done by Schroeder (1960) on early child rearing practices related to the educational status and non-Indian associations of the mother.

In a more recent study of Cochiti Pueblo by Lange (1959) and also Schroeder's (1960) study of Jemez Pueblo, there was some evidence of a trend away from the strictly traditional concept of child rearing practices, and an accompanying trend in the family pattern from matrilineal to equalitarian. However, Schroeder found no significant differences between the education environment and the effect on child rearing practices.

This study contributes not only to the research of early childhood in pre-school years, but it is hoped that it may help one better determine the degree of assimilation of this Southwestern Pueblo Tribe as related to child rearing

practices. Also, it is assumed that this study helps one to better understand the Pueblo Indian's way of life in a rapidly changing world.

CHAPTER III
METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Sample

This study was made at an Indian Pueblo in the Southwestern United States during the Fall of 1974. For reasons of anonymity, the exact Pueblo will not be disclosed. The researcher traveled to this reservation in New Mexico to obtain permission to carry out the study. Tribal officials and some educators at the Pueblo were instrumental in allowing this research to take place.

The sample chosen for study was selected from the 1972-1973 community school records. A list of children in the three kindergarten classes for that year was obtained. These children who were representative of the four to six-year-old range at the Pueblo, had been randomly placed in three classes. The group of children in these three classes ranged from six to eight years old at the time of the study, with a total of 54 children in the three classes. An ideal sample would have been to use all 54 names. However, due to the limited time and access allotted the researcher, a random sample of 32 mothers was chosen. All of the mothers of children in one kindergarten class were included in the sample. However, only five of the 20 mothers had some schooling off the reservation, so all of the mothers of children in the other two classes who were in the off reservation group were added to the sample.

Only two mothers of the chosen sample were not available for an interview. One mother had passed away the previous year and another mother preferred not to talk with the researcher. The sample mothers were classified into two groups of 15 each. The group who are referred to throughout the study as "reservation" based mothers were those who grew up on the reservation and attended only schools in that area. These schools were either public, Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools, or parochial schools. Some of these mothers attended a Boarding School for a short time in Albuquerque, New Mexico, but had only Indian contacts other than teachers. The second group, referred to as "non-reservation," were mothers who had all or at least five years of their education away from the Pueblo in a non-Indian culture. Many of these mothers were children of a parent who worked away with the railroad or some other job which took them into a cultural system other than that of the Pueblo. All of these mothers are now living on the reservation and rearing their children there.

The age range of the reservation based mothers was 28 to 54 years old with a mean of 38 years. Non-reservation mothers ranged in age from 24 to 42 with a mean of 32 years. In the total sample, one-half of the mothers worked either part time or full time. Five mothers in the reservation group worked full time, and nine in the non-reservation group were employed part or full time. The occupations included both skilled and unskilled jobs. These will not be listed so that individual identities are not revealed, because in a community of just a few hundred, most people know each other very well and know their source of employment. Two-thirds of the mothers finished high school and

eight finished at least one year of college. Two of the reservation based mothers that had one year of college took their college classes from extension courses offered by the University of New Mexico. Professors travel to the reservation to teach a variety of classes in which several of the community members participate.

After the sample was chosen, each mother was contacted in person and an interview was arranged. The researcher interviewed each mother individually either at her home or place of employment. A large amount of time was spent in driving from home to home since some were widely spread out across the community. Time was also consumed in trying to find people at home. Three-fourths of the mothers did not have phones, making it difficult to let them know the arrival time of the interviewer. Once in the mothers home, the interview took approximately one and one-half hours. Some mothers talked more extensively on the topics than others.

The mothers were interviewed privately when possible, so that they would feel free to be more candid. The researcher made the appointments when the husband would be at work and the children at school. This was also a deciding factor in choosing the personal interview method over mailing a questionnaire. It was believed that the interview would bring a higher return of response and more open and honest answers. The mothers were very cordial in most cases and seemed willing to answer all questions the best they could. All of the mothers spoke English well, so there were no language barriers. During the administration of the interview, emphasis was placed on the fact that there

were no right or wrong answers, but the mothers own attitude should be expressed.

Instrument

A modified form of Schroeder's (1960) test measurement was utilized to collect the data. She developed this test 15 years ago for her comparative study of child rearing practices of Jemez Pueblo mothers in New Mexico. It was a purpose of that study to analyze, within the selected mothers, effects of additional education and contacts with non-Indian cultures on beliefs and practices regarding child-rearing during pre-school years. A copy of the instrument is located in the Appendix. This test instrument is in the form of a questionnaire and attempts to measure beliefs and practices of the mothers interviewed relating to child rearing practices in the pre-school years.

Schroeder grouped the responses from the Davis (1949) study and categories from the Bennett (1948) study for her dissertation instrument. A tentative questionnaire was then set up by Schroeder using the following categories as a basis for the question: (1) infancy feeding patterns; (2) toilet training (3) sleep patterns (4) food patterns of the pre-school child (6) privileges and responsibilities (8) typical modes of discipline and repression of behavior and the emotional reactions involved in these and (9) attitudes of parents toward "growing up" on the part of the child. The tentative questionnaire was then submitted to a selected jury for revisions and approval. Schroeder selected the following persons to serve on the jury:

A former physician in the Indian hospital, Albuquerque, New Mexico; a pediatrician on the teaching staff, Cornell Medical Center, New York; the Chairman of an Anthropology Department, who was also a former Indian Service Field Worker; an Indian who was an education specialist; a man who had spent more than fifty years of living and working with the Indians. Also on the jury were: a Director of Medical Services, Albuquerque, New Mexico; and a former director of Federal Nursery Schools, New York City. (p. 36)

Since the focus of this study is highly correlated with Schroeder's, the same instrument was very effectual. Some modifications and additions have been made by the researcher. Schroeder's questions were all open ended, which of course creates some difficulties in analysis of data. To cope with this analysis difficulty, structured responses were employed in the present study and the responses were coded into these categories. In addition, the specific response of the mothers was also noted for each item. This mode of recording responses then blended objectively with authenticity for each mother.

Another change in the inventory was the deletion of the categories on education expectations and father-child relationship. Schroeder's instrument was very lengthy, so because of the limited time allotted the researcher on the reservation, several questions were deleted to cut the length of the interviews. Only the questions which gave a concise overall view of each category were selected. Also, a few questions were added by the researcher. Those questions that were added included number 7, 33, 34, 35, 39, 43 and 45 as listed in the Appendix. These questions were intended to further assess acculturation at this Pueblo by comparing the traditional practices versus the modern. After these revisions were made, the questionnaire was submitted to a committee for

further revision and final approval. The committee included two of the researcher's Thesis committee members, one an Anthropology Professor at Utah State University, and the other, a professor in Family and Child Development. Also included was a man at the Pueblo being studied who was head of the Parent and Child Development Program and an Indian teacher at the Pueblo. After the final revision was made, the instrument was submitted to the Governor of the Pueblo for final approval.

The researcher went to the reservation in November of 1974 and obtained permission to do the research. Permission was also obtained from Schroeder by telephone to duplicate parts of the instrument. The researcher then spent two weeks commuting to the reservation site in New Mexico during which time she interviewed each of the 30 mothers. The use of personal interviews was used in the hope of obtaining a more valid study.

Analysis of Data

Each questionnaire was given a numerical order and assigned a number to correlate with the reservation or non-reservation group. These numbers were then entered in the proper place on unisort cards which were used for tabulating the data. A chi-square test was used to determine the significance of the findings. Comparisons were made on each item between the responses of the two groups of mothers. The conclusion included differences at the .05 level of significance.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

An attempt was made by the researcher to collect data on present beliefs and practices of mothers in a Southwestern Indian Pueblo concerning child rearing in the pre-school years. The data were collected by personal interviews with mothers of pre-school children at this Pueblo.

The sampling included two groups of mothers with 15 in each group. One group was educated on the reservation and is referred to as the "reservation" group. The second group included mothers educated in a non-Indian cultural environment, and are referred to as "non-reservation" mothers. Table 1 gives a list of characteristics of the sample population.

Each item on the instrument was analyzed using the chi-square to determine if there was significant difference between the child rearing practices of those mothers schooled on the reservation and the mothers with some schooling off the reservation. Out of the 76 items, only five showed a significant difference in the responses of the two groups of mothers at the .05 level. The hypothesis that there was not significant difference in the early child rearing practices of those educated on the reservation and those educated partly in a non-Indian culture was held as tenable. This also corroborates Schroeder's research study in which there was no significant difference between the two groups of mothers' child rearing practices as related to their education.

Table 1. Background characteristics of reservation educated and non-reservation educated Pueblo Indian mothers.

Characteristics	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Total
<u>Mother's Education</u>			
Finished Elementary School	2	0	2
High School Diploma	11	10	21
1-2 years of College	2	4	6
Bachelors degree	0	1	1
<u>Mother's Age</u>			
Median Age	38	32	
Range	28-54	24-42	24-54
<u>Mother's Marital Status</u>			
Married	11	14	25
Divorced	1	1	2
Widowed	3	0	3
<u>Mother's Working Status</u>			
Notworking	10	6	16
Part-time employment	0	2	2
Full-time employment	5	7	12

To facilitate analysis, the questionnaire was divided into seven areas or categories of child rearing beliefs and practices. These areas included:

1. Infant and Pre-School Feeding
2. Toilet Training Methods
3. Cleanliness and Health Practices
4. Sleeping Patterns
5. Modes of Discipline
6. Attitude of Mothers Toward Child's Growing up, Including His Privileges and Responsibilities
7. Maternal expectations for the Child's Future.

As the data for each of these areas are presented, it is important to note that although the two groups might agree on a question, their unanimity might not fall into the traditional category of old ways as opposed to the new.

Infant and Pre-School Feeding Practices

The first 11 questions in the study related to feeding practices of infants and pre-schoolers. Out of those 11 questions, only the age at which the baby was first fed solid foods and the eating schedule of the pre-school child showed a significant difference between reservation and non-reservation mothers. The reservation mothers fed their children solid foods later and allowed more irregular eating patterns of the pre-school child. However, the chi-square values for age of weaning from the bottle and how often the baby was fed during the first year ($X^2 = 3.6$) approached the level of significance at .05. The reservation mothers weaned their children later and fed their children on demand more often than non-reservation mothers.

The data on method of feeding for the two groups did not differ. However, it is interesting to note that most of the children in the two groups were bottle fed or used a combined breast and bottle feeding. Only three in the entire sample exclusively breast fed as the means of feeding. This finding may indicate a trend away from the traditional one in which breast feeding was dominant. This finding is unlike Schroeder who found that over 50 percent of the mothers at Jemez Pueblo breast fed only.

Responses to this question on breast feeding, however, were qualified by reasons why they did not breast feed. The most common response indicated that the mother would have breast fed if she had an adequate milk supply. Other responses ranged from the mother's health (on medication or diabetes) to the husband or mother not wanting her to breast feed. There were three mothers who breast fed their first children but not the others.

The length of time that babies were fed by the bottle or breast method before weaning showed no significant differences for the two groups. The statistical value did, however, approach the significant level. The data indicated that more children in the reservation group fed longer than 24 months. While in the non-reservation group, more children were weaned before 12 months of age. The sample groups were similar in their responses to the way weaning was done. One-third in each group preferred weaning the child sharply while the other two-thirds gradually weaned the child. On this question, their unanimity falls more into the traditional category. Half of the mothers who weaned their child sharply said they sent them to the home of a grandmother or relative for a few days. Schroeder (1960) also found this type of weaning practice common in her study of Jemez Indians. Dennis (1940) reported this practice to be common among the Hopi, and also the practice of putting red chili on the breast. That practice was not mentioned by this sample. One mother indicated that her husband used another traditional way of weaning. He went out and caught a male cottontail rabbit and had the baby kiss it. This practice is used because it is believed that the rabbit promotes weaning at a very young age.

Table 2. The age at which mothers first fed baby solid foods.

	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Both
1-6 months	2	7	9
6-12 months	9	8	17
More than 12 months	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	15	15	30
$\chi^2 = 6.84$	Significant at .05		

Table 2 indicates age at which the baby was first fed solid food, and shows a significant difference at the .05 level. The reservation mothers introduced their children to solid foods at a later age than the non-reservation mothers, thus encouraging longer dependence on the breast or bottle. This reinforces the trend found in weaning in which the reservation children were weaned later.

The two sample groups were similar in their responses to what food they would not give the baby under one year. These included such foods as hot chili, raw fruits, beans or hard to swallow foods. Six mothers responded that they gave their children all solid foods. These mothers also chewed the food for their babies. It appears logical to assume then, that because the food is chewed for the baby, it is more readily digestible. The data show that one-third of reservation mothers chewed food for the baby while in the non-reservation group,

two-thirds chewed it. This appears to be an area where the groups are together in a slight transition away from the traditional practice. In view of other information it seems inconsistent that non-reservation mothers were more traditional here.

Table 3. Frequency and style of infant feeding during the first year.

	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Both Groups
Fed on demand, when hungry or cried	12	7	19
Fed at certain times only	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	15	15	30
$X^2 = 3.6$	Not significant at .05		

While Table 3 data show no Significant difference in how often the baby was fed during the first year, it is noted that this item approached the significance level ($X^2 = 3.6$). The feeding trend of the reservation group was more permissive with most of the infants, being fed whenever hungry. There seemed to be a shift in the non-reservation group toward a scheduled feeding at certain times only. Schroeder's (1960) research found that both of her groups fed their children more on demand. Additionally, this researcher found that most babies in both groups were held when fed and usually fed by the mother or sometimes a combination of the mother, father, and grandparents.

The children's eating schedule as pre-schoolers showed a significant difference as indicated in Table 4. Most children ate with the family at regular meal time. However, four of the reservation group of children ate whenever they were hungry or on demand scheduling. Although there were few significant differences in this area of eating frequency of the pre-schoolers, the findings point to more permissiveness in the reservation group. They were generally less demanding in areas of feeding practices than the non-reservation group in which all children were fed on a regular schedule.

Table 4. Eating schedule of the pre-school child.

	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Both Groups
Eats with family at a regular mealtime	11	15	26
Eats on demand whenever hungry	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	15	15	30
$X^2 = 4.62$		Significant at .05	

Toilet Training Methods

Items in this area of toilet training dealt with the training practices of mothers with their pre-schoolers. The three areas assessed were the age training began, the method used, and bed wetting habits. One out of these three items was found to be significant at .05 level.

Table 5 shows the comparison of the age at which the two groups of mothers began toilet training their children. A significant difference was indicated. There was a noticeable increase in the number of reservation children starting toilet training after 12 months old. Data indicated three of these children not starting until later than 24 months, hence the reservation group was more permissive in the age at which toilet training began.

Table 5. The age at which the child began toilet training.

	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Both Groups
12 months or earlier	1	6	7
13 months or more	<u>14</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>23</u>
Total	15	15	30
$X^2 = 4.66$	Significant at .05		

The method by which toilet training was done shows no statistical significance level. Most reservation mothers took the child to the bathroom whenever the child wanted to go, or when they thought they needed to go. By contrast, more non-reservation mothers took the child to the bathroom at regularized times such as after eating or in the morning and evening.

Responses to the question which read, "What do you do to cure bed wetting after the child is five years old?" were similar. The responses included taking the child to a doctor, letting them grow out of it naturally, restricting

the child from drinking liquid in the evening, and getting the child up in the night to go to the bathroom. It is interesting to note that Dennis reported a ritual that the Hopi child goes through if he has the problem of enuresis. None of the mothers in this study indicated such a practice in their Pueblo.

In summary, the findings of the research in the toilet training area show some significant differences. The reservation group were less structured in their toilet training practices. By contrast non-reservation mothers were more demanding of their children in areas of toilet training. The findings discussed once again support Schroeder's data in which Jemez non-reservation mothers were more demanding in toilet training whereas the reservation mothers were more permissive.

Health and Cleanliness Practices

The six questions on health practices show no significant differences between mothers schooled on the reservation and the non-reservation mothers who were exposed to a dominant non-Indian culture. The bathing schedules of the infants varied in both groups with the mother usually bathing the child. Sometimes the grandmother or father took over the task. The trend away from the tradition of wrapping half of the baby with a blanket while washing the other half seems to be diminishing among both groups. One possible explanation is that more of the homes on the reservation have central heating now, and this might lessen the need to keep the baby wrapped and warm while bathing it.

The other items attempted to measure health practices of the mothers when one of her children was sick. There were only slight variations between the two groups on what health measures were taken when a child was sick. In most cases these differences were not great enough to be measureable. Health records indicated that when a child was ill, both groups relied heavily upon the clinic doctor or nurse. In the case of minor illness, most mothers preferred to treat the child at home. There were two mothers in each group who took their children to the medicine man and one mother who took her child to the grandmother for treatment. Both groups of mothers voiced the same opinion, that in case of major illness their child should be taken to the clinic or hospital. In the non-reservation group, four mothers preferred a private doctor. They believed the clinic was not up to standard and did not trust the staff there with major illnesses.

In summary, the bathing schedule and the way it was done varied only slightly between mothers in both groups. Many mothers bathed their infant every day or every other day. Mothers in both groups relied primarily on the local clinic to care for their sick child. Response to some of the items were divided but no significant difference between the two groups was observed.

Sleeping Patterns of Infants
and the Pre-School Child

This section attempted to measure the trend of infant and pre-school sleeping patterns as compared between the reservation and non-reservation

mothers. None of the items in this area proved to be significantly different at the .05 level. Some general differences were noticeable though. The findings show that two-thirds of the mothers in these two groups had their children go to bed at a regular time. One-third of the sample's children had a more irregular sleeping pattern, going to bed whenever they wanted. Two mothers in the reservation group said their children would often wait and go to bed when the parents did.

If the baby cried at night, the mothers had varying methods of quieting them. There was no significant difference between the two groups of mothers on this item. Most of the mothers quieted the child with food and/or water with a few changing their diaper or cradling them. Schroeder reported a significant difference on this question. The reservation group in her study were almost always given food and/or water on awakening at night, while children in the non-reservation group were usually rocked or patted back to sleep.

Two mothers in the reservation group put the baby in bed with them when it cried. All of the children in both groups took a nap when small with two-thirds of them stopping when they started school. Four of the mothers said their children were still taking naps (at age seven) on the weekends. There was no significant difference in comparing the two groups on this practice.

There were nine mothers in the reservation group that used the cradle board, and 11 of the non-reservation mothers used it. The length of time in years that the mothers used the cradle board varied. Out of the 30 mothers, 10 did not use a cradle board. This shows that two-thirds of the sample still

fall into the traditional category of using cradle boards. Although there was no statistical difference, it is important to note that the mothers in the reservation group used the cradle board to put the child in for a longer period of time, some from 2 to 3 years. Whereas non-reservation usually stopped using the cradle board at one to two years after the child was born. Schroeder (1960) reported a significant difference in her data. She found that more babies in the reservation group were cradled, and cradled more months than were the babies in the non-reservation group.

There was no indication of a significant difference in the regularity of bedtime rituals when comparing the two groups. There were four more of the non-reservation group in the sample that had regular bedtime rituals than the reservation group. There was also no significant difference in the actual type of bedtime rituals. The non-reservation mothers did read and sing to their children more often. The two groups of mothers indicated that both Indian songs and non-Indian songs were sung, while a small number of mothers said that Indian stories were told along with other stories.

Modes of Discipline

As the data for this category were analyzed, some significant findings emerged in the set of questions on discipline. A comparison of the two groups concerning the person who takes the major responsibility for the child's behavior and welfare was not at the significant level. However, it approaches that level ($\chi^2 = 6.74$) and shows some interesting trends. In the non-reservation group,

half of the mothers had the major responsibility and four shared the responsibility between both parents. Two indicated that the responsibility was shared by both parents and grandparents. Reservation mothers' answers were spread out over all these with two mothers saying the grandparents were the final authority. Schroeder (1960) noted a significant difference in this area in which most of the reservation mothers took the major responsibility for the welfare and behavior of their children.

Table 6. The person taking final authority in matters pertaining to the child's behavior

	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Both Groups
Father assumes final authority	3	8	11
Mother assumes final authority	10	2	12
Grandparents assume final authority	2	0	2
Both parents share the final authority	0	5	5
Total	15	15	30
$X^2 = 14.62$	Significant at .05		

The most significant difference which occurred in this research was the question asking who the final authority was in matters pertaining to the child's behavior. As presented in Table 6, the non-reservation mothers stated that the father of the child most often had final authority. Five mothers in this group

said both parents had to share the responsibility of final authority. The greatest disagreement between groups was expressed here. The reservation mothers were strongly in favor of the mother assuming final authority. Only three stated the father should assume final authority and two stated the grandparents should assume it. This gives evidence that the reservation group of mothers still support the more traditional matriarchal order of their pueblo. This finding differs from Schroeder who found a larger percentage of fathers assuming the final authority, although there was no significant statistical difference in her data.

Both sample groups responded the same when asked if a difference is expected between boys and girls in the pre-school years. Most expected no difference in the behavior of boys and girls. A few expected girls to behave better saying "that had been their experience in their own families." One mother felt that each person is taught differently according to their role in school and other activities. Schroeder found no difference here with 60 percent of the mothers expecting no difference and 36 percent expecting girls to behave better. She found these results to be equally expected in both groups.

Both groups were again in agreement on the age at which a child is considered to be responsible for his behavior and so punished for unacceptable behavior. It is noted that one-third of the mothers in each group believed that the child should not be responsible until seven or older. Schroeder found a significant difference on this item with non-reservation children held responsible for their behavior at an earlier age than the reservation group.

Responses shown in Table 7 showing who usually punishes the child substantiates the question of who takes the final authority. Again it was found that in the reservation group, the mother more often assumed this responsibility of child punishment. In the non-reservation group, the father more often took the responsibility for punishing the child. Although there was not a significant difference, the value approached the significance level ($\chi^2 = 5.84$). Two mothers said they did not use any form of punishment. This was not in agreement with their next response in which they expressed a form of punishment used. Only one mother said her brother punished the child. Another mother said it used to be the child's uncle who reprimanded the children, but the children usually would not listen anymore to the uncle. This differs greatly from reports by Eggan (1950), Whiting et al., (1970) and Dennis (1940) on the different Pueblos which all referred to the maternal uncle as a major disciplinarian of the child.

The methods of punishment were varied among both samples. In the non-reservation group, spanking or scolding and talking to the child were the most commonly used methods of punishment. Schroeder found in her sample that this group used deprivation as the most common method of punishment. The reservation mothers in this study used many different forms of punishment with only three mothers using spanking as a method of discipline. Schroeder found the opposite to be true with spanking and scolding being the most common form of punishment in her group.

Both groups gave two-thirds of their support to the belief that a child should be punished in front of family only or alone. There were three in each group that said a child should be punished immediately for his wrong actions whether it be in front of family or strangers. There seemed to be more disagreement expressed in this area of discipline by the two groups, with reservation mothers more often giving what would be considered the traditional response.

Attitudes of Mothers Toward the Child's Growing up,
Including his Privileges and Responsibilities

There was a significant difference between the two groups of mothers in response to where the child was growing up. The data shown in Table 7 indicates that non-reservation children were all growing up in their parent's home with only one exception. This child was growing up in his grandmother's home. The mothers in the reservation group reported half of the children were growing up in the home of their maternal grandmother. This shows a high affiliation once again to the matrilineal household. It might be noted that some of the grandparents did live next door or with the family.

Responses to the statement which read, "It is not wise or proper for a child while growing up to be influenced by grandparents" are summarized in Table 8. The two groups of women substantiate that grandparents do indeed play a significant part in the child rearing practices. There were three mothers who said that it was good for grandparents to influence the child in some ways,

but not all ways. It may be that the way this question was worded prevented clear and objective answers, thus, being an equivocal point.

Table 7. The home in which the Pueblo Indian child is being reared.

	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Both Groups
Mother's parents home	7	1	8
Parents home	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>22</u>
Total	15	15	30
$X^2 = 6.14$	Significant at .05		

Table 8. Responses to the statement "It is not wise or proper for a child while growing up to be influenced by grandparents."

	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Both Groups
True	2	3	5
False	12	10	22
Good to be influenced in some ways but not all	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	15	15	30
$X^2 = .72$	Not significant at .05		

The age at which the children in both groups developed the skills described in Table 9 showed no significant difference. The answers varied with the medians differing only on some skills. The median shows non-reservation children appeared to learn to dress, bathe, and feed themselves a little later than reservation children. There was some discrepancy here between these findings and the more permissive trend of reservation mothers on other question responses. Reservation children did have a later median age of learning to wash their hands and face without help. Schroeder found in her Jemez study that children of the non-reservation mothers walked alone at an earlier age than children in the reservation group. There appeared to be no significant relationship in the study between the age at which a child walked and whether or not he was raised on a cradle board. Dennis (1940) also found no relationship between these two when studying Hopi children.

Table 9. Age ranges at which various developmental skills were achieved.

	Reservation Educated		Non-Reservation Educated		Both Groups	
	Median	Range	Median	Range	Median	Range
Child learned to dress himself	4	2-6	5	2-6	4	2-6
Child learned to tie shoes	5	3-7	5	3-6	5	3-7
Learned to button front buttons	5	3-6	5	3-6	5	3-6
Wash hands and face	5	2-6	4	2-6	4 1/2	2-6
Bath himself without help	5	3-8	6	4-7	5 1/2	3-8
Feed himself an entire meal	3	2-5	4	2-6	3	2-6
Learn to walk	1 1/2	8 mo.-2	1 1/2	9 mo.-11/2	11/2	8 mo.-2

There was no significant difference in the response to the item focusing on the emergence of developmental skills in boys and girls. The answers of the mothers were mixed as indicated in Table 10, with some in each group feeling there was no difference in the development of these skills. Two-fifths of each group believed that girls learn faster. Only two mothers in the reservation group felt that boys developed faster in these skills. They emphasized that this had been their experience, but it could vary from family to family.

Table 10. The belief of mothers concerning difference in the development of skills in boys and girls.

	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Both Groups
Girls learn faster	6	6	12
Boys learn faster	2	0	2
No difference	5	7	12
No response	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	15	15	30
$X^2 = 2.34$	Not significant at .05		

The data on the age at which a child was able to assume certain responsibilities showed no significant differences. The items were then set up on a range level and median. This revealed some noticeable differences. As the chi-square test was set up on these items, some of the cell sizes were large.

Because of this and the small sample size, the values were small. For this reason, Table 11 was set up to help further illustrate the data on responsibilities.

Table 11. Age range and median at which a child assumed certain responsibilities alone as perceived by mothers.

	Reservation Educated		Non Reservation Educated		Both Groups	
	Median	Range	Median	Range	Median	Range
Go to the field alone	4	3-6	5	3-6	5	3-6
Attended Ceremonial dances at the Pueblo	6	5-9	7	3-9	6	3-9
Visit the house of a relative within the Pueblo	6	baby-7	5	baby-7	6	baby-7
Stay away from home for a meal alone	6	baby-8	6	baby-7	6	baby-8
Stay away overnight	7	baby-8	5	baby-8	6	
Stay overnight and a longer period of time	1/2 still could not by age 7					
Play after sundown at will	Out of the total sample, only 2 could					
Play with other children with out adult supervision	6	4-8	5	4-7	5	4-8
Stay in house alone if adult is away a short time	7	4-8	7	4-8	7	
Take care of a younger child	8	7-15	8	6-12	8	6-15

Table 11 presents the median and range of ages at which certain responsibilities were assumed by the children. There were no significant differences between the groups at which age the child assumed certain responsibilities alone. However, looking at median ages, there are some differences but no definite patterns. Reservation children assumed some responsibilities earlier than the

non-reservation children, but some responsibilities were assumed later than the non-reservation children. There is no consistent trend as opposed to Schroeder who found that later assumption of behavior responsibilities were expected by the reservation mothers.

Every child was found to have an Indian name. Although there were some mothers who commented that they did not remember the name. The Indian tradition of extending sibling terms to parallel cousins such as "brother" or "sister" was still practiced by many in each group. Ten in the reservation group reported using these terms, and seven of the non-reservation mothers used sibling terms in referring to cousins. Although there was no significant difference, the data showed that there were more of the reservation based group still using these terms. This again reflects the practice of the matri-archal kinship structure.

The teaching of Indian songs, dances, and legends varied greatly. Children in both groups were taught the legends most often by their grandparents. There were three fathers in the non-reservation group who did teach these to the children. Only half of each group were taught Indian songs by their grandparents and one-third of the grandparents taught the children Indian dances. Both groups seemed to rely more on the father or the elementary school for teaching dances. At least three or four mothers reporting in each of these three areas of legends, dances, and songs, said these were not taught to their children by anyone.

Maternal Expectations for the Child's Future

No significant differences were found in the mothers expectations for their child's future. There was a wide range of answers, which suggested some interesting projections by mothers.

After reflecting seriously on the question of marriage, as presented in Table 12, more than half of the mothers in the sample said they would be happiest if their child married an Indian of their own tribe and stayed at their Pueblo village. One of each group hoped their child would marry an Indian, but did not care from which tribe. The rest said they definitely wanted the child to make his own decision and would be happiest with that decision. One mother expressed the concern that the child should be old enough to make a wise decision. Another mother in the sample wanted her child to marry an Indian, but strongly hoped they would live off the reservation in a white community. It is interesting to note that this mother had much of her education in a non-Indian culture.

Table 12. Mother's marital expectations for their children.

	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Both Groups
Mother would be happiest if her child married a member of his own tribe and lived in the Pueblo	10	7	17
Mother would be happiest if her child made his own decision	4	6	10
Other (Marry Indian of any tribe, etc.)	$\frac{1}{15}$	$\frac{2}{15}$	$\frac{3}{30}$
Total	15	15	30
$\chi^2 = 1.26$	Not significant at .05		

As the mothers thought back to their own childhood and compared the way their mother raised them with the way they are rearing their family, most believed that they are rearing their children differently. Many reasons were given for the differences. Most of these answers centered around the point that children have many more material things now and learn more because of such innovations as television and cars which give the child much more exposure to the world. Five reservation mothers believed that they allowed their children more freedom and less responsibility than their mothers did. The non-reservation group had nine mothers who expressed this belief. Taking the opposite view were three mothers who believed that they were raising their children more strictly than their mother did. It is worth noting that only one mother in the sample expressed the sentiment that she was reared in the old Indian ways and customs and that her children are not being reared that way. It may be that there were other mothers who also were. Another mother said that the only difference in child rearing practices presently initiated is the fact that her mother is now deceased and she does not obtain immediate assistance on childhood practices, but she tries to do as her mother would have done. All but two of the mothers believed that the Indian way was changing at least in some respects on the reservation.

The belief that their children could still live the Indian way with some changes taking place was commonly expressed by many mothers. Table 13 summarizes these beliefs. Most mothers could see changes but hoped their children would learn to preserve some of the Indian culture and way of life.

Table 13. Maternal expectations for childrens continuence in the old Indian ways.

	Reservation Educated	Non-Reservation Educated	Both Groups
Want child to continue or go back to the Indian way	8	8	16
Don't want children to go back to the Indian way	2	2	4
Want children to take the best from both the Indian and the white man's way	3	3	6
Want children to choose Indian or white way according to their own choice	$\frac{2}{15}$	$\frac{2}{15}$	$\frac{4}{30}$
$X^2 = 0$ Total	15	15	30

Not significant at .05

Some expressed this desire with the hope that their child, while preserving the culture could also learn how to survive in a white man's world. Four of the mothers did not want the children to go back to the old Indian ways. One feeling that was prevalent among all mothers was the desire to teach their children to be proud they were an Indian. The answers varied in both groups of mothers with no significant difference.

Summary

This study of the characteristics and traits of traditional versus non-traditional child rearing practices was undertaken to assess similarities and

contrasts of child rearing patterns among two groups of Indian mothers. The basic hypotheses was not rejected. In the sample selected, there was no significant difference between the two groups of Indian mothers as related to education and child rearing practices. These are the findings which emerged in each category.

1. Reservation educated mothers were generally more permissive in areas of feeding practices than the non-reservation educated group in which mothers were more demanding.

2. The non-reservation educated mothers were more structured in their toilet training practices. By contrast, reservation educated mothers were more permissive with their children and toilet trained them later than the non-reservation group.

3. In comparing the two groups, no significant differences were found in cleanliness or health practices. Mothers in both groups relied primarily on the local clinic to care for their children's health needs.

4. None of the items in the area of sleeping patterns of infants and the pre-school child proved to be significantly different. Some of the children in each group had less structured sleeping patterns, choosing to go to bed when they wished.

5. In regard to modes of discipline, there were significant areas of difference. Reservation educated mothers leaned toward the traditional maternal extended family pattern, whereas in the non-reservation educated group the father assumed the main authority more often or the mother and father were

seen as equal partners of authority. Disciplining by the maternal uncle was rarely mentioned.

6. Concerning the child's growing up, including his privileges and responsibilities, more of the children in the reservation educated group lived in their maternal grandmother's home. This once again shows the reservation educated group focusing more on the matrilineal household.

7. The expectancies of the mother toward the child's future showed no significant difference. All expressed the opinion that changes were occurring on the reservation, but most hoped their child would preserve some of the Indian culture and feel proud to be an Indian.

It should be noted that Schroeder had a much greater percentage of significant items. This study showed only a small number of significant items thus suggesting that the two groups of mothers have become more similar in their child rearing processes over the past 15 years. It would appear then that the assimilation process is having some affect on the child rearing practices of Pueblo mothers. However, these findings could indicate a trend by more educated mothers back to the traditional child rearing practices.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

American Indians have a past history of adapting to obvious aspects of the pluralistic American culture system. However, history shows that Pueblo Indians have been one of the most successful groups in resisting assimilation. Smith (1969) suggested this in her book New Mexico Indians.

It is impossible to state the degree to which the New Mexico Indians today have accepted, rejected, or modified their traditional way of life. Items of material culture are usually accepted readily, while attitudes and values, religious and social systems are more resistant to change. . . . Those groups such as the Pueblos, where religious systems and social organizations have retained their vitality, are most resistant to change. (p. 4)

In every culture, there are certain practices and beliefs concerning the rearing of children. This study was launched in an effort to learn what a Southwestern Indian group of mothers practiced in relation to child rearing practices in the pre-school years. This research was a comparative study between two groups of mothers and was undertaken to obtain information regarding the similarities and differences of the two Indian groups of mothers. The reservation group mothers were reservation based and attended only schools within that area. The non-reservation group of mothers had all, or at least five years of their schooling away from the reservation in a non-Indian culture. These two groups of mothers were compared in an attempt to determine

the degree to which Southwestern Pueblo mothers have been affected by their education in a non-Indian culture as related to child rearing practices in the pre-school. Specifically, the study tested the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the early child rearing practices of mothers educated on the reservation and those mothers educated off the reservation in a non-Indian culture.

In some Southwestern Pueblo tribes there is a definite void of studies showing influences which culture exerts on the early developing Indian child. The lack of research on child rearing practices of some Pueblo Indians makes it difficult to determine the manner and degree to which pluralistic values of the greater American Society are influencing family life and child rearing patterns of the Pueblo Indians. It is believed that this study has been a significant contribution on child rearing practices among Pueblo Indians.

The sample chosen for study was selected from the 1972-1973 community school records. The mothers were randomly selected from the three kindergarten classes. Half of these mothers were in the "reservation" group and the other half were the "non-reservation mothers." The mothers were each interviewed at home or their place of employment by the researcher during November, 1974. The test instrument utilized to collect data was a modified form of Schroeder's (1960) test measurement. The questionnaire was divided into seven basic categories measuring various aspects of child rearing patterns. After the interviews were completed, a chi-square analysis was made on the data of the two groups of mothers. Out of 76 items, only five showed a

significant difference at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypotheses which stated that there is no significant difference in the early child rearing practices of mothers educated on the reservation and those mothers educated in a non-Indian culture that have returned to the reservation to raise their family could not be rejected.

Schroeder's (1960) exploratory study of 15 years ago on beliefs and practices of Jemez Pueblo Indians of New Mexico pertaining to child rearing in the pre-school years in relation to the educational status of the mothers served as a comparative base for this research. This study is similar to hers in methodology and purpose and was adapted from the research which Shroeder did. It should be noted that the Pueblo where this study was conducted is not Jemez, although many of its characteristics are comparable. In her study, 20 of 97 variables were significant at the .05 level of significance. The majority of differences were not significant, but data indicated strong trends in some areas toward changes in child rearing practices related to educational background of the mothers. The items that Shroeder found to be significantly different in her study which relate to this research are compared as follows:

1. Babies in the non-reservation group were weaned from the breast and from the bottle at an earlier age than babies in the reservation group, which is similar to the findings of this research. However, Schroeder had over 50 percent of the mothers breast feeding only while this research only had three in the entire sample who breast fed only.

2. Toilet training was begun earlier with children in the non-reservation group which also concurred with the findings of this study.

3. More babies in the reservation group were cradled, and were cradled for more months than were the babies in the non-reservation group. This research found no significant difference in the number of babies cradled in the two groups, however, the reservation babies averaged a longer cradling time in number of months.

4. Children in the reservation group had no diet restriction after the second birthday, but were permitted to eat anything they wanted of the available food. The non-reservation group was somewhat stricter in their diet which was also true of this study.

5. Most of the reservation mothers took the major responsibility for the welfare and behavior of the children. This was also found to be true in this research with the non-reservation group having the father or both parents mutually taking the responsibility.

6. The non-reservation children in both studies were held responsible for their behavior at an earlier age than the reservation children.

As with Schroeder's findings, there were some trends which persisted in certain parts of this study, even though there were few significant differences statistically. Reservation mothers tended to be more permissive in some areas. The children in this group were weaned and toilet trained later. Some were on a cradle board longer and learned to walk later. There also seemed to be more permissiveness in eating and sleeping patterns. Schroeder found the same to

be true in her study of Jemez mothers. Permissiveness reflects the more traditional child rearing practices of Pueblo Indians.

On the data concerning when the child assumed various responsibilities and skills, there was no pervasive trend. Reservation children were later in learning some skills and responsibilities than non-reservation children, but earlier on others.

In the reservation group, the mother assumed the final authority more often, and generally followed the traditional maternal extended family pattern. In the non-reservation group the father assumed authority more often, or shared it equally with the mother.

It was found in this study, as in Schroeder's study of Jemez mothers, that many Indian children from this Southwestern tribe have experienced longer reliance on their mother, more permissiveness in eating, sleeping, and toilet training habits, and some responsibilities.

Discussion

There were a number of design limitations which the reader may want to consider. The sample size was relatively small which was a limiting factor in analyzing the results. However, some very significant patterns were found in spite of the sample size which is evident by the data in the findings.

Another variable to consider is that some of the more educated Indians or those who were schooled in a non-Indian culture may have chosen not to return to the reservation to raise their family. Therefore, a totally representative

sample may not have been available. There are various reasons why the Indians do not return to the reservation after their education. Sometimes after finishing school, Indians stay on at a university and teach. One Indian girl said she hoped to help her Indian people by working through teaching in the Indian studies program at a University. Often the urban life is more inviting with more employment opportunities and perhaps more material comforts. Some marry a spouse from another area, thus not returning to the reservation. There are many reasons why some of the Pueblo Indians do not return to raise a family on the reservation.

Out of the sample size available, most mothers seemed to give honest and candid answers to the interviewer. However, as the evidence was examined, it appears that a few individuals may not have been candid on items 17 and 18 which pertained to the medicine man. This category dealt indirectly with spiritual beliefs and for this reason it was harder to obtain honest responses from a few mothers. However, it is believed that most mothers were honest on this and other questions. The researcher tried to refrain from asking questions about the Indian religion because of the sacredness involved and respect for the Indian mother's private beliefs. It was, therefore, very difficult to view the total child rearing practices in perspective as related to Indian religion. This is a very integrated part of their child rearing practices.

It appears from this study that those Indian mothers schooled in a non-Indian culture have taken on some of the more structured practices of the non-Indian culture to which they were exposed. However, this researcher

strongly agrees with Hallowell (1925) who said, as found in McNickle (1973) that "change occurs without obliterating personality structure. Indians remain Indians not by refusing to accept change or to adapt to a changing environment, but by selecting out of available choices those alternatives that do not impose a substitute identity." (p. 110) Therefore, even though these mothers have taken on some new child rearing practices, they might still be teaching their children the Indian religion or other Indian values.

Most of the mothers in this study believed that there were differences in the way they are raising their children and the way their mother raised them. It would be interesting to do the same study with the mothers of those involved in this sample. It seems obvious that there would be some changes found in the basic child rearing practices between the two generations. There have been some dominant influences and changes within all cultures since World War II. These influences have entered into many families regardless of education. This might be a consideration as the findings of this research are analyzed. Perhaps some of the similarities and differences found in this study are more a reflection of generational change than educational status.

However, this researcher believes as Deloria (1970) that "in spite of the vast differences between generations, Pueblos have been able to maintain a sense of tribal purpose and solidarity, and developments are undertaken by the consensus of all the people of the community." (p. 28)

Suggestions for Further Study

The following suggestions for further study are recommended:

1. This study focused on the child rearing practices of one generation of mothers. A meaningful study could be done to compare the child rearing practices of two or even three generations of mothers.

2. It would be of value to carry out a similar study of those Indian mothers who did not return to the reservation after their non-Indian oriented education. Perhaps even further investigation might show why they did not return.

3. Another suggestion for further research might be to take a survey of elementary school teachers and their conceptions about Indian children. It would be interesting to find out how much of what educators teach young children about Indian children is myth or fact.

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APPENDIX

EDUCATION HISTORY OF THE MOTHER

Mother _____ Age _____ # of Children _____

Occupation _____ Marital Status _____

Education: Total years attended school From _____ To _____ Age last attended _____

Mission School From _____ To _____ Grad. _____ Age _____ C.D. Cr. _____

Government Day School From _____ To _____ Grad. _____ Age _____ C.D. Cr. _____

Albuquerque Ind. Bd. School From _____ To _____ Grad. _____ Age _____ C.D. Cr. _____

Sante Fe Indian Bd. School From _____ To _____ Grad. _____ Age _____ C.D. Cr. _____

Other _____ From _____ To _____ Grad. _____ Age _____ C.D. Cr. _____

University or College _____ From _____ To _____ Grad. _____ Age _____ C.D. Cr. _____

Other _____ From _____ To _____ Grad. _____ Age _____ C.D. Cr. _____

Languages _____

Spoken _____ Read _____ Written _____

Children (youngest first) _____ Age _____

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

8. _____

Why did the mother go to an outside school? _____

How extensively did the mother associate with non-Indians

at school? _____

at home? _____

Other comments _____

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES RELATION TO CHILD REARING

Mother _____ Mother's Age _____

Child _____ Child is _____ of _____ children

Child's Birthdate _____ Child's Age _____

Mother's level and type of education _____

In every culture there are certain practices and beliefs concerning the rearing of children. In your culture, some of these beliefs and practices have persisted for centuries. We desire to understand your own beliefs and practices in order to learn what the mothers of your Pueblo believe and practice in relation to child rearing in the pre-school years.

INFANT AND PRE-SCHOOL FEEDING

1. By what method was the baby fed?
 - A. Breast fed only
 - B. Bottle fed only
 - C. Breast and bottle fed
2. For what length of time was the baby fed by this method?
 - A. 1-12 months
 - B. 13-24 months
 - C. More than 24 months
3. At what age was the baby weaned from this suckling device?
 - A. Earlier than 12 months
 - B. 12-24 months
 - C. Later than 24 months
4. Was the weaning done
 - A. Sharply?
 - B. Gradually?
 - C. As a combination of the above two?
5. At what age was the baby fed first solid food?
 - A. 1-6 months
 - B. 6-12 months
 - C. 12-18 months
 - D. 18-24 months
 - E. More than 24 months

6. What food from the table would you not give a baby under one year old?

7. Did you chew food for the baby? _____
8. How often was the baby fed during the first year?
A. When hungry (when cried)
B. At certain times only
9. During the first year, was the child usually
A. Held whenever fed?
B. Not held during feeding?
10. Who fed the baby most (if not breast fed)?
A. Father
B. Mother
C. Grandmother
D. Other _____
11. Did the child use a pacifier?
If yes, what kind did he use? _____
- If your child sucked his thumb, what if anything did you do to stop thumb sucking? _____

12. As a pre-school child, when does he eat?
A. With family at regular meal times only
B. Only whenever he is hungry
C. At irregular times

TOILET TRAINING METHODS

13. At what age did toilet training begin?
A. 12 months or earlier
B. 13-24 months
C. 25 months or more
14. How was it done? _____

15. What do you do to cure bed wetting after the child is five years old?

CLEANLINESS AND HEALTH PRACTICES

16. How often was the child bathed as an infant? _____
 By whom? _____
 How? _____

17. Health Record:

Illness	Age	Who treated the child?
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

18. If the child is sick now, where do you take him first? Major illness:
- To the field nurse or doctor at the clinic.
 - To your mother or mother-in-law.
 - To a private doctor.
 - To an Indian Medicine Man.
 - Cure him yourself.
 - Other _____

Minor illness:

- To the field nurse or doctor at the clinic.
 - To your mother or mother-in-law.
 - To a private doctor.
 - To an Indian Medicine Man.
 - Cure him yourself.
 - Other _____
19. Do you take him to the clinic, doctor, or field nurse for regular checkups?
- Yes
 - No
 - Sometimes

SLEEPING PATTERN

20. When does your child go to sleep?
- Goes to bed at a regular time.
 - Whenever he wants to.
 - When the parents go to bed.
 - Other _____

21. What do you do to quiet the baby if he cries at night?
A. Child quieted with food or water
B. Child is cradled
C. Other _____
22. Does the child have a nap during the day time?
A. Yes
B. No
If not, when did he stop? _____
23. What are his special bed time rituals?
A. Child read to
B. Child sung to
C. No rituals
D. Other (prayers, cradling, etc.) _____
24. Was your child raised on a cradleboard? _____
For how long? _____

MODES OF DISCIPLINE

25. Who takes the major responsibility for the child's behavior and welfare?
A. The mother
B. The father
C. The grandparents
D. Both parents share the responsibility
E. Other _____
26. Who is the final authority in matters pertaining to the child's behavior?
A. Father assumes the final authority
B. Mother assumes the final authority
C. Grandparents assume the final authority
D. Other _____
27. Is there a difference in the behavior expected of boys and girls in the pre-school years?
A. Expect girls to behave better
B. Expect boys to behave better
C. Expect no difference in behavior
28. At what age is a child considered to be responsible for his behavior, and so punished for unacceptable behavior?
A. Age three or earlier
B. Ages three to six
C. Age seven
D. Older than seven

29. What acts call for punishment? _____

30. Who usually punishes the child?
A. The father
B. The mother
C. The grandparents
D. Other _____
31. What methods of punishment are used?
A. Child spanked as punishment
B. Child deprived as punishment
C. Child scolded as punishment
D. Other _____
_____ Put to bed _____ Sat in chair
_____ Stood in corner _____ Given chores to do
_____ Kept in house _____ Deprived of a toy
32. Do you ever punish a child before these?
A. Family only
B. Strangers only
C. Both family and strangers
D. Neither family nor strangers

ATTITUDE OF MOTHER TOWARD CHILD'S GROWING UP INCLUDING HIS
PRIVILEGES, AND RESPONSIBILITIES

33. Is the child growing up in his
A. mothers parents home?
B. fathers parents home?
C. parents home?
D. other? _____
34. It is not wise or proper for a child, while growing up, to be influenced by grandparents.
A. True
B. False
35. Was the child given an Indian name?
A. Yes
B. No
C. No response

36. At what age did he accomplish the following skills?

Dress himself _____
 Tie his shoe _____
 Button front buttons _____
 Wash hands and face _____
 Bathe himself _____
 Feed himself an entire meal _____
 Learn to walk _____
 Have a five word vocabulary _____

37. Do you think there is a difference in the development of the above skills in boys and girls?

A. Yes
 B. No

If yes, in what ways? _____

38. At what age was he permitted to assume the following responsibilities alone? Go to the fields _____ Go to the store on errands _____ Attend a ceremonial dance at the Pueblo _____ Visit in the house of a relative within the Pueblo _____ Outside the Pueblo _____ Stay away from home for a meal _____ Overnight _____ For a longer period _____ Go about the Pueblo at will in the daytime _____ After sundown _____ Play with other children without adult supervision _____ Stay in the house alone if adult is away for a short time _____ Take care of a younger child _____.

39. Are sibling terms extended to some cousins (that is, calling a cousin "brother" or "sister")?

A. Yes
 B. No

40. Who teaches him Indian songs?

A. Father
 B. Mother
 C. Grandparent
 D. Another relative
 E. Other _____

Who teaches him Indian legends?

A. Father
 B. Mother
 C. Grandparents
 D. Another relative
 E. Other _____

Who teaches him Indian dances

- A. Father
- B. Mother
- C. Grandparents
- D. Another relative
- E. Other

MATERNAL EXPECTATIONS FOR THE CHILD'S FUTURE

41. Would you be happiest if your child
- A. married on and lived in the Pueblo?
 - B. married an Indian of another tribe, but lived in the Pueblo?
 - C. Married a non-Indian and lived away from the Pueblo?
 - D. Other? _____
42. Looking back on your own childhood, how would you compare the way your mother raised you with the way you are raising your family? _____
- _____
- _____
- If there is a difference, how do you feel about this change? _____
- _____
- _____
- If they are the same, how do you feel about this? _____
- _____
- _____
43. Do you feel the Indian traditional way is changing on the reservation? _____
- _____
- _____
44. Would you hope your child would continue in the traditional "old" Indian way or not? _____
- _____
- _____

VITA

Sherry Douglas Remund

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: A Comparative Study of Mother's Education and Early Child Rearing Practices in a Southwestern Indian Pueblo

Major Field: Family and Child Development

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CREDITS

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