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Places of Memory: Whiteman's Schools and Native American Communities. By Alan Peshkin.

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and unwittingly brought disease and despair while offering eternal salvation. Vecsey's comment in the context of writing about the Coast Salish applies equally well to all of Native America: "Catholicism constituted part of the trauma as well as providing succor in their travails" (p. 320). Vecsey accomplishes the difficult task of presenting a history that both respects the beliefs of American Indian Catholics and confronts the context in which those beliefs were first accepted.

Nancy Bonvillain

Places of Memory: Whiteman's Schools and Native American Communities. By Alan Peshkin. New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates. 150 pages. \$39.95 cloth; \$22.50 paper.

Success. What is it? How is it articulated and quantified? How is success defined within the context of American Indian education? Conversely, what defines educational underachievement and in what multiple contexts may it be manifest? This contrast between success and failure lies at the heart of Alan Peshkin's insightful exposé of Pueblo education. Moving comfortably within the strictures of educational anthropology, Peshkin seeks to examine the sweeping composite of Pueblo education through multiple lens of reflection: culture, assimilation, utility, and expectation. Yet at the core of this analysis is the fundamental belief that educational underachievement (which is a more appropriate term than failure) is more than just poor test scores. It is a deeper sense of cultural detachment and a more pronounced schism between expectation and outcomes that serve to undermine the academic excellence of Pueblo youth. For Peshkin argues, correctly, that Pueblo education—and to a greater degree American Indian education writ large—suffers from a cultural malady that asks, if not demands, a physical and ideological adherence to an educational prescription incongruous to many American Indian communities. The result is an educational malaise born of cultural difference and mired in often incompatible expectations.

Peshkin begins his exposé by exploring a series of confounding and often contradictory educational expectations. The first is the duality of curriculum. Pueblo students ascribe to the "conventional" curriculum—history, government, English, math, and science—that is geared for college entrance. All standard fare. Yet this curricular conventionality, if you will, is juxtaposed with a set of Pueblo cultural tenets that often dictate how this curriculum is to be presented. For example, certain pieces of literature are "screened" for their references to Pueblo taboos. Science is presented in a way that is congruous with Pueblo lifeways. The result is not a watering down of the curriculum by any means, but rather a dualistic approach to curricular presentation that, though enlightening, walks a precarious balance between Native and non-Native expectations.

But is this curricular incongruity to blame for Pueblo educational underachievement? To the students who were asked to expound upon their academic prowess or interest (or lack thereof) many exhibited an educational malaise that, quite frankly, runs parallel with a number of adolescent students schooled in big cities or on small reservations. Pueblo teachers too showed the same general concern for their student's welfare and lamented, as do most effective teachers, the fact that their student's don't do better. In this admittedly generalist light, Peshkin brings nothing new to the discourse surrounding educational underachievement. Caring teachers caring about underachieving students is ageless.

Where Peshkin shines is in his rather obvious but nonetheless insightful link between educational underachievement and this "dual world tug-of-war" (p. 102). Students of this Pueblo high school (and scores of other predominately American Indian high schools) must navigate a personal and academic path that is strewn with mixed messages: succeed in adopting and conforming to "conventional" academic mores while retaining and adhering to "traditional" customs and beliefs, the compromise being that many students are half in and half out—marginally engaged in both their academic and cultural worlds. If it boils down to a choice between the two, it is often the conventional, academic world that is sacrificed.

Though all of the chapters in this work are cleanly written with great care given to detail and definition (particularly in chapter 4), the most revealing and far-reaching chapter is the first. For any budding educational anthropologist, this chapter is an essential piece of scholastic soul-searching that brilliantly bridges the often conflicting anthropological spheres of the personal and the professional. Here, the author struggles with and ultimately resolves the anthropological residue of colonialism—the "other" studying the "other." Peshkin has it right when he confesses that "I enter, identify, and feel, aware that I wear shoes, never moccasins; that I attend dances, never dance; that I listen and observe, never as an Indian" (p. 19). At the outset, the author makes it clear that issues of interpretation and "sight" are fundamental to his exploration of Pueblo education. He, like all sound educational anthropologists, recognizes his limitations. Peshkin intuitively grasps that within the field of American Indian studies writ large, the "other" must often look more closely and, more importantly, must look with a heightened sense of both introspection and respect. The author, refreshingly, provides an abundance of both. There is much to be learned and much to be savored from these initial seventeen pages of text.

Alan Peshkin has produced an informative and insightful composite of the cultural and educational complexities that surround a Pueblo high school. Yet I would not want to limit his work's utility to just Pueblo education. What is presented here is a case study of a phenomenon that, in my opinion, is more prevalent within many American Indian educational circles than expected or desired. This is a work useful to those who work in, write about and, most importantly, question and chart the future of American Indian education. Though, refreshingly, Peshkin does not offer a ubiquitous panacea; this is not his purpose here. Like any worthy educational anthropologist, he tells the story; it is up to the reader to decide if it is worth remembering. I believe that it is.

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