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Survival Schools: The American Indian Movement and Community Education in the Twin Cities. By Julie L. Davis.

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portrayal of Native peoples without fully understanding how these stereotypes were created and recreated.

The variety of films chosen shows the breadth of often-complicated stories about American Indians. The assumption is that the reader has some knowledge or background of the Wild West performers of the late 1800s and of the silent era films of the early 1900s. Although the first chapter is titled "The Silent Red Man," all the films reviewed are set in the sound era, omitting the long legacy of Hollywood American Indian performers in the silent era of Cecil B. DeMille, or the performers involved in the Buffalo Bill Wild West Shows. Without those historical conversations, it is difficult to understand in depth the origin of these stereotypes of the "Silent Red Man" chapter and "Death Wish, Indian Style" (chapter 9). Lacking these conversations, this text is not a premier anthropology of Native Americans in film or Native performers more generally. However, simply by showcasing a very wide array of contemporary films, this book would appeal to scholars beginning their journey into American Indian film study.

*Seeing Red* provides two insightful advantages: it introduces many well thought-out film critiques authored by extremely well-versed American Indian studies scholars, and lays a foundation for the current generation of young scholars to step away from the pressure of continually perpetuating a sense of academic hierarchy. This book could be seen as disrupting the dominant narrative within academia and within the Hollywood film industry. Either way, the successful reviews in the text were able to put many conversations into play rather than offering perfunctory viewpoints. The tongue-in-cheek nuances written into the film critiques work a majority of the time as a vehicle to open the text up to nonacademic and academic audiences alike. Hopefully, this digestible and easily used text will be used frequently in American Indian and film studies classrooms.

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**Survival Schools: The American Indian Movement and Community Education in the Twin Cities.** By Julie L. Davis. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 2013. 336 pages. \$69.00 cloth; \$22.95 paper; \$82.80 electronic.

There are numerous accounts of the boarding schools initiated in the late nineteenth century. The schools prohibited Native language use and discouraged cultural practices; family bonds were broken. In *Survival Schools: The*

*American Indian Movement and Community Education in the Twin Cities*, Julie L. Davis describes how, during the 1960s decade of activism, American Indian Movement (AIM) members and their allies confronted the socioeconomic disparities and racial discrimination then rampant in Minnesota's Twin Cities and committed to change. Their persistence prevailed over their profound sense of loss.

Davis has extensively interviewed the leaders for her book. Clyde Bellecourt remembered the high-pitched singing in the remote area of the White Earth reservation where the traditionalists lived. Starting with only a vision of the rejuvenation of Native culture, Bellecourt and Pat Bellanger created survival schools for their people. The leaders agreed that they needed to work from a spiritual base. They identified those who had kept the spiritual fires lit; Eddie Beton-Banai was one such individual. In Arizona the Rough Rock Demonstration school was created. A Shoshone educator named Essie Horne taught Indian history and culture in the Wahpeton boarding school in North Dakota. A movement for self-determination was forming.

Davis notes a shift from prewar to postwar activism: as more people were relocated to the cities in the relocation programs designed to assimilate indigenous people, family systems were put under stress. This disintegration of family bonds could be felt in the welfare system of Hennepin and Ramsey counties and the schools of Minneapolis and St. Paul. "Settlement houses" provided places for social gatherings such as powwows, and activities for youth were planned. The living conditions deteriorated, however, as more Native people settled into the area: housing conditions were deplorable; economic opportunities were limited. By 1970, the Phillips neighborhood in Minneapolis became known as the "Indian ghetto" complete with mice, uncollected debris, and roaches. Thirty-six percent of the substandard housing lacked plumbing. "One study from 1965 estimated that half of employable Indian people in St. Paul were unemployed, at a time when the national average stood at 4%. In 1970, census figures reported that the average income for St. Paul Indian families was half that of the general population" (24).

Native people began to clash with the police, particularly when Indian bars on Franklin Avenue were targeted. Davis quotes Dennis Banks, another AIM leader, as he claimed that the two hundred arrests per weekend were intended to "provide unpaid labor for the work house and various city projects" (31). Taking the lead from the Black Panthers in Oakland and other cities, the AIM members wore red jackets and started their own "Indian Patrol" to document harassment (31). Fortunately, there was a shift in federal policy toward Indian self-determination, and this was bolstered by Johnson's War on Poverty programs and his vision of the Great Society. As early as 1961, Davis reports,

a conference was held in Chicago and the National Indian Youth Council was established.

In 1970, without a penny of startup money, AIM announced its plan to open a K-12 Indian school in Minneapolis. The announcement was met with some criticism from those who objected to the radical tactics of AIM, but AIM's case for a school was strengthened by the removal of Indian children from their homes. Social services were keeping distressed families under close scrutiny. Davis claims that children were taken into reformatory schools, put into foster care, and adopted out to families in disproportionate numbers. Open schools were coming into vogue, and the St. Paul Open School, where individualized learning, flexible structures, and venues for artistic expression were making education attractive. Within a month, according to Clyde Bellecourt, forty-five kids had signed up for the alternative AIM school, directly from juvenile court (94). Predictably, the public school administrators simplified the concept of cultural education to "irrational attachment . . . to the bow and arrow thing." The transmission of beliefs and values of traditional culture was the premise of survival schools. "As Benton-Banai later explained to a journalist, 'If you give people back their identity and their self-esteem, you give them something to be proud. . . . That's what cultural-based education is. It ain't about beadwork and making moccasins'" (81).

There was additional opposition to the AIM school: Ted Mahto, an Ojibwe working with the Minneapolis School System, and Chris Cavender advocated gradual changes and feared that confrontational tactics would divide the community. The Heart of the Earth school, under Clyde Bellecourt, preferred direct-action tactics such as demonstrations and visits from activists. The radical approach was evident in their materials. Johnny Smith, a sixty-one-year-old man from the Red Lake Reservation, taught cultural classes at the Heart of the Earth School in Minneapolis. In addition to his role of instructor, he was an administrator and board member. Deeply committed to the students, "he tutored them, gave them rides home, bought groceries and accompanied them to court hearings" (100).

In 1972, The Red School House, a second alternative school, had opened its doors. The emphasis was on keeping women and children safe, and creating a "dignified" place. Eddie Benton-Banai quietly worked to restore the spiritual knowledge of the people. They organized drum circles and dances, as well as ceremonies. The survival skills of the indigenous people were practiced: students gathered maple sugar, tanned hides, and quarried for pipestone. Red House Graphics was established to train students in design and photography; they were also able to create cultural materials for distribution. The author includes examples from "A Mishomis Book" to promote definitions and vocabulary in the Native language. Between the years of 1972 and 1975, the survival

of the schools was dubious due to financial instability and opposition, but Davis states that the leaders were “tenacious” in their efforts. At first the Red School House held classes in a tiny church and a wooded lot; later they moved to larger spaces in need of renovation. In time Red School House offered classes to adults, and both schools worked with prisoners and juveniles. Free child care and medical services also became available under the sponsorship of the schools.

Financial support is always problematic for alternative schools. Government grants were available to the schools based on the premise that measurable outcomes would be documented. Pat Bellanger admitted that the AIM members didn’t have the skill set to produce reports. Davis quotes her: “Trying to be a round peg in a square hole is *really* hard to do. And that’s basically what we’re forced to do” (180). With the election of Ronald Reagan, programs for Native people were deeply cut. Reagan also withdrew support for bilingual and multicultural education. In the 1980s and 1990s latent conflicts between the schools and their leaders broke out in the form of disagreements which divided teachers, administrators, students, and community members. The Red School House closed at the end of 1994–1995, while the Heart of the Earth school survived until 2008, when the institution succumbed to “administrative misconduct.”

Charter schools are still being created to provide a refuge for the alienated students who would likely drop out of schools with thirty students per classroom, and attempts to decolonize existing schools continue. Less than half of the hispanic students graduate from high school, with similar numbers for Native people in the Southwest. In Arizona, indigenous culture was taught in La Raza classes in the Tucson school district. *Precious Knowledge*, an independent film documentary, showed activist teachers introducing indigenous concepts from Central American Mayas and Aztecs (Dos Vatos Productions, 2012). These cultural studies programs retained 94 percent of the students. Critics called La Raza studies “racist” and anti-American, accusing the teachers in engaging in “hate speech.” In 2010 governor Janice Brewer signed HB 2281 and closed down multicultural programs. In protest against the legislation banning ethnic studies, Arizona students ran in the extreme heat, passing ceremonial staffs to fresh runners, and they even occupied the capitol building. Fortunately, as an embedded sovereign nation, the Navajo can continue to teach Diné language and culture.

Davis hopes the book will inform future movements. In the current national budget sequester, the funding for Head Start centers vital to young children who may come from distressed families are being cut, and many centers have been consolidated. Davis concludes, “Just as the reach of European colonialism was global in scope, so the movements of Indigenous decolonization have