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**GLOBALIZATION AND THE CORPORATE SPONSORSHIP  
OF NAVAJO EDUCATION: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON ASSIMILATION**

by

**Richard Parker Juliani**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the  
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## ABSTRACT

When contemporary Native American education in the United States with its historical legacy of ideological management and vocational training, is grafted upon the broader context of modern public education, an ominous threat appears for indigenous communities. What happens to the nature of public education when two principal homogenizing forces—the corporation and the public school—become partners, involving business and industry directly in the education of native youth? This thesis examines the history and philosophy behind the corporate presence in United States public education, the nature and extent of contemporary corporate sponsorship in mainstream education, and the implications of such sponsorship for Navajo students in one public school district in northern New Mexico. The research presented finds that the various forms and objectives of corporate-sponsored education, invariably carrying latent marketing agendas, homogenizing forces, and consumerist values, constitute another potential instrument of assimilation of indigenous students.

## **Chapter I--INTRODUCTION**

### **Background**

Globalization has become an increasingly dynamic and prevalent force in the contemporary world. This process, most often expressed as a gradual tendency toward greater global economic interdependence and cultural homogeneity, presently appears in many different guises, affecting the collective cultural ethos of the world's nation-states and smaller communities. No country represents and fosters the various homogenizing forces of globalization more than the United States with its free market capitalism and accompanying political institutions and values. Moreover, globalization is most commonly conceived of as a process occurring outside this nation, as transnational corporations, seeking to expand their business and increase profit, open new markets throughout the world. This popular representation as an external phenomenon, however, overlooks a broader conception of globalization as an internal process of growing corporate preponderance as private business extends its influence into the nation's public sector. One of the chief forces of globalization has been the penetration of business and industry and the accompanying corporate values into the United States public educational system. This study approaches globalization as an internal phenomenon or condition, in which business and industry, seeking to increase profit and expand marketing efforts, effectively establishes within United States society a corporate hegemony that fosters forces of ideological management, which, in turn, threatens the cultural diversity and sovereignty of Native American nations.

### **Purpose & Research Questions**

The purpose of this study is to examine the nature and extent of corporate sponsorship of public education in one school district in northern New Mexico, where nearly 80% of the public school students are Navajo. This work, identifying the corporate presence in educational policy and practice as one principal internal force of globalization or cultural synchronization in the United States, focuses on a relatively new manifestation of this presence, the corporate sponsorship of public education. It argues that the public school and corporation each embody powerful forces of homogenization which seek to 'massify' individual students as part of these institutions' historical social functions. These functions not only operate today through the corporate sponsorship of education, but also constitute a profound legacy within the history of Native American education in the United States. This study, by analyzing the homogenizing forces within both the corporate ethos and historically imposed schooling for Native Americans, examines corporate sponsorship of education for contemporary Navajos. Supporting this overarching focus, however, is a series of related questions that will frame this study as well as provoke further investigation in this area of scholarship. These questions include: what are the philosophical and historical roots of corporate sponsorship; how are these ideologies and history reflected in corporate sponsorship of education in the Four Corners County public schools; what is the nature and extent of sponsorship programs nationwide as well as in the Four Corners County area; what are the possible advantages and disadvantages of sponsorship to schools, students, and business on both national and local district levels; and, what are the particular implications of corporate sponsorship of

education for Navajo students and communities in the Four Corners County area of northern New Mexico.<sup>1</sup>

### **Significance of the Research**

Absolutely no quantitative or qualitative research currently exists on any facet of corporate sponsorship of or involvement in Native American education. No data, descriptive or otherwise, exist on either the nature and extent of such sponsorship or its implications for indigenous students and communities. These issues represent two areas of critical applied research for contemporary Native people, as they contend with the assimilative tendencies of both mainstream public education and the impending forces of globalization.

This thesis, concerned with the nature of existing and future relationships between the business community and public elementary and secondary schools of this country, particularly those which serve Native American students, raises critical theoretical and practical concerns. Seeking to apply a new framework of 'internal globalization' to contemporary Native life, it evokes important theoretical issues, which, in turn, can provide important information for indigenous people, as they try to reconcile the needs and interests of their children and communities with those of the business sector *and* with any potentially culturally destructive, assimilative effects of corporate sponsorship of Native education. The intention here is to bring to these issues greater light that may enable indigenous communities to make more informed decisions regarding the future of

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<sup>1</sup> The terms Four Corners County, Four Corners School District (FCSD), Pinon Hills, and all other names within this document are fictitious, but represent an actual county and school district, as well as individual district administrators and towns in one northern New Mexico county.

their children's education. This work can also be used to help develop a set of guiding principles that can serve Native schools and communities who are considering fostering a school-business partnership.

### **Definitions**

For the purposes of this study, 'globalization' is defined as a gradual tendency toward cultural homogeneity and ideological management through a corporate social hegemony, brought on by expanded mass communications and marketing activities by business and industry. In this context, the corporate sponsorship of education constitutes a force of globalization in its facilitation of the penetration of the corporate interest into one of the United States' principal institutions of socialization—the public school. This study, moreover, does not draw distinctions between the labels, 'corporations,' 'companies,' or 'business and industry,' and thus, uses these terms synonymously.

There are a number of different types of corporate sponsorship in contemporary public education which encompass both formal and informal relationships between schools and businesses. The latter entails the involvement of business and industry on an individual level, and depends upon the nature of the informal personal contact between individuals from a corporation and a school (such as in political lobbying). The present work, however, is more concerned with formal relationships which operate on an institutional level.

Consequently, this study uses 'corporate sponsorship of education,' as a broad term, encompassing different types of direct support given by business and industry to public education, such as adoption of schools by local businesses, money from direct corporate

advertising in schools, and curricula and other instructional materials. 'Corporate involvement' (used synonymously with corporate presence or corporate interest) is a more inclusive term, denoting a broader type of corporate support that does not directly enter the classroom, such as representation of businesspeople on local school boards. Finally, for the purposes of this study, the term 'school-business partnership' represents the narrowest category or type of corporate sponsorship in public education. It is used strictly to designate the Adopt-A-School programs currently operating in the Four Corners County School District (FCSD) in which businesses adopt or sponsor local public schools.

### **Limitations**

Three factors exist as limitations to this study. First, the sample represented in the case studies is limited to four schools—three elementary schools and one middle school. The interview subjects were restricted to administrators on both the school and district-wide level—four principals and the district assistant superintendent. Consequently, all the qualitative data gathered reflects the views of these five administrators on various aspects of corporate sponsorship. The perspectives of teachers, students, parents, and corporate representatives were not examined, and entered the discourse or analysis only indirectly through the impressions of the five administrators. Finally, the data only pertain to the Four Corners County public schools, and are used to shed light on the implications of corporate sponsorship of education for Navajo students and communities in this area of northern New Mexico. Any conclusions applied to the experiences of other Native American or indigenous groups must be drawn cautiously.

## **Summary & Overview**

This first chapter, introducing important concepts fundamental to the comprehension of the overall work, has outlined the background, purpose, and significance of the research, as well as the definitions of relevant terms and limitations of the study. This initial section, presenting these critical elements, serves further to acquaint the reader with the overall scope, structure, and objectives of this study.

Chapter two, providing the theoretical background to the subsequent examination of corporate sponsorship of public education, presents a review of the globalization research, as well as the literature that links ‘education and globalization,’ including the corporate involvement in United States public schools. This chapter also provides additional contextualization to the subsequent examination of corporate sponsorship of public education by comparing the perspectives of the two dominant socio-political theories of the twentieth century—neo-liberalism and neo-Marxism—on the role of education and educational reform. Chapter three, detailing the rise of the corporation in United States society and education, illustrates how the history of the corporation in schools and society from the post-Civil War era to the present day reflects this neo-liberal/neo-Marxist dichotomy, as well as serves to sustain the contemporary corporate sponsorship of education. This chapter, representing both an extension and an expansion of the previous theoretical and historical backgrounds, also discusses the reasons offered today by both schools and businesses to support corporate sponsorship, as well as provides a framework for understanding its nature and implications by classifying different types of sponsorship. This chapter, also offering in-depth examinations of five

such types, constitutes a critical foundation, because these programs represent the practical context within which sponsorship of Native American education occurs in contemporary public schools. In this chapter, the range of advantages and disadvantages to corporate sponsorship for both schools and businesses also emerge, in the process, eliciting important ideological and practical concerns for both mainstream and minority communities and anticipating the subsequent application of these issues to contemporary Native American education.

The second part of this work, resting upon the issues discussed in the previous section, analyzes corporate sponsorship within the context of contemporary Native American education and, in particular, the public school education of Navajo students in the Pinon Hills/Four Corners County, New Mexico area. Chapter four raises a series of questions and concerns for indigenous communities, given not only the potential problems posed by corporate sponsorship, but the assimilatory legacy of Native American education in this country as well. This chapter, consequently, builds upon the previous chapters, linking corporate sponsorship in mainstream education to the subsequent study of corporate sponsorship specifically of Navajo education. Chapter five provides critical demographic information as additional background, and describes the methodology of the author's qualitative research study on the nature and extent of corporate sponsorship of public education in Pinon Hills/Four Corners County, where Navajo children comprise the majority of school students. Chapter six presents the study's findings through four case studies of corporate sponsorship in the Four Corners County School District, then examines the implications of such sponsorship for Navajo

students and communities. Chapter seven weaves together the issues of globalization, corporate sponsorship of Native American education, and the assimilation of indigenous peoples, in turn, raising critical questions concerning the socio-cultural ramifications of both corporate sponsorship and broader forces of globalization for contemporary Native American communities. This chapter also proposes a new theoretical framework through which to understand corporate sponsorship of Native American education and perhaps to interpret emerging forms of economic development and, more broadly, the presence of capitalism on reservations.

## **Chapter II--LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Globalization**

The issue of globalization has attracted significant attention from scholars particularly in the last two decades. Most of the research has emanated from the fields of economics, political science, education, and cultural studies, as well as along the varied intersections between such disciplines. The scholarship reflects its inter-disciplinary origins through the different notions and theoretical frameworks by which to view the nature and effects of globalization. Thus, a few potential problems appear in the body of research, and demand clarification before one can develop a clearer understanding of globalization and its contemporary manifestation in the corporate sponsorship of American public education.

The recent widespread use of the term 'globalization,' on first glance, would seem to imply the existence of a uniform set of ideas about this process. The profusion of literature on various aspects of globalization over the past decade, in particular, also would suggest a similar ideological convergence and unity. However, no such consensus currently exists among researchers concerning either the nature of globalization, the principal factors driving this process, or its multiple effects. For example, one aspect of the research which can potentially limit or cloud one's comprehension is the range of terms used synonymously by scholars to describe the process of globalization. Such variation includes terms such as 'cultural imperialism,' 'cultural synchronization,' 'economic globalization,' and 'global rationalization.'

The varied terminology, however, does not necessarily preclude one's comprehension of the nature and implications of globalization. In fact, this diversity can expand one's comprehension, and serve as a window into the different ideological frameworks used to describe globalization. A consideration of the relevant perspectives will provide a useful context for understanding globalization and its contemporary manifestations, especially the corporate sponsorship of public education. For, fundamental commonalities, which frame and, to a degree, unify the scholarly discourse, underlie each of the terms used to describe globalization. They each describe or acknowledge a contemporary trend toward greater global interaction and interdependence in many different spheres of life. The terminology also generally recognizes the socio-cultural implications of this process, raising the issue of a tendency toward cultural convergence or homogenization among the world's nation-states and smaller communities. Rather than a static all-encompassing definition, however, it is sufficient here simply to perceive globalization as a process by which the world's cultural diversity gradually and progressively becomes homogenized through expanded economic interdependence and a growth in mass communications media. Upon reviewing the literature, three related theoretical perspectives on globalization emerge—paradigms which vary, but also encompass a fairly constant set of economic, political, and social factors.

The first major perspective asserts that the economic framework of western capitalism is the most powerful impetus fueling globalization. This approach argues that globalization represents the expansion of a set of practices and institutions that engender

the spread of free enterprise capitalism, and helps to establish it as the world's dominant economic system. For example, such early writers on globalization, as Cees Hamelink and Herbert Schiller, clearly embody this approach.

Hamelink perceives the process of globalization as arising from the spread of capitalist institutions and values throughout the world. He states, "[T]he principal agents...are the transnational corporations, largely based in the United States, which are developing a global investment and marketing strategy" (Hamelink 1983: 22-23). Schiller also argues that globalization is principally linked to the spread of capitalism, charging multinational corporations (MNC's) with "the promotion, protection, and extension of the modern world system..." (Schiller 1976: 23).

Robert Salinas and Leena Paldan (1979) similarly view capitalism as the major driving force behind globalization. They assert, however, that this homogenizing process, although essentially socio-economic in nature, derives from both the external domination of a nation-state or community by western industrial nations—led primarily by transnational corporations—and the resulting control of its internal class structure. Salinas and Paldan argue, "[I]n effect, dependent industrialization, accompanied by accelerated urbanization...can be seen as a drive toward cultural homogenization" (Salinas and Paldan 1979: 92).

While some views of this first group of researchers often reflect Marxist ideology, this particular orientation does not necessarily characterize all the scholarship within this

first paradigm.<sup>2</sup> Les Dlabay (1997), while not a Marxist theorist, does indeed place globalization within an entirely economic and consumerist, framework. He views globalization more favorably as “the process of expanding business activities and operations in order to gain a world-wide perspective of customers, products, and operating procedures” (Dlabay 1997: 60). Thus, Dlabay, similar to Hamelink, Schiller, and Salinas and Paldan, perceives globalization fundamentally as a function of expanded economic interdependence—a movement fueled by the evolution of national corporations into global entities.

A second major perspective situates globalization within the context of two primary complementary forces in the contemporary world: the ascendancy of the economic structures of capitalism and the political institutions of modern neo-liberal nation-states. Michael Dolan, epitomizing this paradigm, asserts that globalization arises from and takes shape as “free markets, competition, strong linkages to a world capitalist economy, and minimal role of the state...and the rapid spread of democratic political structures...”

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<sup>2</sup> Marxist ideology first gained expression through the writings of the fathers of modern Communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, in *The Communist Manifesto* (1848). This ideology asserts that human history is the history of class struggles—particularly between the working class and those who control the means of production in a society. Thus, a central tenet of Marxism states that economic relations determine class relations within any given society. Marxism, then, places the development of societies and history within a thoroughly economic context.

(Dolan 1993: 261). Raj Pannu similarly contends that globalization arises from “transformations both in the economic and political spheres of national society and in the international political economy” (Pannu 1996: 99). William Graf also reflects this complementary economic and political interpretation, arguing that “projects of globalization are experienced as the simultaneous processes of selectively dismantling all or part of certain institutions and functions of the state and internationalizing the political economy” (Graf 1995: 148).

Finally, a third major paradigm in the scholarship emphasizes the multi-dimensional character of globalization. Peter Berger (1997), drawing upon the research of previous scholars, asserts that globalization constitutes at least four distinct, yet closely related and simultaneous, processes, encompassing economic, intellectual, cultural, and religious forces. Within this broad context, he attributes globalization to the growing presence of transnational corporations, the intellectual and political ideologies of western intelligentsia, as well as the global expansion of both American popular culture and evangelical Protestantism. Berger, rather than seeking to isolate one lone globalizing force, affirms a more eclectic dynamic involved in the process of globalization.

John Tomlinson (1991) also conveys a more complex, multi-faceted conception of globalization. He outlines a series of broad factors which coalesce to constitute what he calls ‘cultural imperialism’—the growth of communications media, the evolution of the centralized nation-state, and the global expansion of capitalism. Tomlinson, however, views these entities, embracing cultural, political, and economic factors, as wholly subsumed by a fourth and final globalizing agent—the spread of modernity. Though the

very term 'modernity' is awash in ambiguity and subjective interpretation, Tomlinson sees modernity essentially as an umbrella under which the interrelated cultural, political, and economic forces operate. He states:

Each of the four ways of talking about cultural imperialism...has its own set of cultural perceptions and political concerns...there is also a certain expansion of the terms of reference as we move from one discourse to another. The first three in fact come together in the critical discourse of modernity. For capitalism, the nation-state and mass communications are all distinctive features of modern societies and determinants of the cultural condition of modernity.

(Tomlinson 1991: 173)

John Urry (1989) also views the process of globalization in a multi-dimensional context, discussing:

'globalisation' of economic, social and political relationships which have undermined the coherence, wholeness and unity of individual societies. Such developments include the growth of multinational corporations whose annual turnover dwarfs the national income of many individual nation states...the growth of means of mass communication which can simultaneously link 20-30 per cent of the world's population in a shared cultural experience... (Urry 1989: 97)

The accumulated scholarship, then, reveals some common ground concerning globalization. While some agreement exists on the nature of globalization and its primary causes, scholars have not achieved full consensus on these issues. The literature, however, reflects greater convergence than dissensus concerning the fundamental effects of globalization. There is consensus that the forces of globalization bear profound ramifications, affecting a wide range of social institutions and consequently altering the broader cultural ethos of a nation or community. Scholars are generally in accordance on four basic assertions—1) that globalization exists as a universal force (albeit in varying forms); 2) that this force greatly affects the policies and practices of educational systems;

3) that formal education, in turn, can serve as one of the most powerful instruments of globalization; and 4) that this process threatens the cultural diversity of the world's ethnic minority groups (see Boyd-Barret 1977; Salinas & Paldan 1979; Schiller 1979; Reiffers 1982; Berger 1997; McGinn 1997).

### **Globalization and Education**

One of the chief forces of globalization has been the penetration of business and industry and the accompanying corporate values into various domains of the public sector. Public education is perhaps the most critical of these areas to have felt the impact of a significant and expanding corporate presence. Much attention has been given during the last three decades to the effects of globalization and transnational corporations, in particular, on the political and even cultural sovereignty of nation-states. Within this area, some research exploring the relationship between globalization and education has emerged. Much of this work discusses the attempts of various public and private groups to reform the educational system in response to the changing global economic ethos (e.g. Paye 1996; Dlabay 1997). Recently, more studies have focused on the effects of globalization on education reform and particularly the cultural relevance of national educational systems (e.g. Kamens et al. 1996; McGinn 1996; Pannu 1996; Davies & Guppy 1997; Haddad 1997; Kamberelais 1997; McGinn 1997).

Very little scholarship, however, has directly examined the role of the primary force of globalization, the corporation, in the sponsorship of schools and instructional material in contemporary United States education. A particularly neglected area is the degree of homogenization involved both implicitly and explicitly for the consumers of this

material—the nation’s children. While some scholars have explored the marketing forces implicit in corporate sponsorship of education (Frankel 1976; Harty 1977, 1981, 1989/90; Olson 1989/90; Rudinow 1989a/b; Molnar 1989/90, 1996; Apple 1994), their work has not linked such sponsorship with the modern process of globalization. Alex Molnar’s *Giving Kids the Business* (1996), perhaps the most comprehensive overview of the nature and implications of corporate sponsorship in public schools, nevertheless only indirectly sheds light on these issues for minority communities in the United States.

As the economic forces of globalization (e.g. corporations, free enterprise, and other institutions and values of free market capitalism) expand in influence, thousands of public schools rapidly are facing the growing possibility of corporate sponsorship of education. Such partnerships fuse two powerfully homogenizing forces—the public school and the corporation—each of whose chief function is to shape individual behavior along a set of norms. Many of these schools, moreover, are in areas with significant populations of Native American students. Consequently, an understanding of the nature of these two institutions provides important context to any examination of the corporate sponsorship of education. A comprehension of not only the historical and theoretical backgrounds, but the implications of such corporate presence as well, furnishes a critical tool with which indigenous communities can face this latest challenge from mainstream United States society.

## **Theoretical Background:**

### **Neo-liberal and Neo-Marxist Perspectives on the Nature of Education**

Formal education is essentially the process by which a human community seeks to shape individual and collective behavior through the transmission of knowledge and the reinforcement of shared normative values. Thus, education inherently entails a strong homogenizing dynamic which can represent a powerful threat to the diversity of all students, but particularly to minority students from culturally distinctive ethnic communities. The uniquely powerful impact of education, then, stems from its existence as a socially sanctioned “institution which consciously plans to turn people into something” (Spring 1972: 149).

Formal education in modern nation-states, however, assumes broader dimensions, as it creates “an institutional relationship which gives power to a social group to consciously shape the personality and goals of an entire generation” (Spring 1972: 149) through the control of the distribution of knowledge. For, schools in democratic societies must impart a set of principles consistent with the particular social, political, and economic ideals of democracy, while authoritarian states or communities must teach principles reflective of the values that support and perpetuate authoritarian societies. Thus, even in a democratic republic, such as the United States, where individual freedom is jealously guarded, education has been described as a great ‘homogenizer’ whose goal is

to break down distinctions between people, to teach people to live in a rootless society, and to foster communication among strangers.... socialization is more important (in this type of education) than providing content... [Education] seeks not to make the individual into a

better member of his town, village, ethnic group or tribe, but to socialize him so that he can take his place in a corporate niche. The effort is to massify the society. (Wilkenson 1982: 49)

Within the history and philosophy of education in the United States reside two opposing perspectives on the function of education and its relationship to globalization and cultural homogenization—theoretical perspectives that are critical to the following examination of the corporate sponsorship of education. Essentially this debate centers on the relationship between power and education and its implications for social relations and identity. In the following discussion, ‘power’ will assume a dual dimension, reflecting both “the ability to control the actions of other people and the ability to escape from the control of others” (Spring 1988: 26). Each side to this notion of power crystallizes and becomes clearly evident when discussing the nature and function of education. This dialectical pair, which will both frame and inform the subsequent examination of corporate-sponsorship of education, constitutes essentially neo-liberal and neo-Marxist perspectives on education.

Neo-liberals (here this term refers to the present day continuation of classical liberalism or “laissez-faire,” that is the belief in a limited role for government and its agencies in regulating private enterprise) assert the positive benefits of schooling to the individual and, more importantly, to the polity, by emphasizing the personally empowering and socially binding dimensions of education. This perspective conceives of schooling as a process designed to enable individuals and nations to “meet new economic challenges as well as fulfill personal, cultural, and social goals” because “future economic prosperity, social cohesion, and full civic participation in democratic

societies—all depend on a well-educated population” (Paye 1996: 4). Further, neo-liberals trust corporations to be responsible agents, promoting the best interests of the public, and view the corporate presence in education as advancing the traditional, yet still vague, sense of ‘good citizenship.’ Thus, neo-liberals generally support and even vigorously advocate close corporate involvement in education (from representation on both national commissions and local school boards to the direct development of classroom instructional materials).

Conversely, neo-Marxists, sensing a collusion of government with private enterprise, view the role of education—especially in capitalist societies—in a much more wary and conspiratorial light. These theorists assert that education (or rather, formal schooling) is fundamentally an instrument wielded by national governments for social control—namely, the preparation of the individual to accept the social, political, and economic control of the dominant elite.<sup>3</sup> This paradigm also affirms that education in the United States, in particular, represents a tool of propaganda wielded by business and industry in order to control and perpetuate an economy dependent upon efficient production and the increasing consumption of goods and services (Spring 1972). Thus,

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<sup>3</sup> According to Marx and Engels, educational systems should be taken from the control of the ruling class, thereby halting the continued exploitation of children through formal schooling in capitalist societies. In *The Communist Manifesto*, they compared the nature of education in capitalist and communist societies, stating, “[b]ut you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social. And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention of society, direct or indirect, by means of schools, etc? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class. The bourgeois claptrap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletariat are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor” (Marx & Engels 1985: 27).

neo-Marxists generally view the corporate presence in education as extremely problematic—representing a concerted effort by business to shape the behavior, values, and desires of subsequent generations of consumers. Contemporary theorist Noel McGinn (1996), exploring the effects of economic globalization on national education systems, reflects a neo-Marxist perspective of the underlying objective of education:

Capitalists demand that workers be trained to accept technologies of production designed for other economies...Structural readjustment breaks down relationships of reciprocity among social classes, with each pushing harder to meet its special requirements. Those who can withdraw into private schools, thereby weakening the organic connection of schools with the community and their ability to reinforce shared values...countries reform their education systems in response to decisions made in nonaccountable, nontransparent, and nondemocratic corporate headquarters and international agencies. (McGinn 1996:350)

Neo-Marxist theorists also raise the issue of the tendency of formal education to create “a dependency on institutions and expertise” (Spring 1972: 152). This contention grows out of Karl Marx’s conception of alienation which he expressed as, “first, that the work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature; and that, consequently, he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well-being...It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a means for satisfying other needs...Finally the external character of work for the worker is shown by the fact that it is not his own work but work for someone else, that in work he does not belong to himself but to another person” (Marx 1961: 98-99). Utilizing and extending this concept, neo-Marxist theorists assert that education brings about “the alienation of man’s ability to act or create his own social being” (Spring 1972: 153).

### **Neo-liberal and Neo-Marxist Perspectives on Educational Reform**

When we place this debate on the function of education within the context of school reform in a democratic capitalist society, particularly in regard to the effects of expanded corporate involvement on education, this persistent neo-liberal—neo-Marxist dichotomy assumes an added dimension. Neo-liberals declare that the emergent global economy, driven by technological advancements, is shifting economic activity away from material production and toward information processing. Consequently, the neo-liberal argument continues, schools “must adjust to the growing importance of knowledge in production....with educational reform responsive to the postindustrial labor market and restructured global economy” (Davies & Guppy 1997: 439). Neo-liberals most often blame the educational system for economic stagnation and an under-trained work force, and indicate that the schools are structurally and ideologically deficient institutions. Educational reform, then, is seen as a socially beneficial and efficient means by which to upgrade the work force, thereby nurturing economic growth and offering greater freedom and opportunity to the individual.

Although in some ways Neo-Marxist reformers present a diametrically opposed philosophical orientation, they also both frame the issue of globalization and educational reform within the discourse of socio-political and economic control. Each ideological perspective shares a belief that market forces drive reforms and that economic globalization greatly affects national educational reform. Neo-liberals and neo-Marxists recognize business’ dependence upon schools “for its educated personnel, for enlarging human knowledge, and for upgraded consumer tastes” (Patrick & Eells 1969: ix). Each

perspective also agrees that the principal agents behind school reform are corporations and their collective representation on political bodies such as national and local education boards. Moreover, neo-liberals and neo-Marxists both generally agree that educational reform intends “to further instill market and commercial values in students” (Davies & Guppy 1997: 440).

However, both groups greatly differ on the propriety and value of such a system that fosters this type of socialization. Essentially, neo-Marxists diverge from neo-liberal thinking by their contention that educational reform is a tool wielded by a capitalist state both to shift blame away from inherent flaws in the economic system and to control class relations. Neo-Marxists assert that the essential function of school and school reform is “to control others by distributing knowledge that builds allegiance to ruling elites and convincing individuals to accept their subordinate position in society and in existing power relations” (Spring 1988: 27). This perspective views educational reform in western democracies as driven by the corporate sector “leading attacks on education in an effort to shift the blame for economic stagnation onto schools and away from industry, while simultaneously allowing business interests to restructure schooling for their own purposes” (Davies & Guppy 1997: 440). Neo-liberals, on the other hand, while agreeing that educational reform is intimately entwined with economic concerns, also affirm that this integration is natural, beneficial, and even necessary for a capitalist democracy to survive and progress. Consequently, these two theoretical perspectives, despite agreeing on the influence of corporations upon education, radically diverge on the qualitative social, political, economic, and even psychological effects of this corporate presence.

This pair of opposing paradigms will provide this work with a theoretical framework through which to analyze the corporate sponsorship of contemporary public education. For, this thesis will examine previous scholars' work, which contains ideas shaped to varying degrees by these two perspectives, as well as apply these theories to the sponsorship of Navajo education in northern New Mexico.

### **Chapter III--HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

#### **The Rise of the Corporation in United States Society and Education**

The neo-liberal perspective has been present to different degrees and forms throughout the history of education in the United States. For example, nineteenth century historian, George H. Martin, describing education legislation in the American colonies, wrote:

The child is to be educated, not to advance his personal interests, but because the State will suffer if he is not educated. The State does not provide schools to relieve the parent, nor because it can educate better than the parent can, but because it can thereby better enforce the obligation which it imposes. (Cubberley 1919: 19)

This early manifestation of a classical liberal notion of education (as an instrument to serve the interest of the state, rather than the individual child) reveals the long record of agendas within education. Thus, some historical background on the role of business and industry in this country's educational system is critical in order to gain a greater understanding of the contemporary presence of corporations in the classroom. Although this paper will primarily focus on the nature and implications of this presence, a comprehension of such practical concerns would be incomplete without a solid historical foundation.

By 1900, Martin's affirmation of classical liberalism had spawned a new belief—the virtue of the corporation was spreading through the social fabric of an increasingly industrialized, urbanized United States. Soon the notion of the 'good society' as "a highly organized and smoothly working corporate structure" (Spring 1972: xi) would come to dominate the nation's cultural ethos. The high social value, which early

twentieth century Americans attached to the corporation, was a significant development in the nation's history. Some educational historians, in fact, have pointed to the zealous adoption of this belief as a disastrous step for the nation's schools, entailing "the acceptance by educational administrators of an inappropriate philosophy" (Callahan 1962: 1).

Raymond Callahan (1962) describing this philosophy as the 'cult of efficiency,' argued that, by the turn of the century, the United States had made significant progress in its educational system. He cited the establishment of free public schools (from kindergarten through university) and the partial realization of equal educational opportunities as two signs of progress. He also indicated remaining shortcomings, such as poor teacher preparation, inadequate facilities, and neglect in the education of black Americans (to which I would add the failed coercive assimilation policies of Native American education). Callahan asserted, however, that the generally promising start for the nation's educational system in the twentieth century turned into a story of lost opportunities, when an inappropriate philosophy, advocating the adoption of corporate ethics and structure in education, took hold during the next quarter century. This philosophy arose from the most powerful social forces of the nineteenth century—industrialism and free enterprise capitalism. These dual forces, according to Callahan brought about myriad technological and material achievements, which, in turn, enabled business and industry to rise to a degree of cultural hegemony whereby corporate values and practices saturated United States society—a consequence which would greatly affect twentieth century educational philosophy and practice.

The primacy of free enterprise capitalism and the rise of the corporation, however, had historical antecedents which facilitated their acceptance into the cultural ethos of twentieth century United States. One of the earliest factors was the McGuffey Readers. These series of reading books, used by nearly all the nation's schools for generations, conveyed a set of values and practices which collectively emphasized two lessons—1) that success was a function of honesty and hard work, and 2) that such success was to be measured by material wealth. Another critical factor in the acceptance of the corporate ideal was the post-Civil War boom in urbanization. The progressive growth in urban population, area, and economic output (each brought on by the Industrial Revolution) clearly highlighted “the need for efficient and organized government to counter the potential chaos caused by packing millions of people into small areas” (Spring 1972: xii). Consequently, urban life and industrialism, capitalizing on the eighteenth century Enlightenment idea of a rationally-functioning universe, helped validate a paradigm in which the world was conceived and operated as a machine-like efficient corporate organization (Callahan 1962; Spring 1972).

The large corporation, operating according to scientific management, was the institutional model which appeared to provide solutions to the social and economic problems of the industrial age. The organizing principles of “specialization, cooperation, and scientific planning offered a means by which an ever increasingly complex society could organize its institutions” (Spring 1972: xii). The nation came to believe that society's problems were solvable through proper mechanical adjustment and coordinated institutional activity. In this model, human beings represented a critical limitation in the

efficient operation of the 'good society' in which a series of interrelated corporate structures were the gears of this well-working machine. Thus, this framework needed working people who "sought pleasure from doing what they were best able to do for the good of the group or community, and this was linked to their pursuit of success" (Spring 1992: 37). The needs of individual self had to become subordinate to those of the corporate organization. The public schools, then, functioned as the primary mechanism which perpetuated the United States' new cultural ethos and industrial economy through manipulation of an abundant natural resource—the human being—into a properly socialized, cooperative member of the state (Callahan 1962).

An important factor helping to facilitate the acceptance of this corporate ideology was the early twentieth century journalistic trend of muckraking.<sup>4</sup> Muckraking journalists, the voice of the Progressive reform movement, had a major role in the advancement of this ideology in the nation's system of public education. Though these journalists often did target the graft and corruption of prominent businessmen and industrialists, they generally did not speak out against free enterprise capitalism.<sup>5</sup> Rather, the muckrakers believed that this economic system was plagued merely with a few selfish men whose greed could be controlled by the implementation of more effective institutional mechanisms. The problem in the eyes of the muckrakers did not reside in

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<sup>4</sup> Muckraking was a style of journalism, which was prevalent in the early twentieth century. Muckraking journalists, through numerous books and articles, sought to expose graft and corruption on the part of business and industry, thereby bringing about social reform.

<sup>5</sup> One notable exception to this generally Progressive, neo-liberal stance was Upton Sinclair, perhaps the most famous of the muckrakers, an influential and out-spoken Socialist who argued against free enterprise capitalism.

any inherent systemic flaws within capitalism, but in the proper application of modern efficient business methods (Callahan 1962).

### **The Effects of the Corporation on Public Education in the United States**

The adoption of a corporate paradigm for the administration and management of society had profound ramifications for the nation's public schools. One effect was the domination of local school boards and national commissions by businessmen, industrialists, and professionals (such as doctors and lawyers). In 1916, economist and educator Scott Nearing surveyed over one hundred city school systems around the country, and reported that three-fourths of their school board members were businessmen or professionals. In the 1920s, George Counts conducted a similar study of 1,654 urban and rural school boards. His results, helping to confirm Nearing's findings, revealed that professionals and businessmen dominated school boards in cities while farmers comprised 95% of rural school board members. Counts attributed this plutocratic control of education to demographics, describing the representation of the laboring class on school boards as a function of the size of the city. He argued, "As the unit under the control of the board increases in size, importance, and complexity, the elements in the population from which members may be drawn become more and more restricted and a different type of citizen is attracted to service of the board" (Counts 1927: 54). Counts also indicated the deeply entrenched nature of this dynamic, noting the tendency to place the control of local school boards in the hands of professionals and businessmen. He quoted a contemporary expert in school administration, William E. Chancellor, asserting

that such men “accustomed to dealing with bodies of men and with important business interests” made the best school board members (Counts 1927: 82).

Another result of the corporate control of education manifested itself within the realm of classroom management. A leading educator, William C. Bagley, in his book, *Classroom Management*, extolled the efficacy of business methods in managing students. He declared that classroom management was essentially a “problem of economy: it seeks to determine in what manner the working unit of the school plant may be made to return the largest dividend upon the material investment of time, energy, and money” (Bagley 1915 2)

Within this ideological environment, educational theory and practice in the United States were transformed. First, educators and administrators adopted the content and methodology necessary to mold and train the kind of people required by this new corporate social model. For example, schools taught students how to work cooperatively with others in group settings. By the 1920s, school assemblies and such extra-curricular activities as student government and athletics had emerged as very popular mechanisms whereby educators could pattern the school after the larger society, thereby engineering the unification and homogenization of the corporate student body. The aim of these changes was to convey to students that, 1) selfish individualism was the bane of the efficient, productive society, and 2) the person gained individuality only through one’s contribution to society (namely, performing a specialized role within the nation’s socio-economic fabric). Schools began to stress cooperation and self-sacrifice for the collective good (Spring 1972; Spring 1992).

Consequently, a fundamental component of the nation's schools became 'character education'—plans based on the idea that "democracy was primarily a cooperative social system requiring individuals who would fit into corporate organizations, and work hard for the good of the group" (Spring 1992: 33). Schools placed great emphasis on cooperation and social solidarity in the hope that the collective school or team spirit would carry over to the world of work and politics. This ideological indoctrination was readily apparent in the character education plan implemented by the state of Iowa in the 1920s. This plan asserted, "Loyalty to the group and the school should ripen naturally into loyalty to truth, to the State, and even into 'loyalty to loyalty'" (Spring 1992: 35).

The second fundamental transformation in public education during this era occurred when, schools, responding to the dominant paradigm, became the principal institutions (operating interdependently with other entities) in the engineering of the nation's economic and social progress. Schools perceived their purpose as the transference of specialized skills, intended to equip students with the necessary training to fill a niche in the prevailing socio-economic system. Consequently, there was a growing emphasis on vocational education and, concurrently, a parallel attack on the traditional classical curriculum as impractical and out-moded 'book learning.' Radical reformers of the period and today's neo-Marxists have charged this newly accepted educational paradigm with treating children as "a form of natural resource....to be molded by the schools and fed into the industrial machine" (Spring 1972: xii). Conversely, Progressive reformers (analogous to modern neo-liberals) asserted, "Children should learn in the school the

satisfaction that comes through productive work, the cost in honest effort of a piece of money, and its value in an honest purchase” (Spring 1992: 35).

One factor, helping to fuel this movement toward a more ‘practical’ vocationally-oriented education, was the fear of industrial competition from Germany (Callahan 1962). During the early twentieth century, the nation’s businessmen attributed Germany’s economic and industrial strength to her excellent industrial-vocational education. Throughout the early 1900s, calls for the United States to adopt Germany’s system of education resounded in the halls of educational policy makers. At the 1907 convention of the National Education Association, L. D. Harvey, superintendent of schools in Menominee, Wisconsin, clearly manifested these sentiments, stating:

Manufacturers and men of affairs have noted the marvelous strides Germany has made in recent years in the industrial world, and have studied the reasons and have found them not in the advantages which Germany possesses in raw material, in means of transportation, or in other of the material things which we possess to a degree far in excess of any other country in the world, but in the development of the educational system of Germany on technical and industrial lines, and they are *demanding* a modification of our educational system on similar lines. (Harvey quoted in Callahan 1962: 12-13)

The transformation of public education under the corporate model and its subordination to the nation’s economic needs occurred because this course was deemed the most effective solution to the era’s myriad social and economic problems—such as poverty, class conflict, and anomie, as well as industrial competition from Germany. Businessmen advocated adoption of this model because it supplied them with a skilled workforce, and justified their own commercial activities. Furthermore, it allowed employers to abandon the apprenticeship system of training workers, allowing the state to

assume this burden which had traditionally, for centuries, been the responsibility of business and industry. The vast majority of educators and administrators, however, vulnerable to public criticism and pressure, meekly complied with the demands for expanded vocational training. Within this ideological and socio-economic context, the corporate infiltration into public education was able to continue largely unabated (Callahan 1962; Spring 1992).

In the 1920s, this movement gained force through the cooperation of a powerful new ally—the young discipline of psychology. Educational researchers and administrators generally embraced the theoretical and methodological framework of psychology as an instrument to design the most effective (or efficient) school system. Psychologists, seeking new opportunities to apply the theories and techniques of their new science, focused their interest on external human performance rather than the internal nature and quality of human experience. These scholars developed learning theories, which quickly gained favor among educators, administrators, and other bureaucrats as effective tools with which to structure and operate an efficient system of schooling. In addition, increased industrialization, urbanization, and immigration brought about a new socio-economic order, entailing radically different processes and protocols. Industrialism, for example, required workers to be accountable and present at designated places at specified times in order to perform specified tasks. Schools, in turn, did their part by emphasizing to students the value of punctuality and attendance (Johanningmeier 1994).

In response to the systematic and concerted infiltration of business and industry into public education, Upton Sinclair wrote *The Goose-Step* (1923) and *The Gosling* (1924), focusing on this corporate hegemony and the subsequent ideological management and economic exploitation of the nation's youth. In *The Gosling*, Sinclair confirmed the social class domination of the nation's local school boards (reported earlier by Nearing and Counts), but also detected a decidedly reactionary and anti-labor sentiment within United States education. For example, he found the Los Angeles public schools to be controlled both administratively and ideologically by the local Chamber of Commerce, Better American Federation, and the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. In addition, the district schools instituted a Chamber of Commerce Week in which students wrote essays or gave orations on topics such as the achievements of local chambers of commerce. Sinclair, however, also noted that the Los Angeles schools denied a subsequent request from the American Civil Liberties Union for a similar week celebrating the nation's laborers (Spring 1972).

The consolidation of business' influence on the nation's educational system continued to evolve and strengthen through the twentieth century, taking on added dimensions. By World War I, business and industry in the United States were faced with a serious problem—overproduction. In the economic boom of this age of industrialism, urbanization, and immigration, factories had created a large surplus of goods. Business executives found a solution in a coordinated public relations effort to nurture and expand the nation's consumer habits. In 1915 a small elite group of business executives, in conjunction with the Ford Foundation, met and conceived of a brilliant plan. They

decided to cut the workweek from sixty to forty-eight hours, to increase worker income, and to create shopping centers. This plan was not as altruistic as it may have appeared on the surface. For, its underlying purpose was the creation of a self-perpetuating consumer culture, which would also sustain the growth and dominance of business and industry in the United States. Workers suddenly had more time and money to shop. All that was left for business was to develop the nation's consumer habits. Thus, businessmen hired a cadre of advertisers in order to create a sense of desire and need on the part of consumers (Ewen 1977; Leach 1994).

Corporate executives and businessmen, however, encountered resistance from one very significant sector in United States society—the recent infusion of European immigrants. These immigrants, as long as they held onto their particular ethnic traditions, generally resisted the philosophical underpinnings of this new consumer culture. In response to this large and stubborn opposition, advertisers directed their commercial campaigns against the entrenched, 'old world' ways of immigrants. For example, advertisers noted that these immigrants preferred to repair damaged items rather than buy replacement objects. Advertisers, asserting that this tendency was 'un-American,' developed public relations campaigns which argued that the country was a 'throw away' culture. Further, advertisers felt that the extended family structures of immigrants would weaken the acquisitive and narcissistic desires that were so integral to the development of this new consumer culture. Consequently, advertisers, by undermining the traditional values and practices of these immigrants, sought to convince immigrants and their relatives of the virtues of the nuclear family. The intent was to

destroy the extended family concept, thereby separating smaller groups of individuals physically and ideologically from the old-world traditions of their immigrant ancestors. In this way, advertisers, doing the bidding of business and industry, hoped that the offspring of these European immigrants would reject the old ways and accept the material enticements of this new paradigm (Ewen & Ewen 1982; Ewen 1988).

By the 1940s, the consumer culture had spread rapidly and become accepted into the national consciousness. Consequently, corporate involvement in educational policy and practice likewise expanded, as both educators and businessmen perceived the schools' principal purpose to be the training of workers to supply the United States with a steady pool of laborers as well as consumers. In 1941 William Carr, Secretary of the National Educational Association's (NEA) Educational Policies Commission, recommended that businesses and schools work together to teach "Americanism" and "economic literacy" and to "prepare youth for useful work" (Spring 1992: 149). Once again, local chambers of commerce, in addition to patriotic groups, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion, became directly involved in school activities, suggesting a new dimension to the consolidation of the business-school partnership. For, the impact of political forces, such as World War II and later the Cold War, began to shape the growing perception of education as a vehicle for teaching the values of democracy and protecting the nation's way of life. Education became a means "to serve the needs of a foreign policy designed to contain communism and protect the interests of American corporate expansion into foreign markets" (Spring 1976: v). A

concerted offensive, combining the influence of big business with conservative political groups, came to dominate national educational policy (Spring 1976; Spring 1992).

Although dissent has always existed within the United States to the neo-liberal view and fostered the growth of alternative educational systems, this ideology continued to dominate the nation's public schools. For example, in the 1950s, the Council of Basic Education advocated an educational philosophy that challenged the neo-liberal concept of school as a means to engender economic growth through a trained workforce. The Council condemned this prevailing approach to formal schooling as essentially undemocratic and nonintellectual, and asserted that schools rather should seek to impart analytical skills which would effectively create free critical-thinking individuals who consequently could understand and control their social environment (Spring 1976). The Council also charged the nation's educational system with seeking to create non-critical, non-questioning automatons trained to serve the state rather than cultivate their own individual freedom. Similar movements, calling for radical restructuring of educational policy and practice, also emerged in the 1920s and 1930s with the establishment of 'free schools' and in the 1960s with the educational humanists such as Rollo May and Carl Rogers and the philosophy of de-schooling of Paul Goodman and Ivan Illich.

Despite this backlash against the corporate presence in the nation's schools in the 1930s and again in the 1960s, business involvement in public education continued to expand throughout the last three decades of the twentieth century. As a result, the goal of education in the United States was transformed in the 1970s from the preparation of individual citizens for responsible informed participation in a democratic society to the

training for employment through career and vocational education. By the 1980s, this fundamental goal had not changed. Rather, the employment focus had merely shifted from vocational education programs toward science and engineering due to the changing demands of the business community (Shor 1986; Molnar 1996).

During the 1980s and 90s, corporate involvement in and direct sponsorship of public education grew dramatically in the United States. The underlying framework for the late twentieth century corporate involvement was evident in the 1983 government report, *A Nation at Risk*. This report, commissioned by Reagan Administration secretary of education Terrel Bell, attributed domestic economic problems to the failure of the nation's schools, and influenced the relationship between public education and the national economy in three important ways. One, it effectively diverted attention and, hence, blame for economic crises away from other possible explanations such as structural problems within the national and global economy, deliberate corporate strategies, or government policy toward business and industry. Two, the report also helped produce a political climate in which the view of business leaders on educational reform dominated the public discourse. Finally, business leaders enthusiastically embraced the report's tone, and used it to justify an increased corporate penetration into the nation's classrooms. Mark Evens, senior vice president of Scholastic, Inc., one of the largest producers of corporate-sponsored instructional materials, reflected this enthusiasm, asserting:

The alarm bells rang and American business turned out in force. The American education system is in trouble, they heard, and we have become a nation at risk. In virtually every state in the union,

companies of all kinds have been going back to schools, giving time, money and products to help meet urgent needs. (1988: 18)

The flourishing corporate presence manifested itself over the next two decades as business leaders advocated numerous reforms, such as promoting teacher accountability, more stringent graduation high school requirements, higher curricular standards, and became more involved with many school-based programs, including mentoring, offering student scholarships, providing instructional materials, and sponsoring activities of professional organizations. Corporations, offering to also train teachers and administrators in business principles, introduced schools to the concepts of Total Quality Management (TQM) and more recently ISO 9000—corporate quality control systems that generations of administrators embraced and enthusiastically attempted to institute in numerous public schools (Shor 1986; Molnar 1996).

Many public and private commissions, further, have issued numerous reports throughout the 1980s and 90s designed to offer solutions to various problems in the nation's schools and direction to educational policy and practice. Alex Molnar (1996), examining the social and political foundations of contemporary corporate sponsorship, found a consistent theme within these reports of students as human resources and human capital essential to economic growth of the nation. Business leaders and the federal government asserted in chorus that educational reform was an absolute imperative for the economic survival of the United States. For example, the Hudson Institute's 1987 report, entitled *Workforce 2000*, warned of economic disaster from a dearth of skilled workers by the end of the 1990s; in 1992 a Labor Department report, *Learning for Living*, "accepted without reservation" the claim that the public education system's inadequate

preparation of high school graduates has brought about a shortage of skilled workers (Molnar 1996: 4). Similarly, Xerox CEO David Kearns stated in 1990 that he approached “the education problem as an economic and global competitive issue,” and predicted that “by the year 2000 we’d be out of qualified workers” (Kearns quoted in Molnar 1996: 4). The homologous tenor of these recent reports and corporate statements have conveniently ignored the policies, practices, and structural elements within the economy that helped create these very economic crises, such as the prevalent corporate practice of hiring foreign workers in order to pay lower wages. Moreover, the socio-economic effects of tax and social policies espoused by corporations effectively contradict the stated intent of these very policies. While corporations tout their concern for schools and their ability to produce highly skilled graduates, their business policies often undercut schools’ tax bases—critical resources which educators need in order to improve education (Molnar 1996).

Many scholars (e.g. Callahan 1962; Spring 1976; Shor 1986; Spring 1992; Molnar 1996) have asserted that the dominant trends in the United States throughout the twentieth century suggest an implicit, tacitly approved national educational policy. These trends attest to a policy:

directed toward the creation of a rationalized and controlled labor market through the sorting function of the public schools and the control of social conflict arising from racial discrimination and inequalities in the distribution of income. Ideally the schools were to provide for efficient distribution of human resources to meet the needs of an increasingly stratified and organized economic system ....Disruptions in the social system caused by the pursuit of social advancement were to be curbed by focusing the American dream of opportunity within the walls of the schoolhouse and rationalizing it into competition for grades, test scores, and diplomas. (Spring 1976: 262)

The long history of business and industry's involvement in the formulation of national educational policy facilitated the next phase in this developing relationship—the direct sponsorship of education by corporations. By the 1980s, corporations, still intimately involved with the formulation of national educational policy, had also penetrated schools and classrooms via direct in-school advertising and the production of instructional materials and daily commercial-laden 'news' programs.

### **Reasons for Corporate Sponsorship of Education**

Given the long history of business and industry's involvement, an established core of (essentially neo-liberal) reasons operates today to provide ideological support for modern corporate sponsorship of education. In the last two to three decades, however, evolving social, economic, and political contexts have given rise to a series of interrelated reasons which also are used to justify an expanded and more direct corporate presence in the nation's classrooms. Historically, the involvement of business and industry in education has represented a one-way street in which the corporate sector traditionally initiated and actively sought to develop deeper involvement with the nation's public schools. Presently, however, this relationship more closely resembles a heavily traveled two-way street by which numerous schools also now initiate the contact with corporations and businesses. Consequently, the support for corporate-education partnerships reflects the reasons why corporations pursue partnerships with schools as well as why schools foster similar involvement with corporations. A common thread uniting these dual dimensions, however, is the persistent presence of the neo-liberal

perspective in American society, particularly in regard to the function of our nation's public school system.

Schools are, indeed, now actively seeking more involvement from business and industry as partners in education. This active solicitation on the part of educators is a relatively new element in school-business relations, and stems largely from severe budgetary shortfalls faced by the nation's public schools. Since corporations represent a potentially large and steady source of financial or resource support, many schools are turning to business and industry for various kinds of aid in an effort to provide students continued educational services.

The reasons surrounding any decision by business and industry to provide a school with some form of educational sponsorship are similarly multi-layered and converge in a shared neo-liberal discourse that links school, society, and economy. For, the reasons supporting corporate-education partnerships place the public school system within the context of economic problem-solving and growth—a pair of contexts which “leans heavily on educational assistance” (Patrick & Eells 1969: 26).

The first reason involves the recent shift in blame for domestic economic problems (such as unemployment and a poorly-skilled workforce) and for a perceived breakdown in ‘family values’ from the policies of business and industry to those of the school (Apple 1994: 73). Business now often validates its expansion into public education on two grounds—schools need to function as instruments of economic problem-solving and schools have recently failed to provide business and industry with a sufficiently skilled workforce. Business leaders are concerned about the “shortage of well-trained or easily

trainable workers needed to fill the variety of jobs available today and in the future” and feel that “the nation’s schools are incapable of producing the quality workers they need” (Sharp 1992: 3-4). These sentiments clearly reflect the traditional neo-liberal perspective of education in the United States in the twentieth century. Businessmen and industrialists (e.g. Sharp 1992; Paye 1997) often cite numerous surveys, reporting generally poor language, math, and inter-personal skills among office workers and recent high school and college graduates, in their reports and studies which justify the corporate presence in education. Neo-liberals and the business community also affirm that, due to the schools’ failure to adequately prepare students for work, corporations must be more involved in education.

During the 1980s, for example, corporate sponsorship of education increased in variety, scope, and intensity, as the nation heartily accepted the warning of business leaders that economic crises were due to the failures of the public educational system. Many corporations, consequently, mobilized to institute school improvement programs which “were, executives argued, essential if America was to regain its competitive edge in a global workplace” because “[i]f schools didn’t do better, executives shouted, the economy would continue to crumble” (Molnar 1996: 2).

Corporations also apply two other reasons to become involved in educational partnerships with schools—a related pair of ideas known as “enlightened self-interest” and “corporate citizenship” (Jasso 1996: 2). The former refers to the belief that socially responsible corporations have a civic duty to be involved citizens in their communities. This idea usually takes its form and practical application in the various public affairs or

community relations departments of business and industry. Corporate citizenship is the assertion that business must perform some community service in order to become more socially responsible and accountable to the local population. Both of these ideas place the reasons for the contemporary corporate presence in public education within a solidly altruistic context (Jasso 1996).

Neo-Marxists, portraying this presence in a less favorable light, have called attention to the corporate sector's primary interests in increasing company profits and maintaining the socio-economic status quo within a laissez-faire free market system. In regard to the latter interest, critics of corporate involvement in education point to particular demands of welfare capitalism that provide business and industry with reasons to directly sponsor public education. Welfare capitalism essentially asserts that a capitalist society must aid those individuals in dire economic and social need in order to maintain stability and thereby avoid serious discontent within the society (Spring 1988: 12). This tenet of modern liberalism concedes the inevitability of economic and social strife in capitalist societies, and reflects a contemporary re-affirmation of mechanical adjustment and institutional coordination—ideals which became the primary means of improving the nation's social fabric at the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1982 Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corporation (one of the leading private foundations supported by business and industry) expressed the fundamental intent of this idea, warning that, without welfare capitalism:

there lies nothing but increased hardship for ever-growing numbers, a mounting possibility of severe social unrest, and the consequent development among the upper classes and the business community of sufficient fear for the survival of our capitalist economic system to

bring about an abrupt change of course. Just as we built the general welfare state in the 1930s and expanded it in the 1960s as a safety valve for the easing of social tension, so will we do it again in the 1980s. Any other path is simply too risky.

(Pifer quoted in Spring 1988: 12)

Pifer clearly proclaims his belief in the social and economic programs of the welfare state as a necessary tool with which to limit or channel social unrest. Such statements help to strengthen the arguments of neo-Marxists who call attention to the socio-economic controls manipulated by the ruling class in the United States to perpetuate an inherently unjust system.

When this issue of welfare capitalism and the role of business in public schools is interpreted through the neo-liberal paradigm, however, education becomes an important and necessary means to supply a skilled labor force and maintain social stability—specifically in the promise that education will provide equal opportunities for people. It is only logical, then, to a neo-liberal that corporations should become directly and intimately involved in classroom instruction and school operations through various forms of educational sponsorship. The marriage of business and education, thus, receives legitimacy by means of an accepted social philosophy.

Another practical reason for the sponsorship of education by business and industry involves the related issues of taxation and corporate income. Business and industry can receive potentially significant tax breaks in exchange for their donations to schools. Tax breaks, in turn, help corporations increase profits, while concurrently maintaining low wages and tax rates. Consequently, corporations may, through the sponsorship of education, try to establish school policies and practices that:

reduce the cost of labor by educating a steady stream of employees for particular segments of the labor market; concentrate on skills needed by business; present knowledge as instrumental for work as opposed to knowledge as a means to develop a critical awareness of politics and the economy; socialize the student to be a compliant worker who will not rock the corporate boat...teach the student a pro-business ideology that would not question increasing concentrations of wealth.

(Spring 1988: 16)

Ira Shor (1986) examined the growing corporate role in public education within the context of national tax policy. Shor argued that the business community, during the state school reform movements in the early 1980s, deceptively, yet successfully, shifted the tax burden resulting from such programs to the poor and lower class. He also showed that businessmen overcame the opposition raised to increased taxation by skillfully invoking the neo-liberal mantra of the public schools as the principal cause of economic decline. School reform, consequently, has come to be financed through regressive taxation, sales taxes, and lotteries—all of which place a disproportionate share of the revenue burden on the poor and lower class. Shor pointed out that business and industry, in the early 1980s, rather than pay higher corporate taxes, made direct donations to schools through grants and school-business partnerships, thereby saving significant money from tax breaks. Shor wrote, “Businesses...were called upon to ‘do their part,’ by getting more involved in schools, adopting poor districts like orphans, donating over-age equipment, offering excess supplies and furniture, and by lending experts to short-staffed departments. All this generosity was tax-deductible” (Shor 1986: 152).

In 1992, Senator Howard Metzenbaum, also perceiving the duplicitous support for public education emanating from the nation’s corporate boardrooms, stated:

In speech after speech, it is our corporate CEOs who state that an educated, literate work force is the key to American competitiveness. They pontificate on the importance of education. They point out their magnanimous corporate contributions to education in one breath, and then pull the tax base out from under local schools in the next. Businesses criticize the job our schools are doing and then proceed to nail down every tax break they can get, further eroding the school's ability to do the job. (Metzenbaum quoted in Molnar 1996: 7)

Economist and former Secretary of Labor, Robert Reich similarly has attributed corporate sponsorship to a ploy intended to cover up the decreasing corporate tax support for public education. Reich stated, "It's a great irony that business is saying it is supporting education in the front door, but is taking away money through the back door...Corporate munificence is a high-profile affair. Lobbying for huge tax breaks is conveniently, far less so" (Reich quoted in Spring 1988: 51-2). Again, the maximization of profit has provided American business and industry with the principal rationale for the sponsorship of social programs.

In May, 1991, the *New York Times* reported many instances of large state tax concessions received by corporations in exchange for their support of local schools:

Corpus Christi, Texas, lost \$900,000 in tax support because of breaks given to local companies. On the other hand, local companies donated \$250,000 to the school system. Consequently, corporations reduced their support of the schools by \$650,000, while projecting an image of increasing financial support. (Celis 1991: A23)

Florida granted \$500 million in concessions to businesses through breaks in state sales taxes, fuel costs, and machinery. These concessions overshadowed the \$32 million given to schools.

(Celis 1991: A23)

Perhaps the fundamental motive underlying much of the presence of business and industry in the nation's public education revolves around the issue of marketing.

Corporate sponsorship, in many cases, represents an implicit and explicit effort to promote a brand name product or service, thereby expanding a company's market and increasing its profit. In this way, companies can also insure the perpetuation of consumerism and a continued market for their goods and services. As Joseph Fenton of Donnelly Marketing so openly observed, "The kids we're reaching are consumers in training" (Consumers Union 1995: 3). Mark Evens reiterated this fundamental marketing aim in his challenge to Scholastic Inc.'s corporate clients, asking: "Can you devise promotions that take students from the aisles of school rooms to the aisles in supermarkets?" (Evens 1988: 19). Furthermore, Scholastic's own company brochure, promoting the efficacy of its corporate-sponsored materials, has unabashedly asserted, "The classroom offers marketers a virtually non-competitive advertising arena" (Molnar 1996: 31).

While more direct, formalized types of corporate sponsorship of education have emerged for the aforementioned reasons principally within recent decades, other elements have persisted throughout the history of education in the United States to inform modern school-business relations. First, the nation generally accepts the idea that schools function primarily to prepare students for employment and to supply business with laborers needed for economic growth. Another aspect of this relationship is a seemingly contradictory pair of tenets—one, that the failure of the educational system is to blame for economic problems, and, two, that the solution to these economic problems can be realized through the very educational system that purportedly precipitated them. These commonly held notions have all contributed to the century-long development of

corporate sponsorship of education. Further, they reveal the general acceptance of the neo-liberal social philosophy. This paradigm remains the dominant ideological framework, supporting the socio-economic function of the United States public school system as well as the contemporary corporate sponsorship of education.

## Chapter IV--CONTEMPORARY CORPORATE SPONSORSHIP OF EDUCATION

### Types of Corporate Sponsorship of Contemporary Education

In the United States, corporate sponsorship of education manifests itself in a variety of forms. For example, both formal and informal types of sponsorship exist between schools and businesses. The latter entails intermittent involvement on an individual level, and depends upon the degree of personal relationship cultivated between two individuals representing a corporation and a school (such as in political lobbying). But the present work is more concerned with formal relationships which operate on an institutional level.

Gayle Jasso (1996) has placed these formal relationships in four broad, often overlapping, categories: *cosponsor* (the business and school are equals with specific duties to perform in order to accomplish a shared objective, such as the sponsorship of an awards banquet); *grantor-recipient* (one institution, usually the business, gives the other institution, usually the school, resources to be used in a specifically prescribed manner); *adoption* (the business formally adopts and sponsors a school for a specified time period in a grantor-recipient relationship); and *partnership* (similar to *adoption* but more equitable—each partner seeks to accomplish more objectives in conjunction with the other partner, rather than independently, such as in the preparation of grant applications). As Jasso indicates, each of these four categories actually contains more distinct ways in which the corporate presence enters the classroom. For example, the *grantor-recipient* relationship represents a very broad classification, comprising numerous types of school-business cooperation, such as human resources (volunteers from business and industry working in schools as reading tutors, for example), leadership (volunteer service on

boards and advisory committees), monetary contributions (a flat financial donation to be used at the school's discretion), material resources (the use of corporate facilities by a school to hold an event), in-kind contributions (the donation of office supplies for an economics class simulation, for example), and information (the development of instructional materials on particular business and industry-related themes, such as banking or electrical energy). The next section of this work will focus on *adoption* and *grantor-recipient* relationships, the most wide-spread, extensive forms of the corporate presence in the classroom, in order to examine the nature, extent, and implications of the contemporary corporate sponsorship of education.

### **Corporate Sponsorship in Action:**

#### **Adopt-A-School Programs**

'Adopt-A-School' programs represent a broadly-defined institutional form of corporate penetration into public education that is becoming more popular as schools search for much-needed funding. In 1984, 'Adopt-A-School' existed in only seventeen percent on the nation's school districts; by 1990, however, this figure had grown to fifty-one percent (Molnar 1996: 2). In these programs, such companies as Coca-Cola, Ford, IBM, Westinghouse, and McDonald's offer schools a variety of services: technical assistance and training to school staff members, equipment and instructional materials, as well as scholarships, career planning, and employment opportunities to students. Corporations may also give millions of dollars to fund academics, mentoring programs, and parent groups and to sponsor various school events, such as award banquets and fund-raisers (Commercial-Free 1999c). These arrangements can often further result in

corporate employees serving on school curriculum committees and helping to develop educational materials. In return, the businesses receive a positive or improved self-image as an entity concerned for the general welfare of the community. One problem in these programs is their general lack of accountability. Most districts lack strict, or in many cases, any guidelines to structure and monitor the school-business relationship, and thus, often allow companies to act as their own overseer (Harty 1981).

### **Corporate-Sponsored Educational Materials**

Many *grantor-recipient* relationships between schools and corporations involve sponsored educational materials (or SEM's), written by various businesses and industries and given free of charge to schools. These materials, designed visually and conceptually to resemble classroom activities and lesson plans, range from posters to computer software and teaching packets. Very often SEM's constitute subtle and not-so-subtle forms of propaganda—namely, information that is free, corporate-sponsored, and intended either implicitly or explicitly to sell a product or service (Harty 1979).

The Center for Commercial-Free Public Education (CCFPE) in Oakland, California is an organization that reports on the expanding commercial presence in public schools. CCFPE has described the following examples of corporate sponsored instructional materials used in the 1990s in classrooms throughout the nation: nutrition curriculum written by both McDonald's and various potato chip companies; a video produced by Exxon that teaches students how the Valdez oil spill was an example of environmental protection; instructional material written by Nike in which students spend a week of class time learning the life cycle of a Nike sneaker; free samples of Clairol shampoo which

contain a survey asking students whether they had a good or bad 'hair day,' and a lesson sponsored by McDonald's in which first graders design a McDonald's restaurant and learn how the restaurant works and how to apply for a job at McDonald's (*Commercialism in Schools* 1993: 2). Molnar (1996: 28) also reported on a science packet, produced by Exxon, called the Energy Cube that taught students the solution to global warming lay not in a reduced consumption of fossil fuels, but in increased use of air conditioning. Business and industry, thus, has created and successfully introduced into schools numerous SEM's that attempt to indoctrinate students to a corporate ideology on topics such as nutrition, the economy, energy, and the environment.

One clear example of a problematic and biased SEM is an environmental packet entitled, *Decision: Earth*, produced by Proctor and Gamble. Among other things, this kit taught students that clear-cut logging is environmentally beneficial because it mirrors nature's way of thinning forests, and that scientific research shows that disposable diapers are more ecologically sound than cloth ones. This kit, however, conveniently neglected to mention that Proctor and Gamble, the nation's largest manufacturer of disposable diapers, had financed this research (Consumers Union: 1995).

Such indoctrination through the publication of misleading information characterizes the majority of corporate sponsored instructional material. The CCFPE recently evaluated seventy-seven instructional packets disseminated by various businesses and industries. The Center found that more than half of these materials were 'commercial' (in which the sponsor's name, logo, or product is provided) or 'highly commercial' (in which the instructional material is basically an advertisement for the sponsor's product or

service). Furthermore, nearly eighty percent “contained biased or incomplete information, promoting a viewpoint that favors consumption of the sponsor’s product or service or a position that favors the company or its economic agenda” (Consumers Union 1995: 13).

### **Contests and Incentive Programs**

Another form of corporate sponsorship of public education is the range of contests and incentive programs that many businesses and industries operate. In these programs, the corporate sponsors ask students to perform some activity in exchange for prizes or money for themselves or their school. For example, students are asked to collect cash register receipts in order to get Apple Computers for their school; read a certain number of books to win a Pizza Hut pizza; sell chocolate bars with Burger King coupons to raise class money; complete an environmental program to receive a free meal at Red Lobster.

In Pizza Hut’s BOOK IT! reading program, students receive a certificate, button, and pizza from Pizza Hut if they reach a class goal of reading a certain number of books. Teachers post a list of student names and numbers of books read on a class poster. This program evinces a number of problems. One, the reward of a salty, high-fat pizza as an incentive directly contradicts and effectively undermines schools’ science and nutrition curricula, espousing a healthy diet. Two, the use of an extrinsic reward in order to stimulate students’ interest in reading is a highly simplistic motivational tool that can both nurture poor learning habits and cheapen the learning experience. Finally, the program’s incentive can exert a degree of peer pressure, creating classroom environment in which a student can feel left out and forced to participate (Molnar 1996).

These programs, designed to be fun and educational for the students, achieve two other critical long-term objectives for participating companies that also are problematic. Contest and incentive programs help corporations in their marketing efforts, as they gather important demographic information on students and their families and build brand loyalty on the part of the student consumers (Commercial-Free 1999c).

### **Direct Corporate Advertising in Schools**

In the early 1990s, new forms of more expansive and unabashedly commercial corporate involvement boldly made their presence felt in the nation's schools. While corporate SEM's and incentive programs remain and actually constitute a growing presence in contemporary schools, corporations have succeeded in becoming more solidly entrenched in many other dimensions of public education. Many school districts are now accepting direct in-school advertising in the form of company logos in gymnasiums, cafeterias, hallways, and more recently on school buses in exchange for cash compensation. The New York City Board of Education recently signed a contract that allows companies to place advertisements for their products or points of view on district school buses. This deal is intended to raise \$53 million over nine years, nearly doubling the city school system's \$8 million annual budget (Commercial-Free 1999c). In Colorado Springs, Colorado colorful cartoon ads for 7-Up are painted on the sides and tops of school buses. The intent of the latter is to draw the attention of low-flying aircraft passengers, drivers on overpasses, and people looking out of high-rise buildings (Consumers Union 1995). The CCFPE also reports that similar advertising efforts by

school districts in California and Mississippi were blocked by the state highway departments for safety reasons (Consumers Union 1995).

Many schools throughout the nation are advertising and selling various soft drinks: Coca-Cola is paying the Keller School District in Texas \$4.2 million over fifteen years to promote its product; Texas' Grapevine-Colleyville district is receiving \$3.45 million over ten years from Dr. Pepper to advertise its soft drink in gymnasiums, stadiums, and on school buildings themselves; the most lucrative deal was struck between Coca-Cola and the Colorado Springs schools in which schools receive \$8 million for a ten year promotional agreement. An incident in March 1998 reveals the disturbing depth of such commercialism. A high school student in Georgia was suspended simply because he wore a Pepsi shirt on the day which his school was holding an official 'Coke Day' in an effort to promote Coca-Cola and receive \$10,000 from the soft drink company (*USA Today*, March 27, 1998).

### **Channel One**

Finally, one of the most pervasive and alluring means by which business and industry has entered the nation's schools is through Channel One—a fifteen minute news program, which, since its creation in 1989 by Whittle Communications, has been broadcast daily in thousands of classrooms throughout the United States. This 'educational' program, reaching 8 million middle and high school students in 12,000 classrooms each day, constitutes the single largest form of commercialism in schools today. Numerous critics and watchdog groups have indicated Channel One also to be one of the most exploitative forms of corporate sponsorship of education.

Chris Whittle, head of Whittle Communications, marketed Channel One to schools as an effective tool with which to increase students' knowledge of geography and current events. The program, however, dedicates a mere twenty percent (or three minutes) of its total airtime to news coverage of recent political, economic, or social stories. During the remaining twelve minutes, students watch weather reports, sports features, and commercials from Channel One's corporate sponsors. Moreover, the commercial segments, primarily for junk food and video games, are mandatory—under the terms of the original contract, teachers are required to show these advertisements to students. This format holds clear attractions for Channel One's corporate sponsors. It gives advertisers direct, steady contact with a captive and largely homogenous audience of impressionable young consumers without having to contend with other corporate competitors. Thus, Channel One, not only currently the most prevalent strain of direct corporate sponsorship of public education, also constitutes a target-specific medium within a single-sponsor context. This agreement essentially means that federally mandated compulsory school attendance also, in effect, mandates commercialism in schools (Rudinow 1989/90a; *Commercialism in Schools* 1993; Commercial-Free 1999b).

In light of this obviously commercial format, one must wonder why schools would allow Channel One into their classrooms. Again, the answer lies in the financial realm. The original contract which schools signed to enter into the program stipulated that Whittle Communications would give all participating schools a television set, VCR, and satellite hookup for each classroom. The schools, thus, received the technological and informational resources for which they often so desperately search. Whittle's rationale

was a belief that schools were failing to properly educate students on issues such as current affairs, geography, and political and cultural literacy. As William S. Rukeyser, editor in chief of Whittle Communications, asserted, "We believe we have created an especially powerful tool to help teachers remedy the woeful ignorance of American teenagers about current events, geography, and related subjects. If we can provide such a tool—and only if we can—we will have a profitable business" (Rukeyser 1989/90: 75). Students got information in an entertaining format, schools got much needed resources, and the districts supposedly got a better informed student body (and presumably higher standardized test scores). In return, the corporate sponsors, whose products are marketed, received a captive audience of budding consumers, and Whittle Communications received a substantial cash cow (Rudinow 1989/90a; *Commercialism in Schools* 1993).

Upon closer examination, however, this deal appears neither innocuous nor very beneficial for schools and their students. The many strings attached by Whittle Communications and other Channel One's subsequent owners effectively compromised the integrity of public education. First, the equipment (televisions, VCRs, and satellite hookups) is not given to the schools, as educators and the public have been led to believe. It is merely leased. If a school declines to renew its contract, it has to return the equipment. Second, teachers are required to show the 'news' program daily in its entirety without blocking the advertising segments. Third, schools that participate and sign the mandatory three-year contract are prohibited from showing any other news programs to their students. In the original agreement, Whittle also exerted further corporate control by locking the schools' satellite dishes onto one particular communications satellite—the

one on which Whittle Communications had its channels. Fourth, Channel One, making it substantially harder for schools to preview the daily programs, broadcasts programs into a locked box the morning before they are to be shown. Consequently, schools receive each program the very morning of the day it is to be viewed, making it nearly impossible for them to review the programming prior to the broadcast. Furthermore, according to the original agreement only those schools with more than 500 students could receive Channel One. As Joel Rudinow (1989/90a) observed, schools with less than 500 students apparently did not represent a large enough advertising audience to make the arrangement cost-effective for Whittle and its corporate sponsors. Finally, the contract decrees that schools must air Channel One on ninety percent of school days and in eighty percent of the classrooms. This stipulation means that students, in whose classrooms Channel One airs, spend the equivalent of six full school days watching the program (Rudinow 1989/90a & b; *Commercialism in Schools* 1993; Commercial-Free 1999b).

But perhaps the most disturbing problem with Channel One appears in light of its own corporate structure. In October 1988, Time Inc. purchased fifty percent of Whittle Communications, effectively bringing Channel One under the control of the world's largest media conglomeration. In October 1994, Whittle Communications sold their remaining share of Channel One to K-III Communications Corporation for approximately \$250 million. K-III Communications is run by Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts, and Company—a leveraged buyout firm that also owns *Weekly Reader*, a popular news magazine for elementary school children, and is a large investor in RJR Nabisco, a major

manufacturer of cigarettes and other tobacco products.<sup>6</sup> These mergers have the potential to usurp control of curriculum and instructional content from local teachers, principals, school boards, and parents and to place it in the hands of a distant centralized corporate hierarchy. Channel One's corporate ownership has concocted a masterful form of ideological management, which commodifies public education and capitalizes on children's materialistic desires and attraction to the seductive flash of multimedia (Molnar 1996).

Proponents argue that, despite the commercial content, Channel One is still an effective tool. Chris Whittle, head of Whittle Communications and founder of Channel One, has claimed that the 'news' program can improve student knowledge of current events. He cited an educational assessment test which purportedly showed that students who had watched Channel One correctly answered fifty-three percent of the questions, while the control group of non-Channel One students scored only thirty-six percent. However, Sonoma State University professor, Joel Rudinow, reported that his "persistent efforts to obtain copies of the assessment instruments and the raw data have met with nothing but evasive responses" from Whittle Communications, then Channel One's corporate owner (Rudinow 1989/90a: 71). Rudinow also indicated that a subsequent study by Columbia University revealed that both student groups, when given a similar current events test, scored an equally poor fifty-five percent.

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<sup>6</sup> K-III Communications, still owned by Kohlberg, Kravis & Roberts, is now known as Primedia (Commercial-Free 1999b).

Other studies have revealed additional drawbacks to the presence of Channel One in the nation's classrooms. Research by the Economic Policy Institute and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee's Center for the Analysis of Commercialism in Education, highlighting the immense cost to taxpayers, found that Channel One annually costs taxpayers \$1.8 billion in lost instructional time, which includes \$300 million in class time lost to commercials. Research by William Hoynes of Vassar College on the content of Channel One's programming found that only three of the ninety-one sampled news stories focused on the economy. Hoynes concluded, "The implicit message is that students' relationship to the economy is solely as consumers" (Hoynes, quoted in *Commercialism in Schools* 1993: 10).

In all of the forms of corporate sponsorship discussed, from SEM's to direct advertising, the presence of business and industry represents a marketing endeavor and, on a deeper level, a fundamental reassertion of economic relations in which students constitute a captive audience. Throughout the nation, students are being placed in the position of pawns forced to share their educational experience with a cadre of profit-driven and image-conscious companies, seeking to indoctrinate students with myriad messages designed to achieve one primary objective—to influence attitudes in order to generate sales or create a favorable corporate public image.

### **The Corporate Sponsorship of Education Debate:**

#### **Arguments in Favor**

Despite the concerns raised by the different consumer agendas underlying business and industry's presence in the nation's classrooms, corporate sponsorship of public

education continues to grow. In light of the concerns over excessive commercialism, one must wonder why schools are accepting and even soliciting sponsorship. Again, the answers lie largely within economic issues. Due to budgetary cutbacks in state and federal funding of public education within the past two decades, schools and districts have been forced to search elsewhere for adequate financing. Many Adopt-A-School or school-business partnership programs and direct advertising agreements result in cash compensation for the schools, helping local schools and districts survive and continue to grow.<sup>7</sup> In these types of corporate sponsorship, which generally are subject to approval by individual school administrators, school boards, or other management committees, local school systems are often able to retain a greater degree of autonomy.

Within the realm of corporate sponsored educational materials, many schools cope with severe shortages in or sorely out-dated instructional material and equipment. These are problems which business and industry are willing to solve free or at a very low cost with generous supplies of corporate sponsored instructional materials that purport to teach many valuable skills. These materials, made by national companies that produce and distribute instructional materials to business and industry, often consist of a comprehensive set of inter-connected lessons with specific and clearly stated learning objectives and outcomes. These materials also reflect current topics and utilize advanced

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Though direct financial support is a primary attraction of corporate advertising deals for schools and administrators, it often does not translate into significant amounts per student. The CCFPE reports that schools signing exclusive contracts with soft drink companies in reality are receiving as little as \$3 per student, in exchange, the companies receive a monopoly on selling and advertising their product on campus (Commercial-Free 1999c).

technology. Consequently, administrators and teachers may feel that they are getting well-articulated, high-interest, and innovative materials that can capture and hold the interest of students (Olson 1989/90; *Captive Kids* 1995).

These factors, allowing business and industry to capitalize on schools' financial needs, conveniently coincide with additional justifications for corporate sponsorship and commercialism in schools. Defendants present a number of arguments, beyond schools' much-needed financial support, to justify the in-school commercialism. First, proponents insist that commercialism is everywhere in society, and hence, children have become immune to its presence. This simplistic assertion, however, conveniently ignores the essential function of advertising—to influence attitudes and behavior in an effort to generate consumer interest in a product or service. In fact, Lifetime Learning Systems,<sup>8</sup> one of the leading producers and disseminators of corporate-sponsored instructional materials, has unwittingly refuted this pro-business argument in its message to potential corporate clients, stating “[t]hrough these materials, your product or point of view becomes the focus of discussions in the classroom...the centerpiece in a dynamic process that generates long-term awareness and lasting attitudinal change” (Consumers Union 1995: 6). If people—children and adults alike—were *not* affected by advertising, then advertisers simply would not be in business. Proponents, contradicting the previous claim of the innocuous nature of commercialism in schools, also assert that teachers are fully capable of evaluating instructional materials for bias. Finally, supporters of

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<sup>8</sup> Lifetime Learning Systems of Fairfield, Connecticut is another corporate entity owned by K-III/Primedia—which, since 1994, has also owned both Channel One and *Weekly Reader*, a popular weekly ‘news’ magazine for elementary and middle school students (Molnar 1996).

corporate involvement in schools also argue that companies offer unique information and resources which are not typically available elsewhere and, hence, serve to improve students' educational experience (Consumers Union 1995).

### **Arguments in Opposition**

The profuse commercialism precipitated by the multifaceted forms of corporate sponsorship of schools and classroom instruction, however, raises many serious concerns and challenges that center on what purpose education should serve. The issues, as varied as the many manifestations of corporate sponsorship, are multi-dimensional, reflecting either a philosophical or practical argument against the corporate presence in contemporary public education.

In regard to corporate sponsored instructional materials, from a practical pedagogical concern, they neither develop higher-order cognitive skills nor address student development within the affective domain. Many SEM's do require students to use some reading and computational skills, but neglect to foster the critical thinking skills that utilize these surficial skills in problem-solving. In fact, in many cases the learning objectives of corporate-sponsored materials represent the polar opposite of educators' objectives for their students. If schools aim to encourage students to be active, inquisitive, creative, and reflective thinkers, these cognitive and affective traits represent serious threats to advertisers' own aim to reach "a passive, unreflective, credulous audience, susceptible to the dictates of external authority" (Rudinow 1989/90a: 72). Education that enables students to think for themselves, to see through rhetoric, and to

evaluate arguments contradicts the objectives of corporation advertising (Frankel 1976; Olson 1989/90).

Furthermore, many scholars (e.g. Harty 1977; Harty 1981; Molnar 1989/90) have indicated that corporate sponsored instructional materials employ 'selective editing,' by which false, misleading, or incomplete information is conveyed to unsuspecting students and teachers. Business and industry often disseminate curriculum materials which omit important pieces of information that may portray their product or service in a negative light. Omission of information, however, is extremely difficult to detect for students and teachers or anyone who is not an expert in a given field. The result is instruction that represents a commercial transaction in which students and educators are uninformed participants (Harty 1977).

In addition, all public school districts have formal curriculum review boards that evaluate potential instructional material. One element that these boards look for is material which presents a balanced point of view. Materials sent free to teachers, however, are not subject to formal review, and hence, enter schools somewhat covertly through a 'back door.' Corporate-sponsored materials, consequently, are able to bypass the formal review process by professional educators who are trained to protect students from biased or otherwise flawed information. In the process of using corporate-sponsored materials, schools often end up unwittingly advocating points of view that undermine their own curricula. For example, the use of lessons in nutrition created by McDonald's, extolling the benefits of fast-food, presents children with views that clearly

contradict the dietary lessons in the school's and district's own science curricula (Molnar 1996; Consumers Union 1995).

Fundamentally, the corporate presence in the nation's schools has turned many classrooms into a marketplace, effectively compromising the integrity of public education. Corporate sponsored instructional materials most often entail marketing strategies, and thus constitute propaganda that masquerades as education, endeavoring to get students to buy a product or adopt a favorable attitude toward the goods and/or services of a particular industry. This objective runs contrary to the purpose of education, and results in the perversion of the learning process. This commercial presence implies to students an endorsement of corporate sponsors and their products. The position of the students as a captive audience in this exchange greatly increases the inappropriateness of such corporate involvement. This fact is certainly not lost on either corporations or advertisers who produce educational materials. Mark Evens of Scholastic, Inc., clearly indicates the commercial intent of these materials, affirming, "More and more companies see education marketing as the most compelling, memorable and cost-effective way to build share of mind and market into the 21<sup>st</sup> century" (Evens 1988: 18). As one Lifetime Learning advertisement, designed to promote its corporate-sponsored instructional materials to interested companies, states:

Kids spend 40 percent of each day in the classroom where traditional advertising can't reach them. Now, YOU CAN ENTER THE CLASSROOM through custom-made learning materials created with your specific marketing objectives in mind. Communicate with young spenders directly and, through them, their teachers and families as well... To find out how we can help increase your share of the youth market, call [...]. (Molnar 1996: 35)

The use of SEM's as unabashed marketing ploys, moreover, illuminates another nuance to corporate sponsorship—the duplicity with which business and industry often enters the classroom. Many forms of corporate sponsorship profess to have students' academic development as their primary goal, yet, also promise to business and industry open access to a huge market of captive and impressionable youth.

Misuse of the school as a place to market corporate products, services, and perspectives is profoundly damaging to the nation's students, schools, and communities. The effect of this continued exploitation is the degeneration of public education in the United States. Commercialism in schools sends a message to students that, as education is treated as any other commodity, materialism and conspicuous consumption represent the acceptable norm. Critic Sheila Harty (1989/90: 77), one of the first researchers into the corporate presence in contemporary education, has noted “an anti-intellectual emphasis that creates a trade school mentality to secure jobs and a consumptionist drive to purchase status goods.”

If the corporate sponsorship of education is allowed to proliferate, schools, ideally a forum of free expression, will be transformed into a marketplace of goods, whereby education becomes ‘advercation’—a process which uses schools to teach children the virtues and habits of consumerism (Harty 1989/90).

### **Where Do We Go From Here?**

Many educators and scholars have concluded that the corporate presence in contemporary education is a multi-dimensional trend here to stay. The depth of the

philosophical and practical problems makes the issue of corporate sponsorship a matter of immediate concern. Action must occur simultaneously on four levels.

First, business and industry must practice a greater degree of responsibility and restraint in their involvement with public education in the United States. However, due to corporations' fundamental objective to expand their markets and maximize profits, this self-policing policy appears unlikely. Thus, the burden lies with the schools and parents.

On an administrative level, educators must develop a set of guidelines to help schools structure and monitor the continued corporate presence in order to promote and protect student welfare. Some states and local schools districts indeed do have such guidelines. For example, in 1990 a group of educators met at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and developed a set of standards that has since been adopted by other educational organizations (such as the NEA and the National Parent-Teachers Association) and endorsed by numerous state superintendents of education (see Molnar 1996). In some cities, such as Berkeley and Seattle, local school boards and parents recently have voiced their concerns and voted to ban all advertising and corporate logos from classrooms, instructional materials, school buildings, and athletic equipment (Commercial-Free 1999c).

Within the context of the classroom, there are ways in which teachers can use corporate sponsored materials to counter the negative effects of this corporate presence, safeguard students, and further their intellectual and affective development. Specifically, teachers can capitalize on the extreme elements of indoctrination within such materials by using them to teach how propaganda operates and to foster critical thinking skills. Thus,

teachers and students, by analytically examining (rather than passively accepting) corporate instructional materials, can encourage more critical and independent thought as an antidote to corporate propaganda.

Finally, the corporate sponsorship of public education is a critical issue that deserves immediate attention from researchers for a number of reasons. Business and industry, involved in the nation's educational policy and practice for generations, is presently expanding the scope and depth of this involvement dramatically. In fact, in 1993 corporate expenditures on sponsorship of elementary and secondary education totaled \$381 million—fifty-four times what it was only three decades ago (Consumers Union 1995: 33), and are likely to continue to grow as state funding for public education erodes or is shifted to support other enterprises.<sup>9</sup> Schools, moreover, often have allowed this involvement to proceed without first considering the range of implications for students (particularly the impact of the corporate presence upon students' values). Finally, the growing corporate presence in the nation's schools should also be a cause for alarm considering a fundamental social function of public education—to shape individual and collective behavior through the reinforcement of shared values. In light of this goal, public schools can easily represent instruments of ideological management and control, serving “the interests and philosophy of American corporate expansion” (Spring 1976:

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<sup>9</sup> Andrew Hagelshaw, Senior Program Director of the CCFPE, stating that updated figures of corporate expenditures on education are very hard to pin down, indicated “the companies themselves do not promote the figures either” because “they prefer to keep a low profile regarding the extent to which they promote deals that include advertising in schools” (Hagelshaw 1999). Hagelshaw, however, did report that soft drink companies, Coca-Cola and Pepsi, alone recently committed over \$100 million for exclusive advertising deals and promotions in schools over the next five years.

262). Corporate sponsorship can subtly and suddenly transform schools into marketing vehicles designed to open new markets (by reaching young, highly impressionable consumers), stimulate material wants and desires, and foster an acceptance of both consumption of goods and corporate points of view. In light of these issues, schools and communities throughout the United States need to closely scrutinize the concerns raised by the corporate sponsorship of education.

### **Implications of Corporate Sponsorship of Education for Native Communities**

Due to this nation's historical legacy of assimilation of divergent ethnic groups into the American 'melting pot,' minority communities need to be especially vigilant and far-sighted before they pursue any form of educational partnership with corporations. Within the particularly unique context of Native American education, however, the need for vigilance grows; the Euro-American educational system has always represented for Native American people a great 'homogenizer,' seeking to reprogram and re-socialize indigenous peoples through varying degrees and forms of ideological management and coercive assimilation.

The history of Native American education has received significant attention from scholars, particularly during the last three decades. Much research exists on federal educational policy for native peoples examining the historical development of such policy, the application of educational practices in all types of schools, and the ramifications for Native American students and communities (e.g. Deloria 1975; Huff 1976; Eder & Reyhner 1987; Tippeconnic & Swisher 1992; DeJong 1993; Peshkin 1997). Scholars have reached consensus on the general coercive nature and assimilatory and

culturally destructive objectives of education for Native Americans in the United States throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as federal, public, and parochial schools all became “purveyors of assimilation” (Swisher & Deyhle 1995: 115). Most of the scholarship in the history of Native American education has focused on the so-called boarding school period from the 1870s through the 1930s, and has examined the federal government’s varied attempts to use schools to achieve the acculturation and assimilation of generations of Native students (e.g. Hoxie 1984; Adams 1988; Coleman 1993; Littlefield 1993; Lomawaima 1993; Ellis 1994; Adams 1995; Lindsey 1995; Ellis 1996). While other scholars have investigated other periods, such as Native education in the early American colonies (e.g. Szasz 1988), or other themes, such as the role of different religious denominations in Native American education (e.g. Prucha 1979), educational self-determination (e.g. Szasz 1977 & Senese 1986), and federal language policy (e.g. Reyhner 1992; McCarty 1993; Hinton 1994), these works likewise have affirmed the coercive and culturally destructive nature of education for Native Americans in the United States. Other scholars have contributed valuable perspectives on the implications of federal education policy for Native American students by exploring the complex socio-cultural intersection among policy, practice, and individual students particular indigenous (e.g. McBeth 1983; Trennert 1988; Mihesuah 1991; Lomawaima 1994; Spring 1996). Similar personalized and culturally contextualized insights have also come through autobiographies of individual Native Americans and their personal experiences with imposed education in the United States (e.g. Standing Bear 1928; LaFlesche 1963; Qoyawayma 1964; Sekaquaptewa 1969; Stewart 1980).

The underlying element unifying Native American education in the United States is the effort by federal, public, and mission schools to transform traditional tribal social and political structures, economies, religions, and languages, supplanting them with the prevailing institutions and values of mainstream society. Lomawaima (1995), describing such a transformation, referred to four distinct means of disenfranchisement practiced by the United States government—an imposition of *de facto* and *de iure* political control, the sudden and profound transformation from local traditional economies to free enterprise capitalism, and formal instruction in the colonists' language and Christian religion. This process entailed the forced adoption by Native people of the English language, a patriarchal family and social structure, an agriculturally-based economy, and positions as manual laborers on the lowest economic strata.

Many scholars, emphasizing a similarly multi-layered dynamic, have also framed federal educational policy and practice within an underlying economic agenda. Lindsey (1995), examining the early boarding school experiences of Native students at Hampton Institute in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, identified the school's curricular focus on a low level of vocational training at the expense of academic subjects as a principal component in the federal boarding schools. A parallel element in federal Indian educational policy was the instruction of Native students in the values of the Protestant work ethic (Adams 1988; Lomawaima 1993) and the value of work as education (Lindsey 1995). Lomawaima (1993), describing the standard curriculum in federal Indian schools as emphasizing piety, obedience, manual labor, and Christianity, has asserted that the function of such schools was to train Indian people to adopt the Protestant work ethic, and in the process,

to assume a place as the detribalized social and economic underclass through vocational and domestic training. Adams (1988) claimed that the underlying intent of federal schooling for Native Americans was to disenfranchise tribes from their land through allotment and education policies of assimilation.

Littlefield (1992), focusing on Native American education in the United States from 1880 to 1930, has argued that federal educational policy was designed to facilitate the destruction of traditional tribal economies and the entry of Native people into the national wage labor force. She asserted that 'proletarianization' better describes the efforts of federal policymakers and Indian schools than 'assimilation,' as such entry entailed the calculated integration of Native people into strictly the lowest rungs of the socio-economic ladder—as individual farmers and low-skilled manual laborers—in order to serve the resource and capital needs of the state. Federal Indian schools, in this perspective, were “subservient to the needs of an expanding capitalist economy” (1992: 58). The growing literature in the history of Native American education has provided extensive documentation of the extreme measures of systematic ideological management and coercive assimilation, federal policies often driven by economic goals, which have historically characterized federal Indian policy for indigenous people.

When contemporary Native American education, with its historical legacy of coercive assimilation, cultural genocide, and low-level vocational training, is grafted upon the broader context of contemporary public education, however, a new and potentially ominous force appears on the horizon for indigenous communities. For, what happens to the nature of public education and of these communities when two powerful

homogenizing entities—the corporation and the public school—enter into a partnership, enabling business and industry to become directly and deeply involved in the education of native youth? As public schools throughout the United States experience greater forms of corporate sponsorship of education that seek to subtly transform society through a redefinition of ‘the good life’ in accordance with the values of the marketplace, these issues should constitute important concerns for Native American communities.

## **Chapter V—THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF CORPORATE SPONSORSHIP OF NAVAJO EDUCATION IN THE FOUR CORNERS SCHOOL DISTRICT**

### **Purpose & Background**

Currently, absolutely no research exploring any realm of corporate sponsorship of Native American education exists. There are no data available to shed light on either the nature and extent or the socio-cultural implications of the involvement of business and industry in the education of Native American school children. These issues represent two critical areas of research for contemporary indigenous communities, as corporate sponsorship of education is spreading throughout hundreds of public school districts—many of which enroll significant populations of Native American students. Any insight into the potentially assimilative implications depends to a large degree upon the extent of our knowledge of the former. This chapter examines on-going sponsorship programs in a large public school district with a high number of Native students, and provides a needed perspective on the nature and implications of business and industry's presence in contemporary Native American education.

Presently, 95% of all Native American elementary and secondary school students are enrolled in the nation's public school system. Many of these students attend school in reservation border town areas whose school districts often encompass one largely Anglo town in addition to numerous rural reservation and off-reservation Native communities. Public school districts heavily populated by Native American students can be found in and around such cities as Tucson, Arizona, Seattle, Washington, and Tulsa, Oklahoma, as well as numerous smaller towns located near Indian reservations such as Rapid City, South Dakota, and Flagstaff, Arizona. This study focuses on the nature and extent of

corporate sponsorship of public education in the Pinon Hills/Four Corners County, New Mexico area, where Native Americans comprise the majority of students and the school district maintains active partnership programs with business and industry.

During the 1998-99 school year, the Four Corners County School District (FCSD) had 14,263 students enrolled in twenty elementary schools. 78%, or 11,032, of these students were Native American, nearly all of whom were Navajo. Navajo students, further, comprised the largest single ethnic group within each elementary and secondary school in the district. Hispanic and Anglo students represented 12% and 9% respectively, while the remaining 1% consisted of students from other ethnic backgrounds. The majority Navajo populations in individual schools ranged from a low of 35-40% (at White Canyon Elementary, for example) to highs from 80 to 95% (in such county schools as Red Mesa Elementary and reservation schools as Cedar Ridge Elementary). The enrollment of Navajo students, moreover, has constituted 60-90% of the total student population in most district schools for many years (*FCSD Student Enrollment Figures 1998-99*; B.W. 1999).

The Navajo Nation's own school enrollment statistics for Navajo students have reflected a similarly heavy student population in public school districts across the Four Corners area. According to the tribe's Division of Education, there were 55,071 pre-school to twelfth grade Navajo students enrolled in public, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and contract or grant schools in 1994-95 (the last year for which the Navajo Nation has gathered such data). The majority, or 63%, of these students (34,725)

attended school in fifteen different public school districts in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah (*Statistics on Navajo Education 1994-95*).<sup>10</sup>

Four Corners County is a large, sparsely populated rural county, covering over 15,000 square miles in the high desert of northern New Mexico. This isolated economically disadvantaged county of approximately 120,000 people and its public school district consist, in the north and west, of a large part of the eastern Navajo Nation, in addition to a handful of Anglo and Hispanic border towns, mostly established as ranching, mining, or railroad settlements in the southern part of the county. The former includes numerous small, isolated Navajo communities, many of whose economic infrastructures constitute little more than one or two gas stations/convenience stores. Some larger reservation communities, such as Deer Springs and Cedar Ridge, have experienced slightly more development with perhaps a grocery store, a bank, and a few smaller locally-owned service-oriented businesses (such as video stores, car repair shops, and restaurants). Moreover, most mainstream Four Corners County communities bordering the Navajo reservation, such as Red Mesa, do not possess any more economic infrastructure than the larger reservation communities. Only Pinon Hills, the largest town in Four Corners County, has managed to attract and maintain any significant level of economic development, and thus sustain a population of approximately 20,000 people (19,964, according to the 1994 census).

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<sup>10</sup> Over 97% of all pre-school to twelfth grade Navajo students are enrolled in the public school systems of Arizona and New Mexico. According to the tribe's official enrollment statistics for 1994-95, the number of Navajo students in Utah public schools totaled only 1,490.

Due to the immense physical size of the FCSD district, there exist two distinct geographic and/or cultural spheres that can generally be labeled 'in-town' and 'county' or 'reservation' schools.<sup>11</sup> The former group refers to the nine elementary, three middle and junior high, and two high schools within the Pinon Hills city limits; the latter category designates the ten elementary, two middle, and five high schools spread throughout Four Corners County in nine small rural communities both on and off the Navajo reservation.

The qualitative study presented here analyzes the nature and extent of corporate sponsorship in the predominantly Navajo FCSD public schools, and, in the process, examines the ramifications of corporate involvement in education for indigenous students and communities. Hence, the data can provide not only insight into the nature of corporate sponsorship of contemporary Navajo education, but also may be used to shed light on the possible assimilative implications of such involvement from business and industry for Native American students and communities.

### **Methodology**

The qualitative research methods used comprise two principal means of data collection, interviews as well as statistical and textual analysis, to gather descriptive data from public schools within the FCSD district. The district-produced guidelines were analyzed, looking for patterns and trends, particularly in how and why the district and individual schools pursue, attain, and structure corporate sponsorship. The analysis enabled me to contextualize the nature of business and industry's involvement in FCSD

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<sup>11</sup> The Four Corners County School District, encompassing over 5,000 square miles, constitutes the largest single school district in geographic area in the lower 48 states. The district covers an area as large as the state of New Jersey.

schools along a continuum between the two contemporary theoretical poles of neo-liberalism and neo-Marxism. Demographic statistics (acquired from the district's superintendent's office) on the ethnic backgrounds of FCSD elementary students for the 1998-99 school year were also analyzed by comparing the numbers of Anglo, Native American, and other minority groups enrolled in district schools in order to calculate relative percentages of the student population by ethnicity in the district and individual elementary schools. In addition, statistical data (acquired from the Navajo Nation Division of Education, Office of Research and Planning Development in Window Rock) on the grade levels, schools, and states where all Navajo pre-school, elementary, middle, and high school students were enrolled for the 1994-95 school year (the last year for which such statistics are available) were analyzed. The numbers of all Navajo students enrolled in both on and off reservation public, BIA, and community schools in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah were compared to measure the relative percentages of Navajo students in each type of school system, particularly FCSD and the other public school districts in the area.

Extensive descriptive data were gathered through five interviews with administrators responsible for current sponsorship programs: the assistant superintendent of the FCSD schools and four principals from a demographic cross-section of district elementary and middle schools. The findings of the five interviews have been analyzed and presented as separate case studies, reflecting many aspects related to the nature and extent of corporate sponsorship both in the four individual schools and throughout the district in general. All of the interviews, tape recorded in order to facilitate subsequent

analysis, included a series of questions (a copy of which can be found in the appendix) designed to elicit data concerning the nature and extent of corporate sponsorship within these four schools and the district in general. The tapes were transcribed, and the data were coded, according to the responses in order to determine the nature and extent of corporate sponsorship of the education of Navajo students in the Pinon Hills, New Mexico area.<sup>12</sup>

Four schools were chosen on the basis of a pair of criteria. They are schools which, one, are currently sponsored by corporations, and, two, have a majority of Navajo students. This study reflects data gathered primarily from in-town schools. This approach is due to one practical consideration: the Pinon Hills schools currently are experiencing a greater degree of corporate sponsorship than are the schools in any of the outlying county and reservation communities. However, this work also integrates data, where available, from outlying rural schools in order to provide a more inclusive and accurate portrait of the nature and extent of corporate sponsorship in this predominantly Navajo public school district.

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<sup>12</sup> Corporate sponsorship in American public education can manifest itself in a variety of ways, and does so in the FCSD schools, through such means as contests/incentive programs, Channel One, and primarily Adopt-A-School programs. My research discusses the nature and extent of each manifestation of corporate involvement in the district. The district refers to the numerous adoption programs as 'school-business partnerships.' Consequently, this study for the sake of consistency and clarity will use this preferred terminology to refer to these programs, and will utilize the term 'corporate sponsorship' more broadly to refer to the other genres of direct involvement of business and industry in American public education.

## **Findings/Case Studies**

### **White Canyon Elementary School**

White Canyon Elementary, a K-5<sup>th</sup> grade school in the southern hills above the center of Pinon Hills, in 1998 enrolled 134 Navajo students, representing 37% of the total population of 362 students. Navajo children, consequently, constituted the school's largest single ethnic group. White Canyon, representing one of the most ethnically balanced FCSD student body, also possessed one of the district's most developed and established school-business partnership programs.

White Canyon Elementary entered a relationship with Century 21 Action Realty of Pinon Hills in the 1994-95 school year, after having considered corporate sponsorship for nearly five years when the district began encouraging school-business partnerships. The White Canyon/Century 21 partnership began in a rather informal manner. Principal B.W. (1999) reported that six years ago, when she became principal at White Canyon, "we started looking at school-business partnerships, and we weren't really going anywhere with it," until she and one of the school's fourth grade teachers, who was a half owner of the local Century 21 realty office, decided, "well, let's just do it...let's go for it." After the school staff discussed the matter, B.W. met with Century 21, and together they brainstormed ways that the school and business could help each other. The current partnership has reflected the ideas that emerged from those early meetings.

Corporate involvement in the current White Canyon/Century 21 partnership has been evident primarily in one area of school operations—non-instructional support. This support has manifested itself in five different ways. One, Century 21, monthly has

bestowed upon one student from each grade level the honor of 'Student of the Month' for exemplifying such traits as enthusiasm, trust, and responsibility. Each student of the month has received from Century 21 a certificate of honor as well as a gift certificate to Waldenbooks. Century 21 also displayed the students' names on its office marquee in downtown Pinon Hills for an entire month. The school also listed the students' names in its monthly newsletter, "The White Canyon Reporter," which was then distributed to parents, students, and the local Century 21 office (which has received ten complimentary copies each month). Two, Century 21 donated funds for White Canyon to purchase a sign in front of the school, listing upcoming school and community events. Three, employees from the realty office periodically have volunteered their time to aid the school's fundraising efforts by working at such annual events as the Halloween Carnival. Four, Century 21 bought White Canyon a cotton candy machine which the school has used once a month to raise additional funds through student concessions. Finally, the school purchased new stage curtains from money donated by its Century 21 partners in education.

In exchange for the provision of these kinds of support, Century 21 also has received benefits from its partnership with White Canyon. These benefits have ranged from such items as ten free school newsletters to post and distribute in the office and gifts of appreciation from both the principal and the school's parent-teacher organization (PTO) to less tangible, yet more substantial, elements, such as publicity. Specifically, the district superintendent honored the Century 21 people at a school board meeting for their involvement and commitment to local education. Further, the school has placed the

Century 21 name and logo on its monthly newsletters and permanently on its prominently displayed 'Partners in Education' sign in front of the school, giving the realty office daily publicity and exposure to thousands of people each week. These facets of the school-business partnership program effectively convey a strong sense to the community that Century 21 is working with the local schools, supporting Pinon Hills' public educational system.

Beyond the personal connection facilitating the birth of this partnership, there existed other motives which correspond to the aforementioned benefits derived by both entities. According to B.W., financial need constituted the primary impetus for the initial establishment of White Canyon's partnership with Century 21. The school was experiencing shortages principally in non-instructional support, and turned to the school-business program to improve funding in this area. B.W. also asserted that much of the motivation underlying the partnership centered on public relations concerns—"a lot of it was for communications, public relations purposes...to let the community know that there are good things happening in the school district."

This assertion revealed some fundamental conceptions underlying the White Canyon-Century 21 partnership. B.W. conceived of school-business partnerships as essentially a two-way street, a mutually beneficial cooperative by which both partners give and contribute something to the other's interests. She viewed it as critical for school representatives and business leaders to convene and brainstorm ways to establish and sustain a mutually beneficial relationship so that the relationship does not become one in which the school is simply asking always for funds. She saw corporations as able to

provide, not only additional funding, but important links between the school and community as well, through mentoring and service learning programs for students. According to B.W., businesses in exchange have received an opportunity to assert their interests in developing work-related skills, because “[t]he businesses have needs when the kids leave school...(schools must know) what do the businesses want or need when our kids leave school and go out in Pinon Hills and work in business.”

B.W. indicated the existence of written district guidelines for the structuring and monitoring of school-business partnerships, but did not report concern for the function of the document. She asserted that the structuring, monitoring, and assessing of each partnership are school-based decisions made by the local principal in conjunction with the school staff. B.W. described a somewhat casual approach to these issues surrounding business partnerships, “The first year or two at the end of the school year we did have meetings, and we talked about guidelines, and I think in the back of my mind there is a printed manual or at least we discussed it...” She qualified the unique status of White Canyon’s partnership program, stating, “I guess maybe my situation may be different, because my school-business partner teaches here. So it’s a very personal relationship.”

White Canyon Elementary is planning to continue its relationship with Century 21 along its established course. B.W. expressed a confidence and lack of concern regarding the nature of the corporate partnership, asserting that both the school and its business partner are satisfied with their present arrangement. According to B.W., both White Canyon and Century 21 have reached a level of comfort due to the personal origins and length of the partnership: “we’ve all kind of just relaxed into this relationship that we’re

with now. I've not gone to them and they've not come to me to change anything..." B.W. concisely described the extent of the partnership: "Right now it's not a huge impact within the building. It's not something we think about all the time. But it's there, and we kind of make use of it when the need arises."

### **Franklin Elementary School**

In 1998 Franklin Elementary School, located near the center of Pinon Hills, consisted of 355 students, 65-70% of whom were Navajo. The school has been in a dual partnership program with two local businesses, Norwest Bank and A.C Houston Lumber Company, for "at least one year," according to Principal P.L. (1999).<sup>13</sup> The program, though involving two local companies, illustrated a lower level of school-business partnership, as one business partner, the lumber company, has been involved to a limited degree, while the bank has not made contact with Franklin this school year.

P.L. asserted that a written letter of agreement exists between the school and business that outlines the provisions and parameters of each partnership. The agreement has primarily called for the companies to provide support for Franklin's fund-raising efforts. The school periodically has asked the business partners to donate items which were then sold or raffled off during PTO and school fundraisers. In this context, A.C. Houston recently donated five cases of soda to the school's PTO. This money "in turn, just cycles back in (to the school). It recycles its value double and triple by their

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<sup>13</sup> P.L., though Franklin principal only since January, 1999, remained a valuable source of information, as he has gained a broad perspective on local education through his previous experience as principal in the Pinon Hills area and the Navajo reservation for the past 18 years in both public and BIA schools.

(business') contributions." For example, P.L. reported that such corporate support enabled the school recently to purchase a \$1,000 laminating machine.

In regard to guidelines with which to structure and monitor corporate involvement in district schools, P.L. indicated a belief that such a document existed, but was unable to locate either any written district guidelines or the letter of agreement outlining Franklin's particular partnership program. He did assert, however, that the process of structuring and monitoring of individual partnerships is "localized as opposed to district...between you and your corporate sponsor or your partner."

The origin of Franklin's school-business partnership was financial in nature. According to P.L., the school initiated the partnership in an effort to muster additional financial support: "I think it was because of lack of money that the school had to actually...because of funding reasons...we're tight, we're real tight for buying stuff." In addition, a personal connection between Franklin and A.C. Houston facilitated the development of this partnership: the husband of a school staff member was a manager at the lumber company.

P.L. indicated that the initial funding motives or impetus was not, in his view, an ideal framework for establishing school-business partnerships. He conceived of partnerships, and more broadly, corporate sponsorship, as a mutually beneficial exchange of services between two institutions, using the 'school to work' concept as the framework through which to involve business in public education. He interpreted 'school to work' as a program whereby schools can provide work training and basic skills, "bringing the educational literacy of people up...because then employees will be a lot more reliable.

They're going to be a lot more efficient in the workplace." P.L. went on to discuss the use of school-business partnerships to teach students such work-related, 'people' skills as team building and conflict mediation, "teaching what the workforce really needs out there."

Concerning future corporate involvement in his school, P.L. indicated his preference for the Franklin-A.C. Houston and Norwest partnership to be a mutually beneficial exchange of services rather than a case of the school simply soliciting funds from private business. He felt that the partnership currently was not as balanced as it should be, and consequently, favored developing ways that schools can benefit corporations. Again, he stressed utilizing the 'school to work' concept by "letting those (business) folks sit in on our improvement teams and where we are in community, in a community sense, and also try to extend so that we have that connection enough to network with them and their expertise to bring somebody in to talk to kids in fifth grade about banking. That's what I'd like to see." Technology emerged as one other principal area in which P.L. sought to encourage greater involvement from corporations. He especially wanted to link Franklin Elementary classrooms to the Internet, and was hoping to find corporate sponsorship to fund this project.

P.L., however, expressed two practical factors restricting these types of expanded corporate involvement. He pointed out the practical constraints placed on the Pinon Hills business community's philanthropic activities due to the area's limited economic development, stating, "there's not much economically that's broad here. You don't have an Intel. You don't have the global company here...even regional." P.L. also raised the

issue of accurately defining those skills deemed necessary in the work place of the future. He questioned whether anyone realistically knew what job skills the children presently in kindergarten will need when they enter the workforce.

Beyond these practical restraints, P.L., posing a series of hypothetical philosophical concerns and potential challenges presented by the corporate sponsorship of public education, also perceived the possibility for ideological management and imposition through the presence of corporate interests in the schools. He raised this concern in the context of schools soliciting corporate money, and indicated, "...there's strings when you talk money. No one just wants to give you a check for 30,000 dollars and say, 'Here you go.' It's usually, 'This is the program we want you to do.' IBM's 'Write to Read' came in with that. They were willing to give you the computers, but they wanted to really see if 'Write to Read' was going to work."

P.L. foresaw corporate sponsorship of public education not only resulting in privatization, but cultivating a series of related challenges as well, stating: "If we look at the concept of 'impose,' I see in the long run that public education will get out of public education...vouchers come and...corporate schools, that what we'll become. It will become privatized, and then we'll really have a real problem...because then were really going to talk about the 'us' and 'thems.'" One problem cited by P.L. was the development of a privatized school system that tracks students for training in certain pre-determined sectors of the labor market, thereby providing the nation with a supply of unskilled laborers. He theorized, "I would imagine that it would be easier to take the workforce that you know you're going to deal with and privatize that and let me just train

those kids all the way up. And it may be done a lot more efficiently than what we're doing." In addition, P.L. indicated two other ramifications of corporate privatization of public education—the creation of schools on the Internet “that we just plug into and our kids get an education from” and the possibility of “the textbook folks just shifting into the Internet.” According to P.L., the likelihood of ideological management resulting from these developments in public education “scares me and makes me alarmed, because I already think that they (textbook publishers) impose enough in our schools.” He concluded, “[t]hat’s where I see corporations may go into, because there’s money to be made. Corporations are after making money or getting a workforce to be efficient.” These forecasts and ideas, though insightful, nevertheless do not seem to constitute general concern for any possible negative ramifications for indigenous students and communities of corporate sponsorship of public education.

P.L., clearly recognizing the potential for ideological management and control from the persuasive marketing forces within some forms of corporate sponsorship, affirmed the existence of potential problems arising from the involvement of business and industry in Navajo education. He attributed them, however, to a “lack of understanding” on the part of the Navajo people, and explained that the latter remained, in general, largely unaware of the persuasive power of corporations. P.L. asserted that the Navajo population “absolutely has no clue to...the persuasive means of dominant society.”

P.L., in addition, mentioned a host of contemporary economic problems or trends on the Navajo reservation to support his claims concerning Navajo perception of the persuasiveness of corporate marketing. He cited, as evidence, the probability that high

numbers of cars are bought in Pinon Hills by Navajo people, then repossessed within a month; the low number of Navajo-owned businesses and general lack of economic development on the reservation; and the fact that the tribe still only receives 12% annually from the huge amounts of revenue generated by mining on the reservation.

P.L., however, saw education as a means for the Navajo people both to develop greater economic infrastructure in their communities and to contend with the powerful forces of persuasion and ideological management, which such marketing development would bring. As a safeguard against the latter, he advocated the inclusion of another form of literacy into standard school curricula beyond reading, writing, speaking, and listening—that is, “a filtration system, a critiquer of what we are actually viewing.... you know, what are they selling you and how are they trying to sell it?”

Though he thoughtfully raised many potential concerns posed by corporate involvement in public education, P.L. still generally favored developing corporate sponsorship to a greater degree, asserting he “would like it to be six months not four years” in the making. He felt, however, that the nature and extent of corporate sponsorship in his school and the entire FCSD district paled in comparison to the sponsorship programs currently active in more populous districts around the nation. P.L. characterized corporate sponsorship in the district as “very minimal,” stating “[w]hen you look at a lot of the educational cooperatives that have been happening nation-wide in some big districts, we’re not even...you know, what did we get? Some cans of pop? They’re investing *big* money in some of these school districts, *big* money. And that’s why when I went to that other extreme. That to me in some cases is an imposing. That’s

coming and saying, 'This is what we want. This is how we're going to do it.' But it may be more effective. I don't know. We've got a real tough profession here. This education game is getting more difficult and more difficult."

### **Martin Luther King, Jr. Middle School**

Martin Luther King, Jr. Middle School (MLK), on the eastside of Pinon Hills, enrolled 484 sixth and seventh grade students in 1998—70-75% of whom were Navajo. MLK, one of only two middle schools in Pinon Hills, currently was involved in two different forms of corporate sponsorship—the district adoption/partnership program as well as Channel One. New principal M.H. (1999) estimated that both MLK's partnership with Giant Oil Company and Channel One have been in existence "for five to eight years." Assistant Superintendent J.G. (1999), who was a rich source of information on district partnerships, confirmed that this MLK-Giant partnership began in August, 1991. According to M.H., J.G. was instrumental in initiating the relationship with Giant at a time when the FCSD school district was encouraging such links with the business community. J.G. indicated that the MLK-Giant partnership, the second such FCSD school-business cooperative, has served as the prototype for the development of later partnerships throughout the district because it "was strictly an academic initiative back and forth...[t]hose partners did it right. There were negotiations ahead of time. They talked it out—what each could do for each other—and then went from there, and they have been a catalyst for other partnerships in the district."

Both M.H. and J.G. asserted that the MLK-Giant partnership has experienced varying degrees of participation and commitment. When the relationship, consisting of

many provisions designed to foster and maintain a mutually beneficial partnership, began in 1991, there were “dynamic things going on” (J.G. 1999). Giant engineers, for example, served on MLK’s instructional and curriculum teams in order to help with the school’s technical writing program and Math and Science curricula. Giant also sponsored monthly writing contests in which the company distributed pens labeled with the Giant name and logo, as well as “Giant bucks”—coupons, similar to Greenstamps, to be used to purchase items from any Giant store. In addition, the oil refinery annually offered a \$1,000 college scholarship to one student graduating from Pinon Hills High School who also attended MLK Middle School. The MLK students also went on fieldtrips where they learned more about the petroleum industry. In return, the students wrote the monthly personnel newsletter for the Giant oil refinery, and, in the process, gained valuable experience in a range of important academic skills.

Finally, one very significant means by which Giant was able to provide MLK with financial assistance was the donation of items, which the school then used as fundraiser raffle items. Two or three years into the school-business partnership, Giant approached MLK with an idea to fly in company clients to Pinon Hills, sponsor a golf tournament, and give the proceeds to the school (J.G. 1999). During the early 1990s, this tournament annually raised for MLK \$10-12,000, which the school used to upgrade its technology, completely outfitting one computer lab, and to provide student scholarships.

Recently, the MLK-Giant partnership has consisted primarily of two components (in addition to the school’s ‘Partners in Education’ sign) related to instruction and student achievement—the annual college scholarship and corporate mentoring programs. M.H.,

however, reported concerning the scholarship that “over the years it has lost its enthusiasm.” Currently, the future of the scholarship remains uncertain, and is subject to an upcoming meeting between school officials and Giant representatives. The school also utilized engineers from Giant to be guest speakers in classes in a Career Day context. During 1998-99, the school-business partnership has “been very limited,” restricted to the guest speakers and Spelling Bee.

M.H. saw recent turnover in the administration of the school and local Giant office as a hindrance to clear communication and hence a primary obstacle to the development of an effective school-business partnership. According to M.H., “it’s been really hard to kind of figure out what we can do for each other because there’s been so much change involved,” but presently the two partners “are trying to reestablish what we want from each other.”

M.H. was unaware whether any formal guidelines existed by which the school to structure and assess the partnership over time, but asserted that such responsibilities lay with the local school and business representatives. She also indicated the existence of informal by-laws and agreements made with Giant, noting that such stipulations as yet had “not been formalized.”

Channel One also has been an active form of corporate sponsorship of education in MLK Middle School throughout most of the past decade. When the topic came up of this commercial-laden daily ‘news’ program came up, M.H. gave a disgruntled groan, and exclaimed, “I have real mixed feelings about that (Channel One)...real mixed feelings. It’s twelve minutes of news. The rest is junk, junk...actually it’s seventeen minutes if

you want to be real specific. Then there's commercials, lots and lots of commercials, *lots* of commercials." This most pervasive and commercial of all forms of corporate sponsorship of education, broadcast in all but one middle and high schools in the district, reaches thousands of FCSD students daily.

M.H., voicing her general distaste with the idea of Channel One, indicated two problems with the use of the program at MLK. One, she contended that daily broadcasts of Channel One have resulted in a loss of valuable instructional time. When M.H. linked the presence of Channel One to the assessment of her students, she affirmed, "our kids are so far behind, I just don't feel like we can spare that twenty minutes. I really don't. We need to jump right in." In addition, she thought Channel One constituted a particular waste of time if it was not integrated effectively into daily instruction by teachers. If this integration is absent, "there's no discussion...it's just like another piece of stuff thrown at them (students) during the day with no closure. I don't see it as meaningful. If it was done in a meaningful way, then I think I'd be willing to keep it."

Despite M.H.'s objections, Channel One represented a lasting element in the educational experience of MLK Middle School students. The teachers, in this case, constitute the primary advocates of keeping Channel One in the building. Their argument, however, is not one steeped in contemporary research on pedagogy or uses of technology in the classroom. According to M.H., "...the teachers want to keep it (Channel One)...mostly because of our tardy problems. We show it first thing in the morning...we have so many kids that are late, it gives us a little lead time to get them in the classrooms and then jump into instruction right afterwards." This thoroughly

pragmatic consideration, consequently, has been the force that has maintained Channel One at MLK through the late 1990s. However, she went to caution, “Don’t put it (Channel One) in the elementary schools. I see it as just another external thing that goes in the way of the kids learning...”

Currently, the future of the MLK-Giant partnership is largely undefined. M.H., however, expressed a clear hope to revive and redirect the partnership by incorporating other elements of corporate sponsorship, because, in her view, “money is not the only reason we should have a partnership.” She advocated developing mentoring programs between the school and Giant in order to foster more career service learning opportunities for students, and, in return, using school resources to provide links among school, business, and community. She especially noted the use of two types of mentoring—the use of Giant employees as periodic tutors or volunteers in the classroom and as providers of a bridge between school and work. M.H. reasoned, “Kids need role models, and we need to get them (business people) in the classroom, so they (students) can see the kinds of opportunities that school can provide for them, and having them (business people) participate in things—maybe sponsor a parent night, those kinds of things. We need to make connections with the community and get them in a positive light.” She also cited the school choir singing during the holidays at Giant Travel Center as one other means by which to develop these community ties. Essentially, MLK Middle School was interested in establishing “a true partnership...not an ‘us’ and ‘them’ and ‘what can I get out of you’...a mutual thing. We don’t want just your money. We’d like people to come in and work with the kids, come in and do some sort of service learning project.”

The current MLK-Giant relationship operates within a realm of uncertainty, as both partners have realized the need to clarify the nature and extent of their cooperative initiative, are presently redefining their interests and objectives. M.H. observed, “They (Giant) have new leadership, and I’m here as a new leader, so we’re trying to find common ground to come up with a way to do things...because we need to redefine how Giant participates...”

M.H. did note possible problems with corporate sponsorship of public education arising from poor communications, which, she claimed, is most often due to confusion over the different roles and abilities of both schools and businesses. According to the MLK principal, each institution is unaware of how the other must function within its particular legal parameters, and consequently, must learn the prescribed roles of each other. M.H., declaring that this mutual definition would help result in more effective and satisfying partnerships, asserted, “They don’t really understand how schools work, I think sometimes, and we don’t have a clear understanding of how they work, and we need to maybe get a better handle on that—especially with a big corporation like Giant.”

M.H., who worked twenty years as both a teacher and principal on the Navajo reservation, perceived no significant concerns with corporate sponsorship of education in reservation schools. She did mention, however, practical obstacles (mainly the lack of economic infrastructure), hindering development of school-business partnerships in the outlying areas of the district. She brought up a failed attempt when she was principal of Cedar Ridge Elementary School to create a partnership between Basha’s Supermarket and the reservation school as an example of the difficulty in summoning corporate

support in isolated, economically underdeveloped communities. M.H. recalled that Basha's turned down the school, because the supermarket "felt that if they did (sponsored) Cedar Ridge Elementary that they probably would have to do the BIA school and they would have to do the high school. They just didn't want to make that kind of commitment, and there's not much out there (economically)."

M.H., at the same time, expressed a strong belief that the Navajo people would eagerly embrace corporate sponsorship of their children's education. She asserted, "I think the (Cedar Ridge) community would have been extremely receptive to the fact that a corporation was going to adopt a school, because with the Navajo people, I feel that more than anything they want to have people how they live, where they live, where they come from, the cultural aspect, and it's real hard to get corporations to go out there and look at it, and sponsor." M.H. cited, as evidence for the receptiveness of the Navajo people to corporate sponsors for reservation schools, a recent Christmas season in which a group of Anglo doctors from the local hospital donated gifts to needy Navajo families. Within this context of generosity, she affirmed, "[o]ut on the reservation, people need to know that other people care about them. That's one of the key things about being successful on the reservation...is setting that tone in your building..." She also affirmed, building on this premise, "(corporations) need to go look and see where these kids live and they need to see the kinds of *extreme* conditions that these children have to survive under on a day to day basis."

M.H. viewed the corporate sponsorship of reservation schools as providing Navajo people with material benefits (such as college scholarships for students and computers in

chapter houses) as well as less tangible, intrinsic benefits. She conceived the latter as consisting of educational exposure to the values and practices of mainstream society, and asserted, "...the outlying schools almost need the partnerships more than we do, because those children are so isolated out there." According to M.H., "[I]t's a matter of exposure, it's a matter of experiences. They (the Navajo people) know that the twenty-first century is coming. And they're still living in another century themselves when they don't have heat and electricity but I think to give them the experiences would make a huge difference...and that's where I'd like to see corporations go, to gently expose them to the kind of things that are coming down."

#### **Red Mesa Elementary School**

Red Mesa Elementary School, located in a very small town (with a population less than one thousand) thirty miles east of Pinon Hills at the southern edge of the Navajo reservation, represents the other demographic side of Four Corners County. The area, displaying the common characteristics of outlying communities throughout the district, has a higher percentage of Navajo people and, generally, lower levels of economic development than the town of Pinon Hills. Red Mesa Elementary enrolled 478 students in 1998—75-85% of whom were Navajo from the surrounding areas.

Red Mesa, as the district's only outlying county or reservation school currently operating an active school-business partnership, is the only such school included in this study. Presently, the school is in its second year of a partnership with Giant Travel Center, a huge truck stop owned by Giant Oil Company and located on Interstate 40 between Red Mesa and Pinon Hills.

The Red Mesa-Giant relationship, representing one of the district's youngest school-business partnerships, has manifested itself in two main forms of non-instructional support. Giant has agreed to assist in paying the school's photocopying bills, and has also donated money to support the school's improvement and growth. According to Red Mesa principal B.K., last year Giant donated \$3,000 which the school, in turn, used to upgrade its technology and audio-visual equipment, outfitting each classroom with a new television and VCR.

The Red Mesa-Giant partnership, similar to those at Red Rock and Jefferson, began through a personal connection between the two institutions. According to B.K. (1999), "the school initiated the contact with a parent who was in a management position with Giant." After informal discussions between B.K. and Giant officials, the school and business agreed upon a partnership, which currently brings Red Mesa Elementary corporate financial assistance.

Several factors, encompassing practical and theoretical concerns, motivated the school to pursue a partnership with Giant. One, the school wanted to reach out and establish deeper community connections. Many inhabitants of Red Mesa and relatives of Red Mesa Elementary students work in a variety of capacities at Giant. Hence, formal ties through a partnership not only were facilitated by this familiarity, but was deemed valuable because of the pre-existing informal connections. Two, the school wanted to acquire upgraded technology, such as additional televisions, VCR's, computers, and software, and needed additional financial to do so. Finally, Red Mesa Elementary also saw a valuable chance to provide its students with service learning opportunities through

such activities as fieldtrips to Giant and classroom visits by corporate employees to talk to students in a Career Day type of function.

B.K. specifically cited the existence of partnership guidelines that the superintendent's office produced, but also asserted that any monitoring and assessment of district partnerships occurred by means of a localized process. B.K., who, as principal, is responsible for such school-based decision-making, assessed the relative success of the partnership with Giant over time by considering "concrete evidence" or what the school has materially received in the relationship.

B.K., indicating clear interest in continuing Red Mesa's partnership with Giant to a more active, yet balanced, relationship. She expressed an attraction to integrating other realms of corporate sponsorship into the partnership, such as school presentations by Giant, thereby providing service learning opportunities for the students. Red Mesa Elementary also hoped to acquire a 'Partners in Education' sign to display in front of the school as well as additional financial assistance for the development of technology. B.K. did not raise any concerns or potential challenges posed by the corporate sponsorship of education in the FCSD public schools. Nor did she perceive any potential concerns or conflicts between corporate sponsorship and the cultural values of her Navajo students.

#### **FCSD Superintendent's Office**

Assistant Superintendent of the Four Corners County School District, J.G., provided extensive information on corporate sponsorship of education in the district from both an historical and contemporary perspective. J.G., in his position since 1991, has overseen the growth of FCSD school-business partnerships for the past decade. He asserted, "My

position was to help coordinate and keep fostering this partnership program..." (1999). From the years immediately following the first partnership in 1989 between Adams Elementary and Sunwest Bank, the number of active partnerships has risen to approximately 45 today. According to J.G., "it all started with the people at Sunwest Bank coming to (district administration) Central Office to talk about the possibility of forming partnerships." He indicated that he was told a few years later by the president of Sunwest Bank that the bank, "trying to get more involved with schools," had issued a state-wide corporate initiative to sponsor local public education in communities where its branch offices were located. In this partnership, bank employees visited the school, and volunteered as guest readers and tutors in Adams Elementary classrooms. The bank also provided \$250 scholarships to fifth graders when they graduated from high school.

J.G. explained that soon after, "Giant took notice and followed suit," joining Martin Luther King, Jr. Middle School to form the district's second school-business partnership in August, 1991. This partnership, through "strictly an academic initiative," resulted in significant financial support for MLK annually during the early 1990s. This success, in turn, stimulated much interest on the part of other FCSD schools in also pursuing similar involvement from business and industry.

With the significant additional funding source suddenly operating at MLK, a greater interest began to grow throughout the schools in corporate sponsorship, particularly in adoption or partnership programs. In 1993 the district hosted a mini-workshop on how to go about fostering school-business partnerships. The district, hoping to court corporate support for public education, invited 75 local businesses to hear presentations by FCSD

school principals and representatives from other public school districts in the state (such as Roswell) with more highly developed school adoption programs. According to J.G., from this one workshop grew approximately half of the roughly 45 currently active school-business partnerships.

Nearly 90% of all FCSD school-business partnership, both past and present, operated within the city of Pinon Hills. There have only been a handful of outlying schools on the Navajo reservation or in other distant reaches of Four Corners County to establish partnerships. Outlying reservation and county schools, such as in the towns of Deer Springs, Clearwater, Cedar Ridge, Red Mesa, and Castle Rock, have at one time or another been partners with a local business or industry. But, J.G. cited the lack of much corporate presence in the district's outlying communities as severely restricting the creation of partnerships between businesses and these distant schools.

J.G. emphasized that the primary goal of the FCSD schools in partnerships was to develop mutually beneficial relationships with local businesses. The schools, consequently, considered, "what can they (businesses) do to help us reach our academic goals, and then, in return, what can we give them back?" He singled out a few individual partnerships in the district as particularly good illustrations of such mutually beneficial relationships. For example, in the Robinson Elementary-Taco Bell partnership, the restaurant chain sponsored monthly academic awards assemblies for students who had excelled in school. The students received a pencil with the Taco Bell name and logo and coupons with which to eat at the local Taco Bell franchise. The Pine Springs High School-Public Utilities of New Mexico (PNM) partnership also effected results mutually

beneficial for both partners. The energy company annually sent employees to the school to work as Science Fair judges and again to serve as Career Day speakers. The high school, in an effort to give something back to the community, as well as to enrich students' educational experiences, had its woodshop classes build a number of bus shelters around the isolated rural community approximately forty miles north of Pinon Hills. The construction of these shelters turned out to be both a cooperative and reciprocal effort between the school-business partners, as PNM donated all the building supplies and Pine Springs students provided the labor. The results of these mutually beneficial partnership provisions helped schools further their academic goals, while simultaneously providing corporations with their own benefits, such as positive public relations or increased sales.

J.G. noted three other objectives that the district has striven to incorporate into its school-business partnerships. He particularly emphasized the importance of communication, stating, "if you don't have that communication, it'll (the partnership) dry up on you." He cited the early partnerships at both Adams and MLK as displaying strong commitments to communication with monthly meetings and clear discussion about "what each could do for each other." J.G. also warned to *not* establish "plans that are too encompassing or too unrealistic," and asserted, "[w]e tell folks, 'Try to build it (the partnership) on two or three things and that's all...If you do more than three things, I think you're biting off more than you can chew, because you also have to teach school and these folks have to run a business.'" Finally, he noted the value of utilizing any pre-existing personal ties between a school and business, referring to the Red Mesa

Elementary parent who also worked for Giant and the many Sunwest Bank employees who once attended Adams Elementary. Concerning such partnerships emanating from a personal connection, J.G. affirmed, “If you can develop those relations...those ties, the commitment is there, whereas if I don’t have anything in common with that school, why am I coming here?”

Currently, the FCSD schools are still actively pursuing additional school-business partnerships, but the process of acquiring corporate sponsorship is less centralized, as the district administration has encouraged schools to find such support on their own. The assistant superintendent, reporting on the future development of school-business partnerships, asserted, “My responsibilities have taken different angles...and what I’ve done is I’ve left it up to schools, and I hear things that come up—people say, ‘Well, I’d like to do a partnership’—then I take it from there to individual schools.”

When the issues of more visible signs of ideological management commercialism, such as direct in-school advertising, in the FCSD schools arose, J.G. first stated, “There is no direct advertising.” He then reconsidered, and, referring particularly to the individual schools’ ‘Partners in Education’ signs, affirmed, “...well, the direct advertising has come from the fact that you have Giant as your partner.” Regarding the inherent commercial messaging and publicity in the signs, he asserted, “We (the FCSD schools) don’t want them (school-business partnerships) to be a forum for it. Although they’re getting the publicity, because just the fact that in these partnership activities, the name is there.” Beyond the commercial dynamic of the business partnership signs, J.G. did not cite any other forms of direct in-school advertising in the district. He did, however, refer directly

to past offers by each Pepsi and Coca-Cola to become “exclusive pourer” for all district schools’ (e.g. in vending machines and lunchrooms). He also recalled that Coca-Cola, when they became a school-business partner, offered to buy Pinon Hills High School a new stadium scoreboard with the soft drink company’s logo and name emblazoned on it. J.G. affirmed, however, that the district rejected all these offers of significant funding from sources of direct in-school advertising. He attributed this refusal to the district’s preference for using competitive bids and its desire to also use products from other soft drink companies, stating “we discussed this (direct in-school advertising with Coca-Cola or Pepsi)...five years ago, and chose not to get into that and let it be a competitive situation and stay away so there’s no commitments. Then there’s no hard feelings. If people want to do it, then you do it on an up-front business proposition.”

## **Chapter VI—ANALYSIS**

### **Analyses**

Analyses of the findings on the nature and extent of corporate sponsorship in the Four Corners County School District reveal several salient patterns and trends which are reflected through three principal themes—the nature or forms of corporate sponsorship in the district; the origins and objectives of the school-business partnerships; and potential challenges or concerns presented by corporate involvement in the FCSD schools for both mainstream and Navajo communities. Analysis of these themes will serve to synthesize the data on the nature, extent, and implications of corporate sponsorship in the district, as well as to raise a series of theoretical issues concerning individual FCSD schools' and the district's approach to corporate sponsorship.

### **Nature & Forms of Corporate Sponsorship in FCSD Schools**

Though the district manifested a very positive attitude toward corporate sponsorship, the forms which such sponsorship assumed in the FCSD schools generally entailed a lower degree of involvement from business and industry than in most districts in the nation. There was no in-school direct advertising, for example, present in the schools. The school board in the mid 1990s rejected proposals by both Coca-Cola and Pepsi to become the exclusive supplier for the entire district. The district administrators, moreover, did not foresee accepting any form of in-school advertising, preferring instead to make such decisions through competitive bids (J.G. 1999). More recently, some principals have discussed the matter of direct in-school advertising informally (B.W. 1999). Furthermore, there were no corporate sponsored educational materials that the

principals were of aware of in use in classrooms.<sup>14</sup> Although these forms of direct corporate involvement did not appear in the FCSD schools, sponsorship of education has manifested itself through two other principal means—the numerous school-business partnership/adoption programs and the presence of Channel One in all but one of the district’s twelve middle and high schools.

### **Channel One**

Despite the generally lower degree of corporate sponsorship active in the district (relative to the district in the rest of the United States), the FCSD schools still had, in Channel One, one of the most pervasive and virulent forms of commercialism in the nation’s schools. However, the district administration did not allude to any particular objections to the presence of Channel One. Rather, the one principal interviewed who had Channel One in her school perceived it to be a potentially valuable teaching tool. In its endorsement of Channel One in FCSD middle and high schools, the district has failed to analyze the fundamentally commercial intent of this program and duplicitous manner in which it has entered classrooms. For example, while Channel One presents itself to schools as an effective educational tool, it courts prospective advertisers at the same time by promising unfettered access to the largest youth audience in history in which “*the usual distractions of telephones, stereos, remote controls, etc. are nonexistent*—making

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<sup>14</sup> Corporate SEM’s, however, enter schools rather covertly, as numerous businesses and industries send them to teachers free of charge, thus circumventing any review process by a school’s curriculum committee. The use of such SEM’s, consequently, can easily escape the notice of a school principal or district administrator. Another hidden form of corporate sponsorship is the myriad contests and incentive programs developed and distributed by many local and national businesses. The author witnessed much use of corporate SEM’s by individual teachers and such incentive programs as the Pizza Hut Book-It Reading program during his five years teaching in Four Corners County School District.

the impact and attention delivered by the news and commercials on Channel One far superior to that of any other media reaching teens.” Channel One, the largest form of commercialism in today’s schools, further, describes their program to corporate sponsors and advertisers as “a direct pipeline” and “the most efficient way to reach teens,” promising a “point of entry to the American consumer market” and an opportunity to “establish brand loyalties and perceptions that will last a lifetime” (Whittle Communications corporate materials, quoted in Molnar 1996: 66).

Studies on the impact of Channel One upon student perceptions provide both empirical support for its efficacy in influencing consumer behavior and cause for deep concern for the ideological management implicit in this most-commercial of all forms of corporate sponsorship of education. In a 1993 study in two Michigan corporate-sponsored high schools, the researchers, finding that students were more likely than other students to agree with the statements, ‘money is everything,’ ‘a nice car is more important than school,’ and ‘designer labels make a difference,’ concluded that corporate advertising served to reinforce materialistic values (Molnar 1996: 69). A particularly damning study (funded by Channel One itself) reported that students, especially those deemed ‘at risk,’ do not remember much about the program’s news content. But research conducted by Michigan State University indicated that students who watch Channel One do remember the advertisements and, perhaps most disturbing of all, that “regular watching of Channel One reinforces materialistic attitudes” (*Commercialism in Schools* 1993: 10). Hugh Rank (1991), found also that advertising contributes to the development of a number of long-lasting, often latent and delayed, effects which manifest themselves

as a promotion of unbridled materialism that supplants all other social and cultural values outside the free marketplace.

There was no apparent concern in the FCSD district on the part of teachers or administrators regarding the extensive commercialism and possible effects of Channel One. Parents in other public school districts, however, distressed by the degree of materialism and consumerism within Channel One, have protested the presence of the news program in their local schools. In the Seattle school system parents reflected concern for these issues at district school board meetings, stating: "Schools should be all about teaching students to make their own choices, not coercing them to buy things they don't need. Schools should not be selling my child as a consumer to corporations" and "[w]e need less materialism in this country, not more. To 'teach' children that they 'need' unnecessary commercial products is morally wrong. That this is done on commercial television is bad enough. But to do it in a public schools is reprehensible" (Commercial-Free 1999c: 3). Moreover, as research studies on the effects of Channel One emerge, other districts and schools, such as the Grants Pass, Oregon school district, Midway High School in Texas, and the states of California and New York, have also either declined or unplugged the daily news program (Commercial-Free 1999c).

### **School-Business Partnerships**

The 45 currently active FCSD school-business partnerships embodied, on the surface, a far less commercial and ideologically coercive element than did the presence of Channel One in district classrooms. The provisions of each individual partnership varied, depending on the objectives and ideas agreed upon by the partners, but were always

constrained by one constant factor—the limited economic infrastructure in the Pinon Hills-Four Corners County area with which to support corporate sponsorship. The resources of business and industry in the area were not extensive or broad, and, thus, neither were the provisions agreed upon in each school-business partnership. These provisions generally fell into three categories—direct financial assistance to schools, sponsorship of school fundraising events, and scholarship and mentoring programs for students.

Direct financial assistance represented the primary means by which businesses have assisted the FCSD schools through partnership programs. All the partnerships have enabled businesses to give the schools financial assistance through direct cash contributions and/or support for the school's fundraising efforts. The latter has occurred in a variety of manners, but frequently entailed donations of items by businesses to the school's Parent Teacher Organization (PTO). The individual PTO's, serving as conduits for corporate money to enter the schools, often operate fundraising events where schools can then raffle off the donated items. The schools, in turn, have spent the money raised on various types of non-instructional support, purchasing such items as computers and software, a laminating machine, and audio-visual equipment. A more recent and increasingly popular element, coming out of the district's school-business partnerships, has been the 'Partners in Education' signs posted in front of the FCSD school, displaying the school's name as well as the name and logo of the particular business partner. This latter provision constitutes a public relations tool designed to give the sponsoring business or industry greater publicity and name recognition.

Corporations have also sponsored events, such as golf or basketball tournaments, designed to raise additional funds for their school partner, as well as Spelling Bees and student writing contests. These arrangements have given schools an opportunity, with corporate assistance, to either generate significant sums of money or use business and industry to augment student learning. They have also resulted in increased publicity and additional tax deductions for the business partners. The potential for commercial or coercive forces in the FCSD school-business partnerships was perhaps strongest in some of these areas of corporate involvement. For example, some corporate sponsored events, such as the Robinson-Taco Bell Spelling Bee and the MLK-Giant student writing contest, have distributed prizes which often were consumer goods or coupons to entice one to patronize the sponsor's local business.

Finally, most of the district's partnerships provided some type of academic support to the school and its students. While scholarships (from such business partners as Giant and Sunwest Bank) were one example of this kind of provision, each school-business partnership more often either included or planned to include some type of mentoring program as the primary form of corporate academic support. Each of the five district administrators contacted in this study cited such programs, in turn, as a critical means by which to provide students with service learning opportunities through a 'school to work' approach. The district has pursued school-business partnerships because of its strong faith in the value of the corporate ethic in education. The school administrators, in general, viewed corporations as possessing much expertise from which public schools

and their students could benefit, and vigorously advocated the use of corporate assistance in the development of Science and Math curricula.

The possible implications for Navajo students and communities of these facets of a 'school to work' approach involve a multitude of concerns that essentially rest upon the issue of corporate control and coercion. 'School to work' and service learning opportunities are both programs in which students receive training in projected work-related skills deemed necessary for regional or national economic growth. These curricular and ideological elements have characterized Native people's school experiences for the past century as the United States has utilized its educational system to destroy tribal identities and to train generations of Native American students as farmers and vocational workers, assuming their place in the wage economy as low-skilled manual laborers in the nation's lowest socio-economic strata (see Hoxie 1984; Adams 1988; Littlefield 1993). These components remain a force in many modern American public schools, such as the FCSD schools, which approach service learning or mentoring as critical aspects of an effective school-business partnership. According to principal B.W. of White Canyon Elementary, businesses assert their interests in developing work-related skills, because "[t]he businesses have needs when the kids leave school...(schools must know) what do the businesses want or need when our kids leave school and go out in Pinon Hills and work in business." The FCSD schools conceived of such elements as leading to increased economic opportunities for students and greater regional economic prosperity in the long run. The corporate sponsorship of contemporary public education in the United States represents a modern manifestation of these historical forces of

assimilation, and, consequently, should be a concern to contemporary Navajos and all Native Americans in public schools. Furthermore, the attitude and level of awareness of the district administrators regarding problems posed by the underlying sociohistorical and cultural dynamics of Native American education have converged to embrace deeper institutional issues. These profound cultural implications, not directly verbalized in any interview, were either unknown or considered unimportant by the FCSD district administrators.

### **Origins and Objectives of School-Business Partnerships in FCSD Schools**

School-business partnerships have been in operation formally in the FCSD schools since 1989, when Sunwest Bank 'adopted' Adams Elementary. Since this year, partnerships in FCSD have experienced a decidedly mixed course. They grew quickly throughout the district from 1989 to 1994—a period which witnessed thirty-nine formal partnerships created between individual elementary, middle, and high schools and local businesses (including those began at MLK, White Canyon, and Franklin). From 1994 to the present, however, only six additional partnerships (for example, the Red Mesa-Giant relationship) have been created, while at least two have also terminated.

In operation for a full decade, FCSD school-business partnerships have displayed dichotomized natures in regard to both their origins and objectives. A wide range of businesses and industries, representing both local offices of national corporations or smaller locally-run enterprises, has become 'partners in education' with a FCSD school. This spectrum encompassed such global transnational corporations as Coca-Cola, national and/or regional companies such as Giant Refining Company, Taco Bell, and

Century 21, and such local businesses as A.C. Houston Lumber Company and Eduardo's Framing Shop.

The district's early school-business partnerships (such as that between Adams and Sunwest Bank) were started primarily through corporate initiative. The origins of later FCSD partnerships, however, generally manifested a reverse trend toward individual schools initiating contact with local businesses in an effort to create a working relationship. A common thread uniting many partnerships, regardless of their particular chronology or stated objectives, was a pre-existing personal connection between a district school and local business. These links, supplied in some cases by a student's parent who worked in the office of business partner or by employees of a business who also attended a FCSD school, have facilitated many of the district's partnerships. Such connections, based on a variety of personal family or work relations, were instrumental in the establishment of relationships between Adams and Sunwest Bank, Franklin and Houston Lumber, White Canyon and Century 21, and Red Mesa and Giant.

The objectives and goals underlying the FCSD school-business partnerships reflected the varied, yet related, interests of both the district schools and local businesses. Local businesses, manifesting their intentions in sponsorship of education, proclaimed their commitment to the community. Underlying this explicit objective, however, may also may reside more covert goals. In return for their involvement in school sponsorship programs, corporations profit from the high level of visibility and positive publicity from its apparent dedication to the local public school system. FCSD school partnerships, consequently, can help a particular business or industry improve its public image (B.W.

1999). In addition, P.L. (1999) also cited tax breaks as a probable attraction to local businesses to foster a school partnership.

The FCSD schools strove to establish and structure individual partnerships that were mutually beneficial to both the school and business. Each of the partnerships did, indeed, display support for this objective. The district, in its commitment to fostering mutually beneficial partnerships, has determined that students' academic development, rather than school funding, must constitute the primary objective in the involvement of business and industry with the FCSD schools. While in the four case studies, as well as in the district-wide data from the assistant superintendent, the nature of the joint school-business academic programs varied considerably, underlying all FCSD school-business partnerships (and even Channel One) remained some manifestation of the district's explicitly stated objective to further academics. These programs, ranging from simple corporate money with which schools purchased instructional aids to classroom mentoring, corporate representation on curriculum committees, and a 'school to work' emphasis, illustrate this commitment to academics through school-business partnerships. From this admirable commitment of the FCSD schools, however, has emerged an implicit layer that poses serious concerns, particularly for the district's Navajo students who constitute nearly 80% of the total student population.

The academic cooperation between business and industry and local public schools carries significant implications for Navajo students and communities of Four Corners County. The main academic components of the FCSD school-business partnerships (such as service learning opportunities, school to work and corporate mentoring

programs, as well as technology training) represent collectively a powerful force of ideological management and economic assimilation through an emphasis on schools as instruments by which to train students for employment, thereby perpetuating the nation's economic prosperity. The FCSD schools, through these program elements as well as a commitment to using corporate resources in pursuit of their academic goals, have, inadvertently perhaps, opened the door to the assimilation of Navajo students. These elements, as well as the underlying ideology and represent a contemporary version of vocational training that the United States educational system has forced upon generations of Native students.

The FCSD school-business partnerships also operate in a more covert manner beyond the school to work framework underlying much corporate involvement with the district schools. While the destruction of traditional economies and the economic assimilation of Navajo students may not constitute the direct explicit intention of the partnerships, they can have such an effect. Corporate involvement in public education through school-business partnerships can bring about an acceptance, on the part of the students, of a growing corporate hegemony in the United States and of a purely consumerist relationship to the economy. This presence can subtly and suddenly transform schools into marketing vehicles designed to open new markets (by reaching young, highly impressionable consumers), stimulate material wants and desires, and foster an acceptance of both consumption of goods and corporate points of view. The use of the public school as a place to market products or services and to cultivate corporate points of view sends a message to students that education is to be treated as any other

commodity and that materialism and consumption represent the acceptable norm. The corporate presence in education, moreover, suggests “an anti-intellectual emphasis that creates a trade school mentality to secure jobs and a consumptionist drive to purchase status goods” (Harty 1989/90: 77). If corporate sponsorship is allowed to proliferate freely, schools, ideally a forum of free expression, will be transformed into a marketplace in which children will be taught the virtues and habits of consumerism. These latent functions of corporate sponsorship, as well as the profoundly coercive dynamics historically embedded within the education of Native Americans in this country, evidently escaped the notice of the FCSD schools.

#### **Perceived Problems or Concerns Posed by Corporate Sponsorship**

The data collected on the possible problems or concerns perceived by the FCSD schools in corporate sponsorship revealed much about the district’s attitude toward the involvement of business and industry in public education. Each of the administrators recognized almost exclusively practical concerns that potentially hinder the successful implementation and operation of an effective school-business partnership. Providing evidence of the district’s recognition of purely practical concerns, they consistently raised pragmatic issues such as maintaining clear communication between the school and business and coping with changing personnel. This limited perspective of the nature of corporate sponsorship of public education and its implications for Navajo students, remaining on a very tangible, surficial level, reflected a concern primarily for immediate benefits as well as an indifference to or ignorance of philosophical or cultural concerns. On this level of analysis, consideration simply of concrete results (such as the schools’

receipt of financial contributions) dominated the discourse, and placed any discussion of potential problems in corporate sponsorship within a thoroughly pragmatic context.

Only two of the five interviewees cited possible objections to corporate sponsorship on deeper philosophical grounds. P.L. foresaw in corporate support for schools the potential for privatization of public education and, as a result, concerted efforts of ideological management and imposition of corporate control. M.H. emphasized a moral trade-off that schools often must face when they enter partnerships with a huge corporation. She cited Intel's sponsorship of the Rio Rancho (New Mexico) public schools and the environmental damage caused by the computer company's daily use of 17 million gallons of water to produce microchips. Despite these two lone voices of caution and concern, the FCSD schools manifested a very favorable attitude of acceptance toward corporate sponsorship.

The data also revealed on the part of the FCSD administrators very little awareness of the possible ramifications of corporate sponsorship for Navajo students and communities. Again, only P.L. and M.H. mentioned the existence of any potential problems within this cultural context. They each perceived sponsorship to embody powerful forces of ideological management that can erode the cultural values and practices of Navajo students and local communities. They saw, however, such management made possible only from a general unawareness on the part of the Navajo of the coercive power of corporate marketing. Both principals expressed similar views on this issue, yet framed them in slightly different language. M.H. cited a "lack of exposure," while P.L. indicated a "lack of understanding, lack of education" as

facilitating the exploitation and ideological management of Navajo people by corporations. Each also expressed, however, a strong faith that an education in the persuasive powers of corporate marketing would safeguard Navajo students and communities from any potential harm or exploitation that may arise from the corporate sponsorship of education.

Although M.H. and P.L. raised some challenges or potential problems with corporate sponsorship, no particular social, cultural, or ideological issues related to contemporary Navajo life emerged as concerns of the district. The principals and district administrators again interpreted any potential problems with sponsorship of Navajo education again from an essentially pragmatic perspective, which measured relative success in tangible results. For example, they viewed the simple lack of greater corporate sponsorship in the outlying communities as constituting the primary problem with such sponsorship. The administrators saw the restrictions placed on reservation schools to attract business partners by the utter lack of economic development in outlying communities as the primary problem with corporate involvement in Navajo education. Hence, the FCSD schools' primary concern with corporate sponsorship of Navajo education was finding a way to involve business and industry to a *greater* degree, rather than mitigating any potentially damaging effects of such sponsorship upon Navajo students and communities. However, the unique sociohistorical and cultural context of Native American education in the United States reveals an entrenched educational policy—whether federal BIA, state public, private or parochial schools—rooted in ideological management and coercive assimilation. These concerted efforts have been

designed to destroy tribal religious practices, social and political institutions, languages, as well as traditional economic relations. The destruction of tribal identities, the disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples, and their economic assimilation as low-skilled laborers into the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder have historically constituted the fundamental objectives of Native American education in the United States.

Overall, the corporate sponsorship of education in the FCSD schools, consisting primarily of adoption-partnership programs, presently operates at a lower degree of involvement by business and industry than in many other districts in the nation. While practical factors, such as the region's limited economic development, have restricted more widespread growth of school-business partnerships, all elements are in place ideologically in the FCSD administration to allow for the creation of broader and more penetrating forms of corporate sponsorship.

While the district does indeed implement partnerships that address schools' academic goals, these very educational policies and practices reflect a strong advocacy for corporate academic support (e.g. money and donations of equipment, sponsorship of school events, and technical and program assistance, as well as scholarships, service learning opportunities, and mentoring programs for students). This concerted advocacy displays a thoroughly practical and pragmatic approach to corporate sponsorship that vigorously accepts the neo-liberal notion of schooling as an efficient way to upgrade the nation's future work force, and thereby maintain economic growth. This perspective, entrusting corporations to promote the best interests of the community, conceives of education as a process designed to enable individuals and nations to "meet new economic

challenges as well as fulfill personal, cultural, and social goals” because “future economic prosperity, social cohesion, and full civic participation in democratic societies—all depend on a well-educated population” (Paye 1996: 4). The FCSD school administrators, expressing corporate sponsorship as an efficient means by which to meet their academic goals as well as to bring about greater prosperity and economic literacy, overall manifested an approach fully embedded in the mainstream neo-liberal paradigm, which welcomes corporate involvement in public education.

*Additional problems or concerns with corporate sponsorship of education emerge when one considers the philosophical dimensions of public education in the United States. To many critics, the modern presence of business and industry in schools, from structural sponsorship through Adopt-A-School and mentoring programs to the more acutely visible forms of commercialism, such as Channel One, is inappropriate because it fundamentally “distort[s] the purpose and process of public education” (Harty 1981: 40). The expanding corporate nexus has precipitated a trend in which private special interests have been able to influence educational policy and classroom instruction. Continuation of this trend within the context of a tax-supported public educational system can result in the cession of control of policy and instruction by schools to outside commercial interests. Although business and industry may defend the right to promote their views in a democratic society, corporations are not fundamentally educational entities. Corporate sponsorship of education most often represents campaigns designed merely to promote corporate special interests, for example, through a ‘school to work’ emphasis or the subtle fostering of a positive public image, rather than to serve the academic, emotional,*

and social needs of students. Moreover, groups who wish to present students with alternative views to corporate propaganda often lack sufficient funding or resources. As a result, many public schools have become a place where access is granted to those groups who can afford to pay—at the expense of a balanced portrayal of diverse viewpoints (Harty 1989/90; Consumers Union 1995).

## **Chapter VII—CONCLUSION**

The growth of corporate sponsorship in public schools represents, in reality, a broader trend in the United States toward a growing corporate hegemony through market-oriented reforms. This trend recently has appeared in the form of school vouchers, private contract schools, corporate sponsorship of education, and the implementation of corporate quality control systems in public schools (e.g. Total Quality Management and, more recently, ISO 9000). This increasingly penetrating presence of business and industry in public education evokes numerous concerns for both mainstream and indigenous communities. These issues raise the questions: what are the values of the free market; how does the presence of free-market structures and interests in public education affect local school systems; what are the effects upon social relations in the United States; what are the particular social, economic, and cultural ramifications for Native American communities of free-market reforms and a corporate hegemony in public education?

Many scholars and social critics recently have begun to examine these questions concerning free-market educational reforms and the profound ramifications upon social and economic relations in the United States from this approach to public education. Alex Molnar (1996) indicated that, while market-oriented reforms provide a collective unifying framework to educational reform, they have transferred a dangerous set of values and practices to a principal social institution in the United States—the public school. He argued that the essential objective of the free market—to provide profit for self-interested groups—serves to concentrate wealth, rather than apportion it in more socially desirable or beneficial ways. Molnar further asserted that the nature of the free

market in free enterprise capitalism has precluded it from responding to the educational interests and emotional needs of children, because any 'values' attached to the market emanate from the buying and selling of goods and services in the pursuit of profit. Market-driven public education instead reduces students to either "an expense to be reduced or a resource to be harvested" (1996: 183).

Consequently, the values or practices within corporate-sponsored education are not equipped to "offer guidance on matters of justice and fairness that are at the heart of democratic civil society and that *should* be at the heart of its schools and other institutions" (1996: 183). According to Edward Luttwak (1994), free enterprise capitalism dictates that the nominal cost of the production and sale of goods and services assumes primary importance in the nation's political and economic decisionmaking. When the free market is allowed to direct educational policy and practice, the same ethic that simultaneously creates corporate downsizing and growth in profit, while destroying local economies, can foster "a structural framework to separate the interests of the educational haves from those of the educational have-nots" (Molnar 1996: 176).

Market-centered public education, particularly as reflected in the multiple manifestations of corporate sponsorship in schools, indeed illustrates this notion of the harvesting of students as either a marketing, consumer, or labor source. These forms, whether sponsored instructional materials, in-school direct advertising, Channel One, or more subtle forms of management in 'school to work' programs, entail fundamental goals which effectively shift the focus of public education from the interests of the children to the interests of business and industry, effectively placing education and society in the

service of the free market. These corporate interests primarily include the maximization of profit and the use of public schools as a “sorting machine” (Spring 1976)—a mechanism with which to program students’ employment opportunities and insure economic growth. In this context, school children are seen as a huge consumer market, as well as an important labor resource, both serving to stimulate national economic growth and maintain the socio-economic status quo.

The movements toward a corporate hegemony in United States society (e.g. the corporate sponsorship of schools, and in general, a public educational system reliant upon free market structures and values) reflect, more broadly, powerful social tendencies emanating from the growth in the emergent global economy and the creation of a globalized society, as individual countries and communities throughout the world become inextricably linked through expanded economic interdependence and mass communications. Contemporary scholars, focusing on the effects of globalization on the internal social relations within individual nations, agree that one principal effect of the ascendancy of the global market is the destabilization of these social relations. Luttwak (1999: 18) brands the supercharged, deregulated global economy of the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century ‘turbo-capitalism,’ a system which “generates new wealth from all the resources released by the competition-powered destruction of inefficient practices, firms and entire industries. . .” British economist John Gray (1999: 242), addressing the internal impact of such an economic system upon the United States, charges that “free markets have contributed to social breakdown on a scale unknown in any other developed country” and “the middle classes are rediscovering the conditions of assetless economic insecurity that

afflicted the 19<sup>th</sup> century proletariat.” Gray, also asserting that the emerging global economy is destroying the welfare state in Europe and East Asia, as well as traditional communities and economies in the developing world, prompts one to consider the cultural or social contradictions of capitalism—the fact that the force of free market economics erodes social cohesion through the destruction of traditional institutions that function to provide human communities a sense of security. The new global economy sweeps away reciprocal social arrangements—the backbone of many Native American societies—and leaves local economies at the mercy of distant centralized speculations as it subordinates all other values and goals to those of the marketplace.

William Leach, who has studied the rise of the corporation and mercantilism in the United States throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, has reached similar conclusions. In particular, he has noted that “the capitalist concept of self, the consumer concept of the self is the reigning American concept” (1994: 386). Leach indicated the severe flaws and limitations of this “conception of the desiring self as expressed in capitalist terms and exploited by capitalism” (385), asserting that this notion of human existence rejects other significant dimensions of what it means to be human, including the ability:

to commit themselves, to establish binding relationships, to sink permanent roots, to maintain continuity with previous generations, to remember, to make ethical judgments, to seek pleasure in work, to remain steadfast on behalf of principle and loyal to community or country (to the degree that community or country strives to be just and fair), to seek spiritual transcendence beyond the self, and to fight a cause through to the end. (Leach 1994: 385-6)

These issues raise concerns that have great relevance and value in many contemporary Native American societies—questions surrounding the survival of community, historical

memory, and continuity across generations. They suggest, moreover, the need to examine the social and economic impacts of globalization and the ascendancy of a corporate hegemony in the United States upon Native American communities—populations that for centuries have faced profound social and cultural pressures through the implementation by colonial governments and schools of policies of economic disenfranchisement, assimilation, and cultural destruction.

Native American communities today must now contend with such consequences of the global economy and the expanding corporate hegemony in the United States as the destabilization of social conditions, the devastation of traditional industries and alternative economic systems, and the rapid emergence and creation of new wants. These issues, though daunting in their enormity, pose challenges that certainly are recognizable to contemporary Native Americans, whose grandparents faced similar economic and social pressures during earlier periods of assimilation, when the sign welcoming all to Ganado Presbyterian Mission on the Navajo reservation, “Tradition is the Enemy of Progress,” accurately described official federal Indian educational policy (see “Implications of Corporate Sponsorship for Native Communities” section at the end of chapter four). Merrill Gates, Quaker reformer and member of the assimilationist-minded group, the Friends of the Indian, more fully expressed the consumerist notions characterizing federal Indian policy in 1896, when he affirmed:

We need to awaken in him wants. In his dull savagery he must be touched by the wings of the divine angel of discontent. Then he begins to look forward, to reach out. The desire for property of his own may become an intense educating force. The wish for a home of his own awakens him to new efforts. Discontent with the tepee and the starving rations of the Indian camp in winter is needed to

get the Indian out of the blanket and into trousers, trousers with a pocket that aches to be filled with dollars! (Adams 1995: 23)

These government-managed and created wants, pressuring Native people to conform to new consumer desires and a redefinition of the 'good life' according to the values of the marketplace, certainly persist today, and in fact, have intensified through prevalent trends such as globalization and the corporate sponsorship of public education.

The seductive, yet subtle, method of creating perceived needs and stimulating consumer desire raises concerns over the role of the corporation in the assimilation of Native Americans (a similar process is described for early 20<sup>th</sup> century European immigrants in chapter three). The pressures of economic assimilation are clearly apparent when companies such as Hallmark and Citicorp are hiring anthropologists to work in their corporate marketing divisions, designing greeting cards to appeal to ethnic minorities, for example, and a doctorate in anthropology is described as "a hot new degree...emerging for aspiring executives" as "companies go global..." (Jones 1999: B1). This seductive process of subtle assimilation through the free market constitutes, for Native Americans communities, another form of internal colonization, as they become more integrated into the economy, gain more exposure to international markets, cope with free market-based reform within the United States public education, and co-exist with a dominant society whose actions and values are largely controlled by commercial interests. Native Americans, consequently, are facing intensified socio-economic pressures from a condition of internal globalization, manifesting itself as a corporate hegemony aimed at the homogenization of culturally distinctive groups through the

saturation of the society and public education in commercialism and service to the corporate state.

Many scholars (e.g. Jacques 1989; Tomlinson 1991; Apffel-Marglin 1995; Graf 1995; Berger 1997; Davies & Guppy 1997; Obiora 1997), however, recently have indicated inherent contradictions within the process of globalization, which may provide indigenous communities with the means by which to mitigate the centralized homogenizing force of the corporate sponsorship of education. For example, globalization and its concurrent threat of cultural homogenization have led to “protests against cultural imperialism as claims for a human level of cultural experience in a globalised system” (Tomlinson 1991: 178), and stimulated the growth of grass-roots movements to localize education. This development, in turn, has given rise to alternative systems of schooling throughout the nation and world.

Within the context of native education, counter-hegemonic movements also have developed to defuse the centralizing tendency of schooling in the age of globalization.

As Martin Jacques has observed:

As power moves upwards from the nation-state towards larger international units...so there is a countervailing pressure, whose roots are various, for it to move downwards...There is a new search for identity and difference in the face of impersonal global forces, which is leading to the emergence of new national and ethnic demands.

(Jacques 1989: 237)

This decentralizing development, known as ‘identity politics,’<sup>15</sup> has helped numerous communities revive their cultural traditions and ethnic pride, and represents a

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<sup>15</sup> Identity politics can be defined as “the struggles among groups for recognition, accommodation, and validation of their symbolic representations and world outlooks in institutions” (Davies & Guppy 1997:440).

localized response to the homogenizing tendency of globalization. Such movements for educational autonomy and self-determination have occurred within indigenous communities in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. During the last three decades, as educational self-determination has become a central focus for a growing number of tribes, many indigenous communities have taken control of their local schools in order to construct a more culturally relevant pedagogy and to resist the homogenizing forces within mainstream education. The movement toward educational self-determination represents for many Native tribes a powerful assertion of the continued relevance of their traditional values and practices.

Apffel-Marglin (1995) has indicated the existence of a similar culturally-affirming movement in the South American Andes region by a group of native writers, called PRATEC (*Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas*). This group researches, writes, and teaches indigenous Andean people about the traditional Andean worldview (particularly in regard to agricultural practices), while contrasting it to the colonizing, homogenizing tendency of modern western forms of education. Dion-Buffalo and Mohawk (1995) have dubbed the underlying philosophy supporting these local movements 'non-subjecthood'—a response to colonization in which native communities choose to rely on their own cosmologies and traditions to inform their own educational systems and daily activities. These developments are helping indigenous groups worldwide to alter the structure, content, and methods of schooling to fit the local needs and values of their own distinctive cultures.

For Native Americans, historically a target of coercive assimilation and cultural genocide, the corporate sponsorship of education presents a particularly difficult dilemma. Such sponsorship can provide greater employment opportunities for students and a welcome avenue of financial support for indigenous communities and schools—each of which historically have been greatly lacking. Furthermore, reservations, long afflicted with overwhelmingly high rates of poverty and unemployment, are actively seeking different forms of economic development. More than twenty-seven percent of all Native American families presently are living below the poverty line; Indian reservations nationally have an average unemployment rate of forty-six percent (Mezey 1996). At the same time, however, the pervasive commercialism and control represented by the presence of business and industry in schools constitutes a forceful attack on the cultural values and practices of native tribes. This corporate presence effectively replaces values with commodities, and “[a]rtificial expectations are created as a result of overexposure to material goals... the effects are a numbing of critical inquiry into motives, a monopoly of economic power in society, and a dearth of ethical values in life—a kind of cultural poverty” (Harty 1989/90: 78)—consequences which stand in stark contrast to the values espoused in many contemporary tribal societies. However, no empirical research currently exists on either the nature and extent or the assimilative effects of corporate sponsorship of education on Native American students and specifically on the inter-generational transmission of traditional cultural values and practices.

The pursuit of corporate sponsorship of education and economic development on reservations in general may represent attractive sources of financial stability and growth.

The corporate presence, however, carrying forces of cultural homogenization, also raises a number of critical questions concerning contemporary Native American societies that can serve to guide future research: what are the effects upon social and economic relations in indigenous communities when the 'logic' of the free market is allowed to prevail in education, what are the effects of the corporate sponsorship of public education and a free market approach to education upon the intergenerational transmission of cultural values for different Native American tribes and communities; what are the implications of globalization, free market educational reform, and corporate sponsorship of education on tribal sovereignty—political, cultural, or otherwise; will the free market be able to achieve the destruction of Native cultures and the assimilation of indigenous peoples that the United States military, churches, and schools could not accomplish? Such scholarship will shed more light on these issues, and enable native peoples to make informed decisions and cope with an educational system in the United States based on ideological management and service to the corporate state.

## **APPENDIX A: SUBJECT'S CONSENT FORM**

I AM BEING ASKED TO READ THE FOLLOWING MATERIAL TO ENSURE THAT I AM INFORMED OF THE NATURE OF THIS RESEARCH STUDY AND HOW I WILL PARTICIPATE IN IT, IF I CONSENT TO DO SO. SIGNING THIS FORM WILL INDICATE THAT I HAVE BEEN SO INFORMED AND THAT I GIVE MY CONSENT. FEDERAL REGULATIONS REQUIRE WRITTEN INFORMED CONSENT PRIOR TO PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY SO THAT I CAN KNOW THE NATURE AND RISKS OF MY PARTICIPATION AND CAN DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE IN A FREE AND INFORMED MANNER.

### Purpose

I am being invited to participate voluntarily in this thesis research project. The purpose of this project is to determine the nature and extent of corporate involvement in Native American education in the Gallup area.

### Selection Criteria

I am being invited to participate because I am an administrator whose school is currently partnered with or sponsored by a corporation and has a large number of Navajo students. Approximately six schools will be participating in this research.

### Procedures

If I agree to participate, I will be asked to consent to answer interview questions about the nature of corporate involvement in the Gallup public schools. I am aware that I retain the right not to answer any questions being asked at any time and for any reason.

### Risks

There are no known risks involved by my participation. I reserve the right to have my name, age, and any other biographical information withheld from any published materials if indicated to the researcher. I reserve the right to edit any or all of the information given in the questionnaire.

### Benefits

There are no direct benefits to me. However, I understand that the goal of this project is to determine the nature and extent of corporate sponsorship of Native American education. A better understanding of this subject may be achieved through my participation in this study.

### Confidentiality

I understand that the identity of the participants will remain confidential. The data will be stored on a computer disk which will be kept by the researcher. Only the researcher will have access to this information. Upon completion of this project, I understand that the information and data pertaining to myself will be presented to me if I indicate a desire to have that information.

**Participation Costs and Subject Compensation**

I understand that I will neither incur any costs nor receive any payment for my participation in this study.

I CAN OBTAIN FURTHER INFORMATION FROM RICK P. JULIANI AT THE AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES OFFICE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA AT 520-626-9191. IF I HAVE QUESTIONS CONCERNING MY RIGHTS AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT, I MAY CALL THE HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE OFFICE AT 520-626-6721.

**Authorization**

BEFORE GIVING MY CONSENT BY SIGNING THIS FORM, THE METHODS, INCONVENIENCES, RISKS, AND BENEFITS HAVE BEEN EXPLAINED TO ME AND MY QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. I UNDERSTAND THAT I MAY ASK QUESTIONS AT ANY TIME AND THAT I AM FREE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE PROJECT AT ANY TIME WITHOUT CAUSING BAD FEELINGS. MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS PROJECT MAY BE ENDED BY THE INVESTIGATOR FOR REASONS THAT WOULD BE EXPLAINED. NEW INFORMATION DEVELOPED DURING THE COURSE OF THIS STUDY WHICH MAY AFFECT MY WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT WILL BE GIVEN TO ME AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE. I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE FILED IN AN AREA DESIGNED BY THE HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE WITH ACCESS RESTRICTED TO THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR, RICK P. JULIANI, OR AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES PROGRAM. I UNDERSTAND THAT I DO NOT GIVE UP ANY OF MY LEGAL RIGHTS BY SIGNING THIS FORM. A COPY OF THIS SIGNED CONSENT FORM WILL BE GIVEN TO ME.

Subject's Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Investigator's Affidavit**

I have carefully explained to the subject the nature of the above project. I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the person who is signing this consent form understands clearly the nature, demands, benefits, and risks involved in his/her participation and his/her signature is legally valid. A medical problem or language or educational barrier has not precluded this understanding.

Signature of Investigator \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

- 1) What business(es) is your school in a partnership with?
- 2) How long has this partnership been in operation?
- 3) What form does this partnership take (or what arrangements does this partnership entail)?
- 4) Why was this partnership started?
- 5) How did this business partnership begin (did the school or corporation initiate the involvement)?
- 6) Are there any guidelines in place to structure and monitor the relationship between the school and the corporation? If so, what are they?
- 7) How does the school assess (in regard to both criteria and process) the success of the business partnership?
- 8) Would you and the school community like to see more corporate involvement in the future with your school? If so, what form would you like this future involvement to take?
- 9) Do you or the school community have any questions/concerns with corporate sponsorship of education in Gallup?
- 10) Do you or the school community perceive any conflicts between this corporate sponsorship and Navajo cultural values?

**APPENDIX C: FCSD STUDENT ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION, 1998-99**

	<b>Total # of students</b>	<b>% of total FCSD students</b>
<b>NATIVE AMERICAN</b>	11,032	77.3%
<b>HISPANIC</b>	1,720	12.0%
<b>CAUCASIAN</b>	1,332	9.3%
<b>AFRICAN-AMERICAN</b>	117	.9%
<b>ASIAN-AMERICAN</b>	62	.5%
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	14,263	100%

\*\*\*Figures taken from *40 Day Count Student Enrollment Statistics, 1998-99*, compiled by the Office of the Superintendent, FCSD School District.

**APPENDIX D: NAVAJO STUDENT ENROLLMENT, 1994-95**

<b>TYPE OF SCHOOL</b>	<b># OF TOTAL STUDENTS</b>	<b>% OF TOTAL # OF NAVAJO STUDENTS</b>
ARIZONA PUBLIC SCHOOLS	18,981	
NEW MEXICO PUBLIC SCHOOLS	13,862	
UTAH PUBLIC SCHOOLS	1,490	
<b>PUBLIC SCHOOL TOTAL</b>	<b>34,333</b>	<b>63.1%</b>
<b>BIA SCHOOL TOTAL</b>	<b>14,408</b>	<b>26.4%</b>
<b>CONTRACT &amp; GRANT SCHOOLS</b>	<b>5,745</b>	<b>10.5%</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>54,486</b>	<b>100%</b>

\*\*\*Figures taken from *Statistics on Navajo (Dine) Education 1994-95*, compiled by the Office of Research and Planning Development, Navajo Division of Education in Window Rock, Arizona.

**APPENDIX E: NATURE OF SPONSORSHIP IN EACH CASE STUDY**

<b>SCHOOL-BUSINESS PARTNERS</b>	<b>TOTAL STUDENT ENROLLMENT</b>	<b>% OF NAVAJO STUDENTS</b>	<b>NATURE OF CORPORATE SPONSORSHIP</b>
<b>WhiteCanyon Elementary &amp; Century 21 Realty</b>	362 (K-5)	35-40%	\$ for non-instructional support -fundraising donations 'Partners in Education' sign Corporate volunteers (in classes And at school fundraisers) Corporate mentoring
<b>Franklin Elementary &amp; Norwest Bank/Houston Lumber</b>	355 (K-5)	65-70%	\$ for non-instructional support -fundraising donations 'Partners in Education' sign Corporate mentoring
<b>Red Mesa Elementary &amp; Giant Oil Company</b>	478 (K-5)	80-85%	\$ for non-instructional support -photocopying costs \$ for technology Corporate mentoring
<b>Jackson Elementary &amp; Safeway</b>	428 (K-5)	70-75%	\$ for non-instructional support -snacks for students 'Partners in Education' sign Corporate mentoring
<b>MLK Middle School &amp; Giant Oil Company</b>	484 (6-8)	70-75%	Scholarships \$ for non-instructional support Assistance in Math, Science, & Writing curricula Writing contests ( <i>Giant Bucks</i> ) Fieldtrips to the refinery Corporate mentoring Channel One

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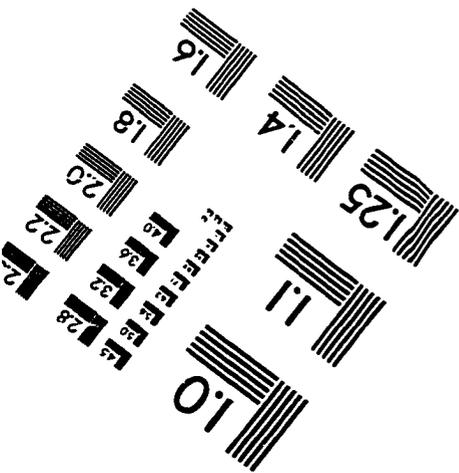
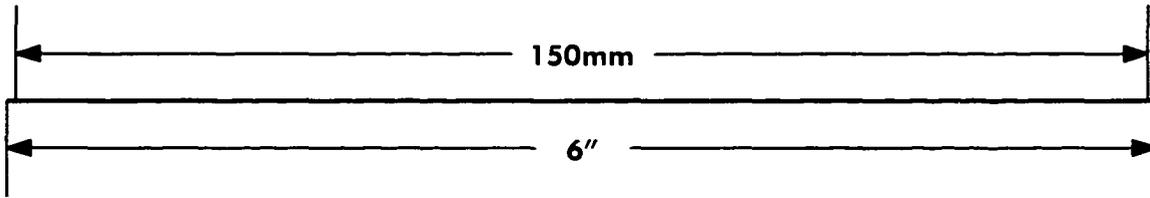
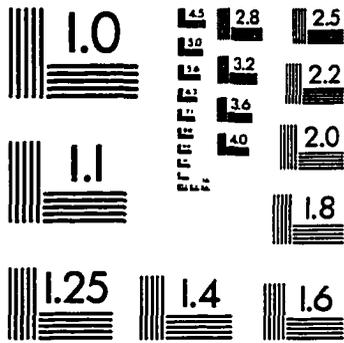
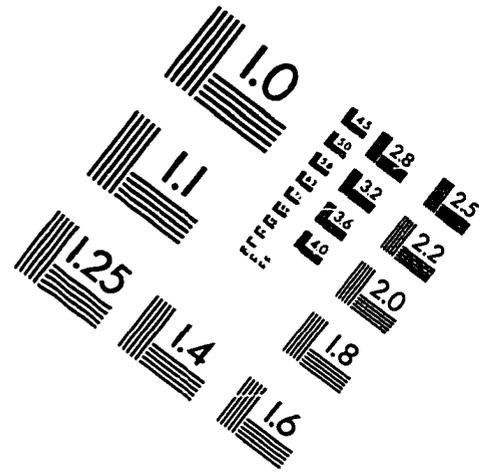
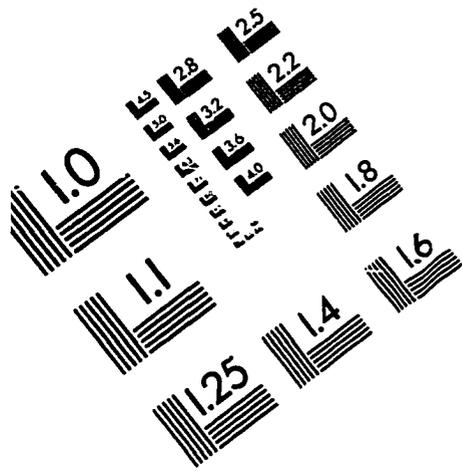
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